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EDITED BY
THE REV. HENRY BURGESS, LL.D., PH.D.,
MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE
AND
B. HARRIS COWPER,
EDITOR OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN GREEK FROM CODEX A; A SYRIAC GRAMMAR, ETC.

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INTRODUCTORY ARTICLE.

On the Domain and Principles of this Journal.

OUR readers will observe that a change has taken place in the Editorship of this Journal, and as it might be supposed this involved a change in the principles upon which it was started, and has hitherto been conducted, it seems desirable to lay before them the following statement. In that statement we embody some account of the origin of this serial, an exposition of its principles and our own, and an outline of the plan which it is intended to carry out. This seems due both to our constituents and to ourselves.

The first number of this Journal appeared in January, 1848, under the editorship of its honoured founder, the late Dr. JOHN KITTO. The design was one which he had long cherished, but untoward events retarded its execution. In this case, however, as in many others, the delay was probably conducive to the maturity of the plan, which, when it was propounded, exhibited all the peculiar features of Dr. Kitto's mind. He had clearly perceived the want of some such organ in this country as a worthy representative of the state and movements of Biblical science and Christian literature generally. He saw that the demand for such a publication must be limited, and that it could not, or would not, be adequately sustained by any existing

religious denomination. He was convinced that its basis, if orthodox, must be unsectarian, and if well defined, must be broad and liberal. He had a decided feeling that British scholarship did not take the position which it might and ought to occupy in the republic of letters. He believed that such a journal would in many ways subserve the cause of truth and sacred learning, and especially become an aid and a stimulus to many who were studiously inclined. He expected the co-operation of men of all parties who could agree to unite on common ground for common objects. And it may suffice to shew, what he regarded as common ground, to enumerate the heads of his plan:—

1. *Original Essays on Biblical History, Geography, Natural History, Antiquities, &c.*
2. *Biography*, including men of all ages, countries, and opinions, who have rendered services in any branch of Biblical literature.
3. *Biblical Bibliography*, comprehending—
 - a. *Reviews of New Books*, English, American, and continental.
 - b. *Reviews of Valuable Works little known*, whether English or foreign.
 - c. *Accounts of Unpublished Manuscripts* bearing on Biblical literature.
 - d. *Critical Notices of Works* on special branches of Biblical enquiry.
 - e. *Quarterly Lists of British and Foreign Works* in sacred literature, and general annual classified lists, with characteristic notes.
4. *Expositions of Passages of Scripture.*
5. *Philological Essays.*
6. *Ecclesiastical History.*
7. *Translations and Reprints.*
8. *Oriental Literature.*
9. *Correspondence*, including—
 - a. *Letters* on Biblical subjects.
 - b. *Questions* and replies.
10. *Biblical Intelligence, &c., &c.*

It is evident that Dr. Kitto thought his scheme would be generally approved, and no one can for a moment doubt its comprehensiveness. But it is equally evident that a journal of such a character, dependent upon voluntary contributors, would encounter many difficulties. However, relying upon the excellence of his project and the soundness of his principles, he went to work; and it is a fact worth noticing, that notwithstanding his known "evangelical" preferences, one of the contributors to the first number was the late Baden Powell. The admission of that article (Free Inquiry in Theology the Basis of Truth and Liberality), shews that the editor was quite willing to allow considerable latitude to individual writers. It is quite certain that he was no enemy to free discussion in a right

spirit and on critical and scientific grounds, and no doubt he quite sympathized with Baden Powell's motto from Tacitus, "*Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet.*" At the same time the Journal has never considered this in the light of a precedent, although it has always conceded a large measure of freedom of discussion. Nor has it ever abandoned its character as the friend and promoter of Scriptural truth as distinguished from Rationalistic speculations.

It is no disparagement to Dr. Kitto to say that he had many obstacles to contend with, that he never fully carried out his idea, and that he admitted some articles which would have been better left out. But he steadily persevered in his endeavours until failing health compelled his relinquishment of his labour of love. Those who possess the volumes he edited are well aware that they contain many items of permanent value by eminent contributors. He concluded the first series with the seventh volume. He then issued a new prospectus announcing his intention to profit by his experience, and to aim at making the Journal more generally readable and attractive. At the same time he promised that, "unless for immediate exposure and refutation, nothing contrary to sound doctrine should be found in either the original or the translated articles." Four volumes of the new series were all that he subsequently edited. The Journal then passed into the hands of the Rev. Dr. BURGESS, who has laboured energetically not only to maintain but to improve its character, and to make it, what we have said Dr. Kitto wished it to be, a worthy representative of the Biblical science of this country. In his hands it has rendered no mean service to the cause to which it is devoted, and although it has never attained the circulation which it has merited, nor the support which its catholic basis would have led us to expect, it has held on its way with honour. Thanks to the generous zeal of the warm friends of sacred literature who have been gathered around it, this Journal is still in existence. It has stood the test of time, and held its ground amid the multitude of candidates for popular favour. Not only so; it is to this day the only periodical in Britain based on principles so comprehensive, and devoted to its peculiar objects. Its main difficulty throughout has been its limited circulation, by which its influence and its efficiency have been diminished, if its freedom has not been curtailed.

But now, when so much is said in favour of Biblical science, and when attention is so generally called to it by recent speculations, there is surely reason to look for an improved state of things. It will be no fault of ours if the Journal does not fulfil

its noble and peculiar mission. We shall assuredly endeavour to shew that heresy is not necessarily wedded to science, and orthodoxy divorced from it. Our conviction is that true science is orthodox, or in other words, in essential harmony with the Scriptures; and when we speak of orthodoxy, we mean what the Scriptures teach. The true and genuine sense of the Bible is and must be in harmony with science, and if science can in any way help us to discover it, it is our duty to use it. Of course there is a good deal which is called science that seems to contradict the Bible, but if the contradiction is real, it is because our science is not real. There are other cases in which science does contradict our common interpretations of the Bible, and then we are quite satisfied that our interpretations are wrong. Happily, it is not always either one or the other, and the sweet concord of science and Scripture are most apparent. To explain and to develop all these points is one province of this Journal, and a province in which it may now be of immense service to many anxious and inquiring souls. Take for example such questions as have arisen on the subjects of geology, ethnology, philology, inspiration, prophecy, and many more. Here they can be fairly and critically investigated, and here the weapons of scepticism may be effectually foiled, and faith at once enlightened and confirmed.

But beside all this, there are a multitude of researches connected with Biblical science and Christian philosophy and literature for which these pages furnish the appropriate organ. They constitute in fact a perpetual cyclopædia of sacred learning always up to the requirements and the standard of the day. Geography and topography, history and chronology, translation and criticism, and whatever department of study is associated with the Bible, all are here promoted and aided. This alone ought to recommend the Journal to the sympathy and support of all parties. We are, of course, well enough aware that the prevailing tendency is to honour and support principally that which bears the broad arrow of party and sect emblazoned upon it. Editors are expected to wear a denominational livery and to be expert in all questions relating to their own communion. But this is very absurd; it is as if a farmer were to devote his time all but exclusively to mending his hedges and other fences, while his flocks and herds are neglected, and his fields lie waste. It is of course very needful that a man should try and keep the sheep in and the wolf out, but if he does not cultivate his ground and take care of his flocks, he will find other enemies who will be no less destructive, if less expected. There is more than this in the case. If religious journals must be sectarian, they are

doomed to ignoble mediocrity ; if Christian students cannot join to promote Biblical science, as distinguished from party questions, Biblical science will be crippled and dwarfed, if not killed. Why should not the broad general principles of scriptural learning furnish a basis as eligible as those of astronomy, geology, natural history, and chemistry ? Facts are ascertained by the observations of many men, and are not the exclusive monopoly of one or of a sect. Of course the Churchman believes the constitution of his Church better than those of the Independent and the Presbyterian. Let him retain his opinion. The view taken of certain rites and ceremonies and orders of the Church differs in different men. Even the same theological creed would not be subscribed by everybody. Where there is liberty of thought, expression, and of action, it is sure to be so ; and it is equally certain that for these specialities many organs will be found to laud, to defend, and to advocate them. But they are, after all, matters on which men must agree to differ, and which must not prevent their co-operation for those things which are common to them all. For there are questions which are open, and there are principles which are all but universal ; there are facts which are of general interest, and fields of investigation which all can explore. It is an open question whether the six days in Genesis are natural days of twenty-four hours or longer periods, and there are numerous problems of a like character where men agree to differ, and yet do not denounce each other as heretics. This is particularly the case with the translation of passages of Scripture involving almost inexplicable grammatical difficulties. So is it also with sundry historical matters, both within and since the Biblical period. As to general principles, it is plain that the term can be used only in a relative sense, and that it must be limited somewhere ; for there will always be found some who do not admit any principle that may be mentioned. Since then we must fix the bounds of our domain,—we are compelled to make it Biblical ; so that while we do not define the view we prefer to take of the inspiration of the Bible for instance, we declare our belief in its divine inspiration. We must also accept the Scriptures as a standard and authority from which there is no appeal in religious matters. All, therefore, who are prepared to admit these and similar principles can so far co-operate with us, and our pages are open to them. With regard to facts of general interest, they are to be met with in abundance under all the heads above enumerated in the summary statement of the objects of the Journal. The same is true of every investigation in Biblical science and interpretation, and in Christian history and literature. This being

the case, there is no need to unfurl either a denominational flag, or that of Calvinism or Arminianism. For such things, we repeat, there are other organs in a sufficient number. Critical, historical, and scientific, equally with literary subjects, can most of them be treated with freedom and candour in a Journal like this. Wherever then we find that which is calculated to advance the cause of scriptural science and interpretation, whether in ancient or in modern, in English or in foreign writers, we shall find that which comes within the range of our plan, and is in accordance with our principles. It will not be necessary to exclude the productions of a man on one subject because we may differ from him on another. We go further than this, and say that we cannot pledge ourselves to admit nothing with which we do not altogether agree, because this would be to close our pages to those very enquiries and discussions which it is our proper province to promote. But we are not prepared to receive contributions designed to undermine the faith of Christians, any more than such as may appear to tend to no profitable result. The vindication and exposition of revealed truth is our legitimate work, and the record or illustration of Christian history, of the life and literature of the Church. We can introduce such subjects as relate to the fathers and councils, to translations, manuscripts and editions, to commentaries and important ancient and modern biographies. Neither need we refuse enquiries into Jewish rites and ceremonies, and into subjects connected with Jewish opinions and experience. The geography and topography of Palestine and its surrounding countries, and especially Assyria and Egypt, deserve to have our particular attention. The natural productions of these same countries, and their antiquarian remains, may be freely investigated. Their trade, commerce, arts, and history, may be inquired into. Their languages and literature will always furnish appropriate topics. The diversities of their inhabitants, and the character of their religious creeds and worship, will also fairly come under our notice.

It is quite evident that on all the foregoing subjects, and on many more, much remains to be said. Indeed, much has been already said by continental writers especially, which has not yet been popularized among us, and it is most desirable that the results which have been realized abroad should be made known at home. The eminence attained by Germany, for example, in the departments of philology and textual criticism, is admitted to be superior to our own; and the study of these subjects is prosecuted with unwearying zeal and diligence. Why should we not avail ourselves far more extensively of the stores thus

provided? There is an unreasoning and uninformed Germanophobia, which suspects and condemns everything German as heretical. But this is unjust to them and injurious to ourselves. For although they are more speculative than we, yet they have investigated as well as speculated, and the facts which they have ascertained might be used, while any erroneous inferences from them might be rejected. There is a broad and deep substratum of common sense among us, and a large amount of right Christian feeling, which we believe would effectually guarantee us against the supposed perils. There is a practical tendency in our minds which would speedily make good use of what we imported from Germany and other countries. As a matter of fact, continental literature is more widely disseminated in Britain than English literature is upon the continent. But it falls into the hands of those who are disunited, solitary students, and the like, who have little communion with each other, and who pursue their individual, separate courses. Now if these would tell each other what they have done, and would communicate what they have realized, through the medium of a common organ, various valuable results would follow. Prejudice and misrepresentation, equally with partiality and other consequences of exclusiveness and ignorance, would be diminished, the stores now so little available would enrich a far larger number, and many who now prosecute their studies under great disadvantages, would receive help and encouragement.

The preceding remarks do not apply exclusively to such matters as philology and textual criticism, but to a wide range of subjects, some of them literary, and others of them philosophical and theological. In the single department of Introductions to the Old and New Testament, we have very few works of note, whereas in Germany there is a large number, some of which leave really very little more to be said. So with regard to Church history in all its forms, while we abound in books for the most part second or third-rate, and are very poor in works of a truly original character, Germany is continually producing them. We have some good editions of some of the Fathers, but the continental presses are far more prolific in these things, and of late years Germany especially has distinguished herself herein.

Perhaps it may be said, that if we are not denominational, we ought to be at least English; and the propriety of the remark is apparent. So far as we recommend German researches, we do it less with a desire to Germanize England than to Anglicise Germany, or rather that which is German. The corn in that field may need to be threshed and winnowed, but it is no

reason for rejecting the corn that it is mixed up with chaff and straw. The national, we might almost say, the insular spirit which we have inherited, does not prevent us in our other pursuits from laying the world under contribution : many of our comforts, and most of our ornaments and luxuries, are of foreign production. Our commerce extends to the remotest regions, and our enterprize is unlimited. By this craft we have our wealth ; and if we would carry the same spirit into our Biblical researches and studies, it would be to our advantage. We might still honour the noble founders of our national religious literature, the growth of twelve centuries. We might still be proud of our fine old version of the Bible and of the illustrious scholars who produced or expounded it. We might still look with more than satisfaction upon the first-rate authors who now adorn the ranks of our literati. But over and beyond all this, we might make a greater use of what is ready to our hands in other countries.

There is another difficulty with which we have to contend, but which we must nevertheless continue to face, and that is, the traditional spirit. We are strongly conservative, and this is a disposition which we ought to cherish. It is a guarantee for the preservation among us of that which is right and good. It is our sheet anchor amid the storms and agitations of controversy and debate. But it is not an unmixed benefit ; because it may prevent us from laying aside long-established abuses, and it must impede free thought and discussion. Now we have a traditional interpretation and application of many passages of Scripture, which is nevertheless not the true one. We are satisfied with it, because it seems to be conducive to edification, or because it can be used as an argument in support of recognized principles. And yet it is only consistent with a manly and fearless defence of the truth, that we should hold ourselves ready, if need be, to abandon any use of a passage which can be shewn to be unfounded. We ought to be prepared to investigate the Scriptures by the aid of all that science or learning can furnish, even although we may have to give up some of our old opinions. The Bible has a meaning, and if it can be shewn that our view is not the correct one, we should give it up for that which is correct. It will not do to ignore all the results of modern inquiry, for those results are great, and real, and many. If we do this, we place opinion before truth, and we lead not a few to regard us either with suspicion as insincere, or with contempt as ignorant. By such a course we debar ourselves of good, and weaken and injure the cause of truth. Far be it from us to commend that reckless love of novelty which is driven to and

fro, and tossed about with every wind of doctrine. Far be it from us to advocate that our faith should stand in the wisdom of men. And yet we do advocate that men should prove all things, and hold fast that which is good, that they should search the Scriptures diligently, and that they should candidly admit, in regard to them, the conclusions to which true science and criticism lead. All this is as consistent with a genuine spirit of conservatism, as it is inconsistent with a blind and unreasoning adherence to tradition, which dislikes and dispenses with inquiry. There is here, as everywhere, a *via media*, equally removed from the extremes of Popery and Rationalism, and far more likely to be safe.

We have mentioned Popery and Rationalism, and we believe them both to be, as we understand them, hostile to Biblical science and the love of the truth. The one relies too exclusively upon authority, and lives in the past. It says that such and such must be the true sense of Scripture, because it was held by such or such a one, or because it was declared to be so at such a time. This supersedes independent research, and only requires that we should ascertain the sense of the Church. Even if it permits research in certain cases, it is a fetter and a hindrance, because it assumes that the result is already obtained, and that now it can only be confirmed or justified. Where, however, the infallibility of the past is not asserted, and where the right and duty of independent personal investigation is admitted, Biblical studies will receive an impetus and be looked upon with favour. As to rationalism, it is the other extreme, and the danger from it is as great, if not greater. This not only denies the authority which the papal system alleges, but it assumes a competency in human reason, the individual reason, which is altogether preposterous. In fact it transforms revealed religion into a system of philosophy, and treats the Bible as it would the works of Plato, Newton, or Descartes. It wants those moral and spiritual qualities which are essential to the successful study of the Scriptures, and its criterion of divine truth is altogether inadequate. No wonder that it depreciates and distorts the Bible, and proves its utter incompetency for the task it has undertaken.

We shall not be misunderstood when we say, that in our opinion the Biblical student may learn not a little from both of these. From the one he may learn faith, and reverence, and reserve, and from the other his positive duty to search the Scriptures for himself. The former may remind him that modesty becomes him, inasmuch as others have gone over the ground before him; and the latter may suggest the importance

of a well informed and well disciplined mind in the study of the Scriptures. On the whole, it is apparent that the Bible should be so investigated as neither to offend the understanding of the intelligent, nor to shock the feelings of the devout; that the student should be endowed with wisdom as well as grace; and that God's honour and man's good should be his aim.

But the error of a false criticism does not lie only at the door of the traditionalists and of the rationalists. While we regret and avoid their faults, it must be admitted that there are many among us whose treatment of Holy Scripture is neither dignified nor impartial. There is a school which may be denominated the Sentimental, which, placing nearly the whole of their religion in "frames and feelings," as they were once called, adopts as the true intention of a text any view or application of it which may call forth right or strong religious emotions. They look at the Bible as a book of words and sentences, which have a magic force, or a spiritual force, different in different circumstances, and they utterly disregard the original design and the true meaning of the text. They make their feelings, and not their understanding, the interpreter of Scripture. It is very apparent that this Journal will not look for much aid and encouragement in that direction.

Closely allied to the sentimental school is the Fanciful, which takes delight in the art of ingeniously tormenting the sacred oracles. We find its representatives in those who emphasize particular words in the English version, where the original suggests no emphasis whatever; or who hunt for new and strange meanings for words, and seek for unsuspected etymologies, out of which they distil something novel, and perhaps even attractive and striking. This fanciful school is divided and subdivided, and its ramifications extend in every direction. Its members are active and zealous often, and not a few of them are truly pious and good men. Some of them are even learned, and occupy a high place, and have much authority in the land. Most of them have the delusion that there is something "original" in their views, and the desire of bringing out something "original" is in many little better than a monomania. We shall not specify cases, but content ourselves with indicating the fact, that the substitution of fancy for sense and reason is one of the most formidable opponents with whom we shall have to contend. Its danger lies in its insidious and attractive character, the reward it holds out to its followers, and the boundless field to which it invites men,—fields in which fancy may enjoy the luxury of roaming without constraint, and of meeting with an endless succession of congenial objects. It is easy to

see that past, present, and future are accessible to it, and that its work may be upon prophecy as well as on history, on doctrinal principles as well as on moral precepts.

There is another school which it is difficult to define, and which is nevertheless one from which sacred science can expect evil rather than good. We refer to the Mystical. That mysticism, in one form or in another, should have been in all ages so popular, and should be so popular now, is not to be wondered at. It is really a branch of the fanciful, but its direction is so marked, and its chief tenets are so well understood, or, rather, so specific, that there is little difficulty in recognizing it wherever we meet with it. Fancy may find its congenial sphere in the mere interpretation of the letter, but mysticism goes beneath the letter, and takes new views of the nature of things. The mystic claims an inward spiritual sense, some peculiar divine endowment, some clue to the unseen and the heavenly beyond that which other men enjoy. Perhaps, the highest type of the modern mystic is the Swedenborgian, who finds everywhere arcana, secrets, mysteries, double meanings, hidden truths, etc., etc. It is difficult to see how the interests of sacred literature, as a reasonable, intelligent, and sober literature, can be helped by mysticism. We do not absolutely condemn all mysticism, because we find all men take pleasure in it in some of its forms, and to a certain degree. It is in religion what the epithet romantic is in nature, and its real value, as it appears to us, may be thence estimated. As an object of study it is most interesting, and indeed most important; but in our judgment it should be viewed as a spectacle, and treated as a curiosity, not at all as a department of sacred science.

Sacred science is occupied about the grammatical, historical, logical sense of Scripture, but it carefully investigates and distinguishes the literal from the figurative and allegorical. Herein it differs from the sentimental, the fanciful, and the mystical alike, which bear the same relation to the scientific as poetry to prose; and after all, are more like the butterfly than the bee.

Before leaving this subject we will refer to one other school of interpreters which we cannot ally ourselves with, and that is the Denominational. We use this word for want of a better. What we mean is, that there are in certain churches and sects, certain conventional explanations of various passages, which are always taken for granted, and which it is a point of honour to maintain. The Churchman has them, the Baptist has them, the Presbyterian has them, the Independent has them, the Unitarian has them, the Roman Catholic has them, and all have them. Now it is very plain that we cannot admit any of them as such

here, because this would be to assume, in reference to external or party distinctions, a position which would not become us. We assume nothing, except what is properly called catholic truth, but at the same time we shall avoid giving needless offence to those from whom we differ. Sacred things will always be treated with reverence and respect, and in this way the laws of Christian charity will be honoured. But our readers will quite understand that, while we cannot endorse mere conventional interpretations, and will not offend the feelings of any by our allusions to differences of communion and the grounds of them, we entertain our own private opinions, and are not called on to give them up or ignore them. There are several things which we are very anxious to avoid, and among them are false principles of interpretation and a party spirit. The one would be hostile to the cause of sacred science, and the other would inevitably lead either to controversy or to our abandonment of our present catholic basis. And finally, therefore, we add, that we shall zealously labour to promote the interests of vital, real, personal religion, as distinct from church communion; and of Scriptural and Christian literature as distinct from all that does not rest on a scientific basis. After this it is needless for us to make a confession of faith, because it is clear that we shall continue to uphold all the great doctrines of divine revelation.

It would be easy to enlarge, but we hope enough has been said to remind our readers of the principles on which this Journal was founded, and which it still maintains. We hope also that we have clearly indicated the four departments into which this work is distributed; viz., Disquisitions, Reviews, Correspondence, and Intelligence. In all these we are mainly dependent upon the zeal of our supporters and the promoters of sacred learning. With their aid we hope to ensure a continuance of essays, both original and translated, in all the branches of Biblical and Christian literature, so far as our plan will admit. The Correspondence may be made a means of intercommunication of no ordinary value, and we invite the co-operation therein of all who have important communications to make, whether in the shape of critical, literary, or other inquiries, or in the form of information. We shall willingly make it a repository of "Notes and Queries" on all topics which belong to our domain. The reviews will embrace longer and shorter notices of new books, both English and foreign, and will be written by competent hands. This division will furnish a clue to the character and contents of the principal theological publications of the quarter. Finally, the miscellaneous department will contain not only a record of facts, but of opinions,

and serve as a store-house for that great variety of miscellaneous items which cannot properly be classed under either of the preceding heads. It will include, as now, a select list of new works and reprints, both English and Foreign.

Such are our plans and our principles, and at a time like this, when controversies are rife, which summon many combatants to arms, and which affect most vitally some of our most dearly cherished beliefs, it is to be expected that we shall not lack sympathy and support. We cannot go into those controversies in all their breadth and bearings, we cannot make these pages the arena of a polemical struggle; but we can shew our undaunted love of the truth, our unshaken confidence in it, and that it can be defended on the principles of modern criticism and science. We can compare the human product with the divine oracles, and animate the faith of the disciples of Christ by distinguishing between "the grass which withereth, and the flower which fadeth, and the Word of the Lord, which abideth for ever."

REMARKS ON THE THEORY OF DR. TEMPLE'S ESSAY ON
"THE EDUCATION OF THE WORLD," IN
"ESSAYS AND REVIEWS."

— "Know
That in the manhood of the world, whate'er
Of folly marked its infancy, of vice
Sullied its youth, ripe wisdom shall cast off,
'Stablished in good, and knowing evil safe."

THESE lines of Southey's are part of that magnificent passage in which the spell-bound and imprisoned Thalaba meets the Manichean sophistry of Sultan Mohareb with the "everlasting No" of the healthy human consciousness. We have chosen them as forming the clearest summary that we know of, in noblest and most fitting words, of that series of propositions touching the history and education of the human race, which are the framework of Dr. Temple's now world-famed sermon and essay.

The human race, says he, being a vital and organic whole, has a life of its own, no part of which is an exact copy, a precise reproduction of any other part. The "*Divina Commedia*" has doubtless a distinct beginning, middle, and ending as contemplated by its Almighty Author: and even we, imperfect as is our vision, can see that the race of which we are parts has had its infancy and youth—is now apparently in the full maturity

of its manhood—and is travelling towards an inevitable old age. Childhood is governed by rules. Youth is influenced by examples. Manhood regulates itself by principles. These successive phases of the individual life correspond to the dispensation of the law, the coming of the Son of Man, the gift of the Holy Spirit, in the religious history of the race.

In teaching a child we are inevitably led to mingle commands, the gravest and the most trivial, and all of these are given *as commands*—a reason for obedience to them being rarely or never alleged. At one moment you may be aiding him by the awe of a salutary discipline to overcome some bad propensity which reveals the evil one himself struggling for the mastery of his heart; the next moment you are engrossing his attention and commanding his obedience in some little detail of manner or gesture, neglect of which would in the grown man be pronounced utterly unimportant. Yet in all alike he must obey, for “to the child obedience is the highest duty, affection the highest stimulus, the mother’s word the highest sanction.” To this age corresponds the dispensation of the law, when with the same sanction, and almost on the same day, the ten commandments were thundered forth from Mount Sinai in the hearing of a prostrate people, and the prohibitions against wearing mingled garments of linen and of wool, and against sowing their fields with divers kinds of seed, were laid upon Moses for their observance.

As childhood yields to boyhood and boyhood to youth, though the dominion of rules still lasts, their strictness is somewhat relaxed and the reason is more appealed to. So with the Jews, in the middle and later ages of their commonwealth; while the law remained unabrogated, the prophets spoke with ever-increasing clearness of the superiority of moral duties to ceremonial observances, and the storms of the captivity shaking them out of their exclusive dependence on one house of God and one temple-worship, left them with clearer views of the spiritual nature of the Most High, and steadier presentiments of a life beyond the grave than they had ever possessed before.

“The results of this discipline of the Jewish nation may be summed up in two points—a settled national belief in the unity and spirituality of God, and an acknowledgment of the paramount importance of chastity as a point of morals.”

But meantime “other nations beside the Hebrews had had a training parallel to and contemporaneous with theirs. The natural religious shadows, projected by the spiritual light within, shining on the dark problems without, were all in reality systems of law given also by God, though not given by revelation, but

by the working of nature, and consequently so distorted and adulterated, that in lapse of time the divine element in them had almost perished."

Of these other nations there were three chief divisions, Rome, Greece, and Asia. Each brought its own contribution to the moral or spiritual wealth of the united race. Rome, in the long centuries of her stormy history, learned how to make law and reverence for law a part of the very being of her citizens. She obeyed and revered "imperium" herself before "regere imperio populos" became obviously her divinely appointed labour. And whatever she constructed in the shape of civil government has shewn a tenacity of life, a power of resisting the decay of time and the storms of barbaric invasion, which to this very day excites our continual wonder.

Greece revered little, obeyed little, disciplined herself and exercised her conscience but little; but she gave to the individual man the highest development that the world has ever seen—she sharpened the edge of the human intellect, put forth all its wondrous powers for the discovery of truth, made dead matter eloquent with man's innermost ideas of beauty, as no nation since Greece decayed has ever fully succeeded in doing.

Asia—but here we will quote our author's own words, for though we consider the connexion between Chedorlaomer and Athanasius fanciful and far-fetched, the passage is too beautiful to be marred by an abstract.

Asia had for her discipline

"The never-ending succession of conquering dynasties, following in each other's track like waves, an ever moving yet never advancing ocean. Cycles of change were successively passing over her, and yet at the end of every cycle she stood where she had stood before, and nearly where she stands now. The growth of Europe has dwarfed her in comparison, and she is paralyzed in presence of a gigantic strength younger but mightier than her own. But in herself she is no weaker than she ever was. The monarchs who once led Assyrian, or Babylonian, or Persian armies across half the world, impose on us by the vast extent and rapidity of their conquests; but these conquests had in reality no substance, no inherent strength. This perpetual baffling of all earthly progress taught Asia to seek her inspiration in rest. She learned to fix her thoughts upon another world, and was disciplined to check by her silent protest the over-earthly, over-practical tendency of the Western nations. She was ever the one to refuse to measure heaven by the standard of earth. Her teeming imagination filled the Church with thoughts 'undreamt of in our philosophy.' She had been the instrument selected to teach the Hebrews the doctrine of the immortality of the soul; for whatever may be said of the early notions on this subject, it is unquestionable that in Babylon the Jews first attained the clearness and certainty in regard to it which we find in the

teaching of the Pharisees. So again, Athanasius, a thorough Asiatic in sentiment and in mode of arguing, was the bulwark of the doctrine of the Trinity. The Western nations are always tempted to make reason not only supreme, but despotic, and dislike to acknowledge mysteries, even in religion. They are inclined to confine all doctrines within the limits of spiritual utility, and to refuse to listen to dim voices and whispers from within, those instincts of doubt, and reverence, and awe, which yet are, in their place and degree, messages from the depths of our being. Asia supplies the corrective by perpetually leaning to the mysterious. When left to herself, she settles down to baseless dreams, and sometimes to monstrous and revolting fictions. But her influence has never ceased to be felt, and could not be lost without serious damage."

"Thus the Hebrews may be said to have disciplined the human conscience; Rome the human will; Greece the reason and taste; Asia the spiritual imagination." And so ends the childhood of the world.

With youth, as the influence of discipline waxes feeble, the influence of example waxes mighty. "The moral atmosphere must be brutish indeed which can do deep harm to a child of four years. But what is harmless at four is pernicious at six, and almost fatal at twelve. The religious tone of a household will hardly make much impression on an infant; but it will deeply engrave its lessons on the heart of a boy growing towards manhood," (p. 20). This is the golden time when heart opens out in its intercourse with heart as it never does before or after; when the shyness of childhood and the suspiciousness of age are neither of them temptations to isolation and reserve; when men begin to taste the sweets of that delicious draught, the knowledge of character, and will not believe in its vanity and its bitterness; when a man first feels that he has earned for himself, by the power of his own personality, the hand-clasp of friendship, and the kiss of love. But all these, the great gifts and crowning joys of youth and early manhood necessitate and presuppose a certain plastic state of character on which the influence of example, either for good or for evil, is sure to be at its highest.

It was then at this point of the world's history, in the dawn of its early manhood, that Christ, the great example, came and dwelt as a brother among his brethren for thirty years, doing those mighty works, suffering those mighty sorrows, and giving glimpses of that mighty love, the remembrance of which can never be wholly effaced from the heart of humanity. Had his coming been earlier, he would not have been understood; had it been later, for instance in our own day, he would not (says our author) have been believed in. It was in the fulness and

the full ripeness of time that God sent forth his Son to live with us and die for us. Yet though Christ was the one great example by whom this period in the history of our race is for ever made memorable, there were others of its friends whose memory is also very deeply engraven on its heart; chief among them the Roman empire and the early Christian Church. And the fact that these common friends of our race were not also friends of one another, does but illustrate a truth of continual recurrence in the history of the individual man who is constantly pained at finding the friends whom he himself loves most dearly, diverging irreconcilably from one another in sentiment and in heart.

But this period of life also passes away, and is succeeded by the age of reflection, the age of the ripened judgment of man, and the full maturity of all his intellectual powers, when upon the ideal man rules imposed from without, though not absolutely powerless, cease to have any great force; when the influence of example, though not wholly dead, is no longer the all-swaying motive; when the conscience, judging for herself, and steering her course by those fixed principles of right and wrong which are now as the stars of her spiritual heaven, sits supreme at the helm of the soul.

At this stage all the great lessons of a man's life are learnt from within; his own conscience presses on from one truth realized and practised to another, and external law is only, so to speak, the complement of this internal regulative force; strong, as for the good of society it must needs be, where the conscience is weak or slumbering, feeble and ready to vanish away where she is wakeful and vigorous.

To this age of man corresponds the third great spiritual age of the world, that dispensation of the spirit under which we are now living, to which no law of moral and ceremonial obligations is thundered forth from Sinai, which is not permitted to dwell in the immediate light of the presence of God manifest in the flesh, but which does possess the gift of the Holy Spirit enlightening the consciences of men, and guiding them into all truth.

There are men, and there have been ages which, though meant to live by the spirit, have been found too weak for this high standard, and have been "mercifully put back by Providence under the dominion of the law." Hence, says Dr. Temple, arose the Papal system of the middle ages, which to that second infancy of the world served the same purpose that the law of Moses did to the first. Hither, also, in his opinion, must we refer that "perverted use of the Bible" which consists, if we rightly understand his meaning, in claiming for it a supremacy and an infallibility similar to that which the Romanist

claims for the Papal See. And "this tendency to go back to the childhood and youth of the world has of course retarded the acquisition of that toleration which is the chief philosophical and religious lesson of modern days." But the lesson is being learned; "toleration is being united, not with indifference or worldliness, but with spiritual truth and religiousness of life."

And as—

"We doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns;"

so says our author, that widening of thought shall be ever welcome; it will all be seen to group itself around, and to illustrate that study of the Bible which is the great work of our day, the true "*maximus partus temporis*;" and it is all in its right time, for this is the age of knowledge and calm reflection; the discipline of childhood and the impulses of youth are alike past, and self-governing and enlightened conscience is the arbiter of the world.

This, then, the analogy of the spiritual life of the race to that of the individual, is the central idea of this essay, an idea in itself far from new, but which has here been illustrated with a minute copiousness of detail never before, as far as we know, expended on it. Reluctantly we must confess that it is the very elaboration with which the analogy is here worked out which seems to us the capital fault of the essay. In the rough, we admit, of course, that the collective life of the human race is analogous to the individual life of every member of it, that barbarism represents babyhood, early civilization youth, the highly developed and intellect-ordered civilization of our day middle life, if not age. But much more closely than this, we do not believe that it is possible truthfully to trace the analogy. For instance, how can you match, by any event in the individual life of man, that relapse into barbarism which was the main characteristic of the history of well nigh one thousand years in the life of Europe from the downfall of the Empire of the West? We maintain that if ever there were nations whose condition could be fitly compared to a state of infancy and boyhood (with all the happiness and the sorrows, the uncontrolled passions and the simple faith, the docility and the lawlessness of that age), the nations of mediæval Europe must be classed among them. In fact, Dr. Temple admits as much incidentally (p. 42), and endeavours, by representing the Papal system as a species of revived Judaism, to make the religious history of these ages dovetail in with his educational theory. But he entirely omits to point out how so long an interval of "second childhood," in-

tervening between what he terms the vigour of the world's youth, and the mature wisdom of its middle life, consists with his elaborate parallel, in particulars, between the life of mankind and the life of man.

This brings us to another point of more importance, on which we are even more directly at issue with the essayist. He says, and it is of vital consequence to his theory, that our Lord came to give to the world, while still in its plastic and impressionable youth, the well-timed teaching of his example. But it will be well to quote his own eloquent words. He says,—

"The power of example which is born with our birth and dies with our death, attains its maximum at some point in the passage from one to the other. And this point is just the meeting point of the child and the man, the brief interval which separates restraint from liberty. Young men at this period are learning a peculiar lesson. They seem to those who talk to them to be imbibing from their associates and their studies principles both of faith and conduct. But the rapid fluctuations of their minds shew that their opinions have not really the nature of principles. They are really learning, not principles, but the materials out of which principles are made. They drink in the lessons of generous impulse, warm unselfishness, courage, self-devotion, romantic disregard of worldly calculations, without knowing what are the grounds of their own approbation, or caring to analyze the laws and ascertain the limits of such guides of conduct. They believe, without exact attention to the evidence of their belief; and their opinions have accordingly the richness and warmth that belong to sentiment, but not the clearness or firmness that can be given by reason. These affections, which are now kindled in their hearts by the contact of their fellows, will afterwards be the reservoir of life and light, with which their faith and their highest conceptions will be animated and coloured. The opinions now picked up, apparently not really, at random, must hereafter give reality to the clearer and more settled convictions of mature manhood. If it were not for these, the ideas and laws afterwards supplied by reason would be empty forms of thought, without body or substance; the faith would run a risk of being the form of godliness without the power thereof. And hence the lessons of this time have such an attractiveness in their warmth and life, that they are very reluctantly exchanged for the truer and profounder, but at first sight colder wisdom which is destined to follow them. To almost all men this period is a bright spot to which the memory ever afterwards loves to recur; and even those who can remember nothing but folly—folly, too, which they have repented and relinquished—yet find a nameless charm in recalling such folly as that. For, indeed, even folly itself at this age is sometimes the cup out of which men quaff the richest blessings of our nature—simplicity, generosity, affection. This is the seed time of the soul's harvest, and contains the promise of the year. It is the time for love and marriage, the time for forming life-long friendships. The after-life may be more contented, but can rarely be so glad and joyous. Two things we

need to crown its blessings—one is, that the friends whom we then learn to love, and the opinions which we then learn to cherish, may stand the test of time, and deserve the esteem and approval of calmer thoughts and wider experience; the other, that our hearts may have depth enough to drink largely of that which God is holding to our lips, and never again to lose the fire and spirit of the draught. There is nothing more beautiful than a manhood surrounded by the friends, upholding the principles, and filled with the energy of the spring-time of life. But even if these highest blessings be denied, if we have been compelled to change opinions, and to give up friends, and the cold experience of the world has extinguished the heat of youth, still the heart will instinctively recur to that happy time, to explain to itself what is meant by love and what by happiness."

Now we deny that this picture, which might have not inaptly represented the Athens of Cimon, or the Rome of Scipio Africanus, or the crusading Europe of Joinville and St. Louis, would ever naturally recall to us the weary world into which Christ was born. We deny that the nations were in their boyhood at the time of the Christian era. We say that it was to an old, and decrepit, and tottering civilization, wrinkled and unlovely, with no generous enthusiasms, with none of boyhood's quickly-kindled admiration for the noble and the self-denying, to a world *blasé*, materialist, and cynical in the highest degree—that Jesus Christ came. We cannot *prove* our assertion: it is a question not of syllogisms, but of appropriate metaphor. But let any one recall the leading features of that age—the instinct of civilized nationality all but dead, one all-mastering race dominating amid so many corpses of states once free and glorious—that race itself nearly lost to all its old generous instincts, more moved by avarice than ambition even in its love of empire, and prostrating itself with Oriental sycophancy before an idiot or a buffoon—its capital, the brain of the world, but not its heart, the scene of all these unutterable meannesses, and sins, and pollutions which made the soul of Juvenal sick within him—art cankered, literature a parasite, philosophy despairing of all spiritual truth, the one pure religion in the world sinking daily deeper into hypocritical formalism, becoming daily more offensive to God and man—let these and the unnumbered symptoms of a like kind be glanced at by memory, and then let him say whether there is any meaning in the analogy of history and human life at all, if this period is compared to "the rich promise of a boyhood's prime."

But, in truth, we are again arguing for a point which the essayist himself, when out of the groove of his theory, has instinctively conceded. It will be admitted that the state of civilization at the time of our Lord's coming was substantially the same as that at the time of the barbarian invasions. The

intervening four hundred years had developed some processes of decay which were then working, but at most they had not turned vigorous youth into decrepitude. But in the same passage which we have before alluded to (p. 42), Dr. Temple says,—
 "A flood of new and undisciplined races poured into Europe, on the one hand supplying the Church with the vigour of fresh life to replace *the effete materials of the old Roman Empire*, and, on the other, carrying her back to the childish stage, and necessitating a return to the dominion of outer laws."

So much for the historical fitness of the parallel quoted above. We have the further objection that the comparison of the example of our Lord's life to the romantic friendships of boyhood—in which, as he himself hints, there is often so large an element of impulsive error mingled—seems, to us, at least, inadequate and degrading. We are persuaded that Dr. Temple had no intention to speak with anything but the utmost reverence of this central event in the world's history, but we think that whoever, free from the compulsion of an all-exacting analogy, ponders the comparison implied in this passage, will feel that the theory here fails signally, that the two figures are dissimilar as well as unequal, and that the thing which is set over against the divine life of Christ among men is, even on the reduced scale of individual humanity, not worthy of its antitype.

It is a noble task—that which the essayist has imposed upon himself—to "justify the ways of God to men," but it is one beset with difficulties arising not solely from our dim vision of the Creator, but partly also from our extremely partial and fragmentary knowledge of his creature—of mankind itself. We can only feebly guess at the conditions of the mighty problem which the all-wise One has been for these thousands of years slowly solving, much less can we hope to reproduce accurately the successive steps of that solution. An instance occurs in page 24, in which we think that the author has been not so much unbelieving towards God as slow of heart to believe the good which really exists among his fellow men. He says—

"But the one Example of all examples came in the 'fulness of time,' just when the world was fitted to feel the power of his presence. Had his revelation been delayed till now, assuredly it would have been hard for us to recognize his divinity; for the faculty of faith has turned inwards, and cannot now accept any outer manifestations of the truth of God. Our vision of the son of God is now aided by the eyes of the apostles, and by that aid we can recognize the express image of the Father. But in this we are like men who are led through unknown woods by Indian guides. We recognize the indications by which the path was known, as soon as those indications are pointed out; but we feel that it would have been quite vain

for us to look for them unaided. We, of course, have, in our turn, counterbalancing advantages. If we have lost that freshness of faith which would be the first to say to a poor carpenter, Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God—yet we possess, in the greater cultivation of our religious understanding, that which, perhaps, we ought not to be willing to give in exchange.”

This is to our minds a dreary and disheartening passage, and would be yet more so if we believed it to be true. It is a kind of language we have been accustomed to hear from men of a very different stamp, from men whose theories of Positivism and histories of the march of human thought strive with no doubtful purpose to eliminate God from his own creation. Had these words been written by one of these men, we should have had no difficulty in recognizing in them the voice of a diseased world, glorying in its own decline, and saying, “Look at me; I have outgrown health and vigour, and all those foolish illusions of my youth. True, my limbs were strong to labour in my father’s service, my heart once beat vigorously and well, and my face glowed with the warmth of happy toil; but I have outlived all that now, and have developed into a pale and flaccid invalid. My muscles all wasted and shrunk, my pulse feeble and fitful, I lie here all the day idle, and laugh at that foolish activity of old, and my old zeal for a father whom strangely enough I have never even seen since I attained this new and higher development, disease, and withdrew myself from his unprofitable service.”

Such, we think, is the true translation of the boastings of Positivism. We are sure Dr. Temple has no desire to blend their theory with his. We know that he would say as we should, that the Creator abides unchangeably for ever, and wills to be sought after and communed with by generation after generation of his creatures, *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*. But these few sentences look in a different direction from that truth, and we cannot but regret that they are so written. Besides, as we before hinted, we do not believe that they are true. We are convinced that there are countless multitudes at the present day who, if Christ were to appear now to them, under the same circumstances under which he shewed himself to his disciples, would hail him as they did. Only it must be remembered that to make these circumstances equal, we must on the one hand pre-suppose for ourselves clear prophetic indications, such as they had, of the approaching close of an *αἰών*, and of the near advent of a long-expected deliverer; on the other, we must take away from ourselves his own most solemn warnings against false Christs arising in his name, and his own plain predictions, that his second coming shall be in majesty and in power to judge the

world. It is not, therefore, a lack of "freshness of faith" which would prevent our "saying to a poor carpenter, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." It is precisely our belief in the former real Θεοφάνεια, which would prevent us from admitting the imagined present one.

The same despondent and (must we not say) faithless tone recurs in the remarks upon the character of the faith of the early Church :—

"There have been great saints since the days of the apostles. Holiness is as possible now as it was then. But the saintliness of that time had a peculiar beauty which we cannot copy; a beauty not confined to the apostles or great leaders, but pervading the whole Church. It is not what they endured, nor the virtues which they practised, which so dazzle us. It is the perfect simplicity of the religious life, the singleness of heart, the openness, the child-like earnestness. All else has been repeated since, but this never. And this makes the religious man's heart turn back with longing to that blessed time when the Lord's service was the highest of all delights, and every act of worship came fresh from the soul. If we compare degrees of devotion, it may be reckoned something intrinsically nobler, to serve God and love him now when religion is colder than it was, and when we have not the aid of those thrilling, heart-stirring sympathies which blessed the early Church. But even if our devotion be sometimes nobler in itself, yet theirs still remains the more beautiful, the more attractive. Ours may have its own place in the sight of God, but theirs remains the irresistible example which kindles all other hearts by its fire."

Here again, we are disposed to join issue with him on the facts. If he is speaking of the mere outward and visible Church, the mass of men unconvinced by persecution, who, for conformity's sake, pretend a certain languid speculative adhesion to the truth of Christianity, his comparison may be correct, for he is then in fact, when using the word "we," speaking not for the Church, not we assuredly believe for himself, but for "the course of this world," which was not then and is not now towards Christ and his cross. But if, as in fairness he ought to do, he compares the mass of real believers now with that of real believers then, we shall dare to doubt, remembering the sensuality of the Church of Corinth, the early gnosticism of Asia, the Judaising bondage of Jerusalem and Galatia, whether the comparison need be so utterly disheartening as he represents. Cannot most men who have not been surrounded all their lives with an atmosphere of merely nominal Christianity, recall the remembrance of many persons of a not less holy and heavenly temper, of as "perfect simplicity of the religious life, as much singleness of heart, as much openness, as much childlike earnestness," as

the bulk of St. Paul's converts, or of those to whom the Epistle of St. James was written, appear to have possessed. Of men of apostolic holiness, or speaking with apostolic authority on matters of faith, there is no question here, and assuredly such we would not claim.

But if we are wrong, and if men have ceased to become as little children that they might enter the kingdom, what is the duty of a Christian man having made this mournful discovery? Not, we think, to write an essay setting forth a new theory of development by which the decay of faith could be accounted for; but rather remembering that "every good and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning," to enter his closet and wrestle in earnest prayer with God, that he would be willing for Christ's sake to pour out his spirit upon us with the same abundant freshness which marked it then; for "He is a God who will be sought unto by the whole house of Israel," and the master has by a question, the disciple by a rebuke, urged the same rudimental mystery of our spiritual life upon us: "How much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?" "Ye have not, because ye ask not."

The tendency of our age (and this part of the essay, does, we fear, to a certain degree exemplify it) is not, like the blind man, to strain forwards to the Lord with, "Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief," upon its lips; but to lean back, serenely analyzing the causes of its blindness, and saying, "Lord, I cannot believe; accept thou my substitute for belief."

We have said that we think Dr. Temple underrates the amount of simple genuine faith, which is to be found not indeed on the broad highways of the world, but springing up fresh and living in many a shady covert, which the great and the wise wot not of. It may seem captious, after such a charge, to accuse him on the other hand of over-estimating the value of the religious thought of our age. Yet such, we must confess, is the impression left upon our minds by the study of the third and last section of his essay, especially (when we remember what youth and childhood stand for in his scheme of human history), by the concluding sentence of the whole, which seems to us almost arrogant in its self-confidence: "For we *are now* men, governed by principles if governed at all, and cannot rely any longer on the impulses of youth or the discipline of childhood."

But, in fact, the two errors are one. Throughout this portion of the essay, the heavenly Teacher, the personal and ever-living Friend and Comforter, the Guide whom Christ promised

to his sorrowing disciples, the Holy Spirit of God, is but little spoken of, but vaguely recognized; while man's power of self-regulation and self-instruction, the dominating authority of man's conscience, "intellectual self-control," and "the power of free independent thought," are spoken of as the providence of our existing world, the present all-swaying *numen* of our race, the abstractions which are now "to guide us into all truth."

It is a question rather of tendency than of definite result, rather of colour than of form of thought; but the following passages will illustrate our meaning.

Speaking of the individual man at middle life he says (p. 31):—

"The age of reflection begins. From the storehouse of his youthful experience the man begins to draw the principles of his life. The spirit or conscience comes to full strength and assumes the throne intended for him in the soul. As an accredited judge invested with full powers, he sits in the tribunal of our inner kingdom, decides upon the past, and legislates upon the future, *without appeal except to himself*. He decides not by what is beautiful, or noble, or soul-inspiring, but by what is right. Gradually he frames his code of laws, revising, adding, abrogating, as a wider and deeper experience gives him clearer light. He is the third great teacher and the last."

These are high prerogatives to claim for the merely human "spirit or conscience," for it is manifestly this, and not the promise of the Spirit which is here in question. The man who can so speak must have experienced less than many of his brethren the disturbing, biassing effect of the world, and of worldly maxims of right and wrong even on the conscience itself. The postponement of these claims to the maturity of middle life does not to us render them easier of comprehension. In many questions of right and wrong we would rather trust the clear unhesitating voice of the conscience of a child than the often doubtful and uncertain answer of that of the full-grown man who has not sought to follow the leading of Christ's Spirit.

Take again the description of the two laws by which the child and the man are respectively governed (pp. 34, 35).

The first of these is "an external law, a law which is in the hands of others, in the making, in the applying, in the enforcing of which we have no share; a law which governs from the outside, compelling our will to bow even though our understanding be unconvinced and unenlightened; saying you must, and making no effort to make you feel that you ought; appealing not to your conscience, but to force or fear, and caring little whether you willingly agree or reluctantly submit." The second is "an internal law; a voice which speaks within the conscience, and car-

ries the understanding along with it ; a law which treats us not as slaves but as friends, allowing us to know what our Lord doeth ; a law which bids us yield not to blind fear or awe, but to the majesty of truth and justice ; *a law which is not imposed on us by another power, but by our own enlightened will.*" There is a truth here, but it is a truth so incautiously expressed as to verge close upon error. The law and its accordance with our moral nature are so magnified that the *Law-giver*, and his claims upon us as such, as our Creator and our Father, almost vanish out of sight ; the personal God has well nigh faded into an abstraction, and Christianity is speaking a language hardly to be distinguished from that of Stoicism.

In speaking of the weaker brethren who "have no resource but to abstain from much that is harmless in itself because they have associated it with evil, who take monastic vows because the world has proved too much for them, who take temperance pledges because they cannot resist the temptations of appetite, who are compelled to abstain from and denounce many pleasures and many enjoyments which they find unsuited to their spiritual health," he says (p. 36) :—

"Sometimes this discipline assumes the shape of a regular external law. They look upon many harmless things from which they have suffered mischief as absolutely, not relatively, hurtful. . . They set up a conventional code of duty, founded on their own experience, which they extend to all men. Even if they are educated enough to see that *no conventional code is intellectually tenable*, yet they still maintain their system, and defend it as not necessary in itself, but necessary for sinful men."

We recognize the truth of the main features of this description, and willingly admit that much unconscious Pharisaism has thus grown up in the Christian Church from the mistaken zeal of earnest converts who have ordered a discipline which they may have found salutary for themselves, as indispensable for all, have prescribed from their own experience the precise shape in which the yoke of Christ should be fashioned for their brethren, and have said practically, not "Ye must take up your cross," but "Ye must take up a cross just such as this of ours," and follow after Jesus.

But there is a strange looseness in parts of Dr. Temple's description, and the words in italics strike us as especially indefensible. How can men ever act together in associations of any kind, social, political, or ecclesiastical, without some standard of *τὰ δέοντα* and *τὰ μὴ δέοντα* being expressly or by implication agreed upon between them ; and what is this but "a conventional code" which, if necessary to man in his co-operative ca-

capacity, is, therefore, "intellectually tenable?" Dr. Temple proceeds:—

"The fact is that a merciful Providence, in order to help such men, puts them back under the dominion of the law. They are not aware of it themselves; men who are under the dominion of the law rarely are aware of it. But even if they could appeal to a revelation from heaven, they would still be under the law, for *a revelation speaking from without and not from within is an external law and not a spirit.*"

We will leave this passage to speak for itself, and to unfold to the patient enquirer whatever of clear thought or accurate meaning it may possess. For ourselves, we cannot see how a revelation could ever be spoken of in strictness as "a spirit;" and if the fact of its being "an external law" is a reproach aimed at the imaginary heaven-commanded discipline of these weaker brethren, it is a reproach which must be shared by the Christian glad-tidings themselves, for these are assuredly "a revelation speaking from without," whatever answering voice of our spiritual consciousness they may evoke from within.

The concluding pages of the essay are devoted to a general laudation of the powers of the unshackled intellect of man, and a presage of the triumphs that lie before it, especially in "the thorough study of the Bible, the investigation of what it teaches, and what it does not teach, the determination of the limits of what we mean by its inspiration, and the determination of the degree of authority to be ascribed to the different books." The writer says, and we thank him for these noble words, "The immediate work of our day is the study of the Bible," and "this study must be for the present, and all time, the centre of all studies." But he should surely have given some stronger warning against mere intellectual Christianity than that one brief sentence (p. 49), "Life is indeed higher than all else, and no service that man can render to his fellows is to be compared with a life of holiness." A slight hint of this kind is not enough for our age; we are all of us ready enough to speculate and to argue especially upon those tempting questions which lie on the border-land between faith and doubt. What we need is stimulus to act, to live the Christian life, to "walk with God," to "do his will," and so to "learn whether Christ's doctrine be of God, or whether he spoke of himself;" nay, more, we need to be continually reminded that, without this practical holiness and dependance on the Holy Spirit of God, our intellectual activity is as likely to lead us wrong as right; our Protestantism, and our free enquiry, and our right of private judgment may be a curse to us instead of a blessing.

Remembering those passages of Scripture, "He taketh the

wise in their own craftiness," "Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called," "Knowledge inflates, but love builds up," and the many other solemn warnings of the same kind which the Bible contains, no servant of Christ should put forth without strong cautions against the abuse of the truth contained in them, such sentences as these, "At this time in the maturity of mankind, as with each man in the maturity of his powers, the great lever which moves the world is knowledge, the great force is the intellect." "Not only in the understanding of religious truth, but in all exercise of the intellectual powers, we have no right to stop short of any limit but that which nature, that is, the decree of the Creator, has imposed on us. In fact no knowledge can be without its effect on religious convictions, for if not capable of throwing direct light on some spiritual questions, yet in its acquisition knowledge invariably throws light on the process by which it is to be, or has been, acquired, and thus affects all other knowledge of every kind." Surely the old caution against being "blown about by every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive," is more needed for our generation than this exhortation to a more than Athenian eagerness after seeing and hearing some new thing. But the fact is, that the predominant view of Christianity here taken is of a school of philosophy which is to be continually defending itself in the market place against the attacks of the last new Sophist, and remodelling itself in accordance with the last new theory of the origin of the universe. In fact, truth of all kinds wears to Dr. Temple's mind this polemical aspect, for as he curiously says (p. 46), "It is only by virtue of the opposition which it has surmounted that any truth can stand in the human mind." Not having fallen in with the writings of those mathematicians who maintained, in the infancy of the science, the position that two right lines could enclose a space, nor having discovered in the early history of many European nations distinct traces of the long-continued advocacy of cannibalism and parricide as in themselves positively virtuous, we are disposed seriously to question the truth of this assertion.

We need not pursue our examination of detached passages in the essay much further, and indeed we fear that we may already have seemed to some to attach too much importance to mere divergencies of expression between Dr. Temple and ourselves. We readily admit that the spirit of most of these passages is earnest and Christian; but we do think he has been singularly unfortunate in his choice of words wherewith to clothe his thoughts. It is, we doubt not, this want of limita-

tion and qualification to his propositions which has made him appear to represent the idolatries of the old heathen world (p. 15), and the corruptions of the Papal Church of the middle ages (p. 42), as in themselves portions of the divine training of these epochs. We need not remark that it is one thing to say, "The times of that ignorance God winked at," and quite another thing to say, "The errors arising from that ignorance were parts of God's teaching." It is the same carelessness which has led him to say that, "The doctrinal parts of the Bible are best studied by considering them as records of the time at which they were written, and as conveying to us the highest and greatest religious life of that time" (p. 44.) He can hardly have observed how miserably inadequate these words are as a description of that Gospel teaching which was not for a generation only, but for all time—how it *seems* to deny to that teaching the quality of absolute and unchangeable truth—how little it accords with the spirit of the sublime antiphone, "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end."

If we have dwelt but little on Dr. Temple's views of the results of the Jewish dispensation, it is not because we think them other than miserably meagre and inadequate. For ourselves, we are fully persuaded that the great doctrine of propitiatory sacrifice was the very central point of the teaching of the Mosaic Law, and we firmly believe that the *sensus communis* of Christianity will finally acquiesce in this conclusion. But we admit that it is rather an inference from Scripture than directly stated in the Scripture itself, and in the present period of reaction from the hard scholastic theology of a previous age, it appears to be permitted that many good men and sincere believers in Christ should have "their eyes holden" as to this particular truth. If controversialists could for a time cease to discuss the point, the loving hearts of the "wayfaring men" who are seeking to follow Christ, and to accept in their fulness and simplicity all the truths of his kingdom, would, we believe, soon reconquer for the Church all that is of vital importance in the doctrine.

In conclusion, we would once more emphatically repeat that while dissenting from most of the details of Dr. Temple's scheme, we accept its general outline, and welcome any attempt made in an earnest and reverent spirit to solve the main problem with which it concerns itself. To many minds, to our own amongst the number, the central difficulty of all difficulties lies in the length of the interval that has elapsed since Christ passed into the heavens. "Where is the promise of his coming?" cry our desponding hearts; "for since the apostles fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the foundation of the world."

From this one bewildering question well nigh all the other doubts which spring up in our hearts derive strength and nourishment: and whosoever in prayerful earnest meditation shall gather even some fragments of the answer, and share them with his brethren, will deserve well of the Church, and will surely be doing work well pleasing to its Lord. But, for ourselves, our individual persuasion is that none can help us much in this matter who are not penetrated with a deeper conviction of the literal fulfilment of the promise of the Spirit, a more loving and grateful recognition of the presence now in the world of this heavenly Friend, than we have been able to trace in this essay. There is not merely a vague Christian consciousness working in the intellects of believers. He, the Promised One, is indeed in our midst, guiding, feeding, comforting all who claim the promises of God in Christ Jesus.

This is one clue through some mazes of the labyrinth: it may be that others would be found in those indications which Gospels, Epistles, and Apocalypse all afford of an inevitable development of the kingdom of the Evil One, side by side with the kingdom of Heaven, and of some great final conflict of their embattled forces. One man's application of these prophecies to modern history may appear to us presumptuous, and another's profane; but the prophecies themselves remain unchanged, and if we believe that not one of Christ's words can fall to the ground, we must deem it hopeless to construct a scheme of the education of the world and the progress of the species which shall leave them wholly out of view. And after all, the utmost that we can gain will be but glimmerings of the slowly-unfolded purposes of our God. Enough for our guidance is plenteously vouchsafed: as for the wider question of the present and future spiritual history of our race, we must be content here to view it "through a glass *as in an enigma*," believing that a day will come when we shall look on God's world as on the open countenance of a friend, and "shall see as from face to face."

T. H.

**TWO EPISTLES ON VIRGINITY, ASCRIBED TO CLEMENS
ROMANUS—(From the Syriac.)**

*Two Epistles upon Virginity, of the Blessed Clement,
Disciple of Peter the Apostle.*

*The First Epistle of the Blessed Clement, Disciple of
Peter the Apostle.*

1. To all those who love and delight in their life¹ in Christ through God the Father, and obey the truth² of God in hope of eternal life;³ to those who love their brethren,⁴ and love their neighbours⁵ in the love of God;⁶ to the blessed *virgins*^a who have given themselves to observe virginity for the sake of the kingdom of heaven;⁷ and to the holy virgins who are in God, peace.

2. As for all VIRGINS, who have set themselves in truth to observe virginity for the sake of the kingdom of heaven,⁸ it is requisite for every one among them to become worthy of the kingdom of heaven in everything.⁹ For it is not by speech, word, or by name, or by outward show and race, nor by beauty, or by strength, or by long life, that the kingdom of heaven is attained;¹⁰ but it is attained by strength of faith, when a man shews the works of faith,¹¹ (for he that is truly righteous, his works testify of his faith that he is a true believer)—a faith that is great,¹² a faith that is perfect,¹³ a faith that is in God,¹⁴ a faith which shines by good works,¹⁵ that the Father of all may be glorified through Christ.¹⁶ Now those who are truly VIRGINS for the sake of God, obey him that said: "Let not righteousness^b and faith fail thee. Bind them about thy neck, and thou shalt find mercy^c to thy soul; and meditate good things before God and before men."¹⁷ "The ways of the righteous shine as a light, and their light advances until the day is established."¹⁸ For

¹ 1 Pet. iii. 10. ² 1 Pet. i. 22. ³ Tit. i. 2. ⁴ 1 Pet. iii. 8. ⁵ James ii. 9. ⁶ 1 John, iv. 20. ⁷ Matt. xix. 12. ⁸ Matt. xix. 12. ⁹ Luke xx. 35; 2 Th. i. 5. ¹⁰ Jer. ix. 23, 24; 1 Cor. i. 17—31; 1 Pet. i. 5. ¹¹ Jam. ii. 14—26; Heb. vi. 12. ¹² Matt. xv. 28. ¹³ James ii. 22. ¹⁴ 1 Thes. i. 8; 1 Pet. i. 21. ¹⁵ James ii. 18. ¹⁶ 1 Pet. iv. 1f. ¹⁷ Prov. iii. 3, 4. ¹⁸ Prov. iv. 18.

^a When the word *virgins* is in *italics*, it is masculine in the text; when it is in *CAPITALS*, the text has both a masculine and a feminine form together; but when it is in common type it is feminine in the original. This distinction will be observed as far as practicable, to avoid confusion. The translation is from the text of Prof. Beelen; Louvain, 1856. See *J. L. S.*, October, 1856.

^b Sept. ἐλεημοσύναι=alms.

^c LXX. χάρις=grace, favour.

^d Comp. Prov. iv. 18.

the rays of their light enlighten the whole creation even now through good works;¹ so that they are in truth the light of the world,² enlightening those who sit in darkness,³ that they may arise and depart from the darkness⁴ through the light of the good works of the fear of God; in order that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.⁵ For it is required of the man of God, that in all his words and works he should be perfect, and should be adorned in his conduct by all honourable and orderly appearances, and should do all his works in righteousness as a man of God.⁶

3. For VIRGINS are a fair pattern⁷ to those who believe, and to those who shall yet believe,⁸ for name alone⁹ without works does not introduce into the kingdom of heaven. For if a man shall be a believer in truth he can be saved.¹⁰ For that a man should be called a believer only in name, and is not such in works, it is impossible he should be a believer.¹¹ Therefore let no man deceive you by vain words of error.¹² For if a man should be called a VIRGIN, and be without works that are excellent and comely, and becoming virginity, he cannot be saved; for our Lord calls such virginity *foolish*, as he says in the Gospel, She who had neither oil nor light remained out of the kingdom of heaven, and was deprived of the joy of the bridegroom, and was reckoned with the enemies of the bridegroom.¹³ For they that are such have the form of godliness alone, for they deny the power thereof.¹⁴ Because, thinking in themselves that they are something when they are not, they err.¹⁵ But let every man try¹⁶ his works, and let him know himself,¹⁷ for every man performs a vain service, who professes virginity and sanctity, and denies its power;¹⁸ since virginity like this is defiled and rejected from all good works;¹⁹ for every tree that is, is to be known by its fruits.²⁰ "Consider what I say, may God give²¹ thee understanding."²¹ For every man who professes before God that he will keep sanctity, it is requisite that he should be girt with all the holy strength of God;²² and if true in fear, he will crucify his body.²³ Because of the fear of God he has renounced the word which says, "Be fruitful and multiply,"²⁴ and all the adorning,²⁵ and considera-

¹ Matt. v. 16. ² Matt. v. 14. ³ Is. xlii. 7. ⁴ Is. xlix. 9. ⁵ Matt. v. 16. ⁶ Matt. 5, 43—48; 1 Tim. vi. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 17. ⁷ 1 Tim. iv. 12. ⁸ 1 Tim. i. 16. ⁹ Rev. iii. 1. ¹⁰ Rom. x. 10. ¹¹ 2 Cor. v. 12. ¹² Matt. xxiv. 4, 5; Rom. xvi. 11; Eph. iv. 14. ¹³ Matt. xxv. 1—12. ¹⁴ 2 Tim. iii. 5. ¹⁵ Gal. vi. 3. ¹⁶ Gal. vi. 4. ¹⁷ 2 Cor. xiii. 5. ¹⁸ 2 Tim. iii. 5. ¹⁹ Tit. i. 15. ²⁰ Matt. vii. 16; xii. 33. ²¹ 2 Tim. ii. 7. ²² Eph. vi. 14. ²³ Gal. v. 24. ²⁴ Gen. i. 28. ²⁵ 1 Pet. iii. 3.

¹ "So that they are," we should have preferred to render this "that they may be;" but the verb is not in the fut., as in the other cases. Else, "in order that," or "so that," is the proper sense of the Syriac particle in general.

² Or "is known."

³ Or "God will give."

tion, and lusts, and error of this world ;¹ and the feastings and the drunkenness of it, and all its delight and recreation ; and he has separated himself from the whole life of this world, and from its snares and its nets, and its hindrances ;² and, "while thou walkest upon earth, love that thy service and thy ministry be in heaven."³

4. Now he that desires for himself these great and honourable things, therefore separates himself, and is removed from the whole world, that he may go on and live a divine and heavenly life, like the holy angels, in pure and holy service, and in the sanctification of the spirit of God,⁴ and that he may minister to Almighty God through Jesus Christ, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. Therefore is he severed from all the desires of the body,⁵ and not only refuses this—"Be fruitful and multiply"⁶—but he desires the hope which is promised, and prepared, and laid up in heaven, of God,⁷ who hath professed with his mouth and will not lie,⁸ that "it is more excellent than sons and daughters," and he will give to VIRGINS an honourable place in the house of God, that is more excellent than sons and daughters,⁹ and more excellent than they who have been joined in matrimony,¹⁰ and their beds have not been defiled ;¹¹ for God will give to VIRGINS the kingdom of heaven as holy angels, through this great and efficacious profession.

5. Dost thou, therefore, desire to be a virgin ? Knowest thou what labour and weariness there is in true virginity, which continually stands always before God, and departs not,¹² and is careful how it may please its Lord in a holy body and in spirit ? Dost thou know what great glory there is for virginity, and therefore doest thou this ? Dost thou know and understand what thou longest to do ? Dost thou know the great service of holy virginity ? Dost thou, like a man, know how lawfully to descend to this arena, and to wrestle ?¹³ that thou hast chosen this in the strength of the Holy Spirit, that thou mayest be crowned¹⁴ with a crown of light, and that they may lead thee about in the upper Jerusalem ?¹⁵ If, therefore, thou desirest all these things, conquer the body, conquer the affections of the flesh, conquer the world,¹⁶ by the spirit of God. Conquer these vanities of time, which pass away, and fail, and corrupt, and cease ; conquer the dragon, conquer the lion, conquer the serpent, conquer Satan through Jesus Christ, who strengthens

¹ Rom. xii. 2. ² Rom. xiii. 12—14. ³ Phil. iii. 20. ⁴ Luke xx. 36. ⁵ Eph. ii. 3. ⁶ Gen. i. 28. ⁷ 1 Pet. i. 21. ⁸ Tit. i. 2 ; Heb. vi. 18. ⁹ Isa. lxvi. 5.

¹⁰ 1 Cor. vii. 38. ¹¹ Heb. xiii. 4. ¹² Luke ii. 37. ¹³ 2 Tim. ii. 5. ¹⁴ 2 Tim. ii. 5.

¹⁵ Gal. iv. 26. ¹⁶ 1 John v. 4.

^A Comp. Ep. to Diognetus, sect. v.

thee¹ through the hearing of his words and the divine eucharist.¹ "Take up thy cross and follow" him² who hath purified thee, Jesus Christ thy Lord. Strive to run aright and confidently, not in fear, but in heartiness, confiding in the hope of thy Lord, that thou shalt attain the crown of the victory of thy calling that is above, through Jesus Christ; for every one who proceeds perfect in faith and not fearing, truly receives the crown of virginity, which is of great labour, and its reward is great.³

Dost thou, therefore, understand and know what honour sanctity seeks? Dost thou understand how great and glorious and excellent the glory of virginity is?

6. The womb of a holy virgin bore our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; and the body which our Lord bore, and in which he carried on the contest in this world, he put on of holy virginity. Hence, therefore, understand the greatness and the praise of virginity. Dost thou wish to be a Christian? Resemble Christ in everything.

John, the ambassador, who came before our Lord, he than whom there was no greater among those born of women,⁴ the holy messenger of our Lord was a *virgin*. Therefore imitate the ambassador of our Lord, and be his friend in everything.

John, again, who leaned upon the bosom of our Lord,⁴ he whom he greatly loved, he also was holy;⁵ for it was not without cause that our Lord loved him.

And Paul, and Barnabas, and Timothy, with others besides, whose names were written in the Book of Life;⁶ all these, I say, loved and cherished sanctity, and ran in the race, and finished their course,⁶ without spot, as imitators of Christ, and as sons of the living God.

And, moreover, of Elijah also, and Elisha, and many other holy men, we find that their life was holy and without spot.

If, therefore, thou seekest to imitate these,^m imitate them energetically, for it saith, "Honour the elders that are among you,"⁷ and "when you see their conduct and their conversation, imitate their faith;"⁸ and again it saith, "Imitate me, my brethren, as I Christ."⁹

¹ Phil. iv. 13. ² Matt. xvi. 24. ³ Matt. xi. 11. ⁴ John xxi. 20. ⁵ Phil. iv. 3. ⁶ 2 Tim. iv. 7. ⁷ 1 Tim. v. 17. ⁸ Heb. xiii. 7. ⁹ 1 Cor. xi. 1.

¹ These last words encumber the sentence, by coming in before the words of our Lord, "Take up thy crown," etc. If they are to be retained, they can be understood either of the Lord's Supper, or of thanksgiving.

² Here the fifth chapter properly ends; what follows belongs to another section. The division of Wetstein is faulty, and should be corrected.

³ Beelen says this is equivalent to *chaste*, or *virgin*.

⁴ Literally, "With the rest of the others,"—*cum reliquis aliorum*.

^m Lit., "seekest these to imitate (*them*)."

7. Those, therefore, who imitate Christ, energetically imitate him. For those that have put on Christ* in truth, have found his likeness in their minds, and in all their life, and in all their conduct, both^o by word and by deeds, and by patience and by power, and by knowledge and by sobriety, and by long-suffering, and by a pure heart, and by faith, and by hope, and by love perfect and complete towards God. No VIRGIN whatever, therefore, except they be in everything like Christ, and like those that are Christ's can be saved.^p For every VIRGIN who is in God is holy in body and in spirit, and faithful in the service of the Lord, and changes not her place, but ministers always in purity and in holiness in the Spirit of God, being careful how she may please her Lord purely and without stain, and is careful to please him in every thing. She that is such, departs not from our Lord, but is in spirit with her Lord, as it is written, "Be ye holy, as I am holy."¹

8. For not if a man be called holy in name only, is he (therefore) holy; but let him become holy in everything, in body, and in spirit, and every one who is a VIRGIN rejoices always to imitate God and his Christ, and resemble them. For in those that are such the carnal mind is not; in such as are truly believers, and in whom the spirit of Christ dwelleth, it cannot be that there should be the carnal mind, which is fornication, uncleanness, impurity, idolatry, magic, enmity, emulation, contention, wrath, strifes, divisions, envy, drunkenness, revelling, tattling, foolish words, noisy laughter, slander, whisperings, bitterness, anger, clamour, reproach, quarrelsomeness, malice, invention of evil things, falsehood, much speaking, idle words, threatenings, gnashing of teeth, faultfinding, vexing, contumely, strikings, declension, remissness, haughtiness, pride, glorying, inflation, family, beauty, position, wealth, the arm of flesh, litigiousness, injury, love of victory, hatred, ire, indignation, guile, revenge of evil, extravagance, avarice, covetousness which is idolatry, the love of money which is the root of all evil, the love of adorning, vain glory, love of pre-eminence, audacity, arrogance, which is called death, against which God contends. Every man who has these things, and those which resemble them, that man is fleshly, for he who is born of the flesh is fleshly; and he that is of the earth, of the earth he speaks and of the earth he thinks, and

* Compare Rom. xiii. 14 and Gal. iii. 27.

^o The prepositions in this sentence are ambiguous, *in* or *by*.

^p The construction of this sentence is irregular, as if the nominative were both singular and plural. The reader will observe that the scriptural allusions continue to the end, but it seemed unnecessary to indicate them all.

¹ Lev. xi. 44.

the fleshly mind is enmity with God, for it is not subject to the law of God, for it is impossible, because it is in the flesh wherein dwelleth no good thing, inasmuch as the Spirit of God is not in it. Therefore he rightly saith to the generation that is such, "My spirit shall not dwell in men for ever, because they are flesh." Every one, therefore, in whom the Spirit of God is not, is not his, according as it is written, "The Spirit of God departed from Saul, and an evil spirit vexed him, which was sent upon him of God."

9. Every one in whom the Spirit of God is, assents to the will of the Spirit of God; and because he assents to the Spirit of God,¹ therefore he mortifies the works of the body,² and lives to God,³ subduing and subjecting his body and coercing it, that while he preaches to others he may be a standard and a fair example to them that believe, and may conduct himself in those works which are worthy of the Holy Spirit, in order that he may not be cast away, but may be approved before God and before men. For in that man, who is God's, there is nothing of the carnal mind, and more especially in virgins, but all their fruits are those of the Spirit and of life. And truly they are the city of God, and houses and temples wherein God abides and among which he walks, as in the holy city which is in heaven. For hereby ye appear unto the world as lights, in that ye take heed to the word of life; and thus ye are in truth a praise and a glorying, and a crown of gladness, and the joy of good servants who are in our Lord Jesus Christ. "For all who see you will confess that you are a seed which the Lord has blessed,"⁴ truly an honourable and holy seed, and a priestly kingdom, a holy nation, the nation of the inheritance, inheritors of the promises of God, which are incorruptible, and do not fade away, that which eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, and hath not entered into the heart of man, which God hath prepared for them that love him and keep his commandments.

10. Now we are persuaded of you, my brethren, that ye regard those things which are requisite for your salvation. But we speak thus of the things of which we speak, because of rumours and bad reports, concerning audacious men who live with virgins under pretence of godliness, and throw themselves into danger, and accompany them by the way and in the wilderness alone, a way which is full of dangers, and full of scandals, and snares, and pitfalls, since it is not at all becoming for Christians, and those who fear God, so to conduct themselves. Others, more-

¹ Gal. v. 25. ² Rom. viii. 13. ³ Rom. vi. 11.

⁴ This passage is literally from the Peschito of Is. lxi. 9.

over, eat and drink with virgins and consecrated women at table, dissolutely and with great impurity, which ought not to be among believers, and especially those who have chosen sanctity to themselves. Others, moreover, assemble for vain and idle talk, and for laughter, and to speak evil one against another, and hunt after words one against another, and are idle; with whom we do not permit you even to eat bread. Others, moreover, go about in the houses of brethren that are VIRGINS under pretence of visiting them, or of reading the Scriptures, or of exorcising them, or of instructing them, and are idle and do nothing, prying into those things which are not to be enquired into, and by bland words make gain in the name of Christ, whom the divine apostle refused because of the multitude of their evil deeds, according as it is written, "Thorns spring up in the hands of the idle," and "The ways of the idle are full of thorns."

11. [For every one who is idle, is without work and without profit.] So are the ways of all those who work not, but hunt after words, and think that this is gain and righteousness. For they that are such, their doings are like those idle and talkative widows, who gad about, and wander among houses in their loquacity, hunting after idle words, and bearing them from house to house with much exaggeration,^r without the fear of God. And together with all these things, in their audacity, under pretext of teaching, they speak diverse doctrines. But I would that they taught the doctrines of truth: (and blessed are they.) But this it is which is grievous, that they do not understand what they seek, and affirm that which is not; for they desire to be teachers, and to shew of themselves that they know how to talk, because they make merchandize of iniquity in the name of Christ. These things happen unto many, which becometh not the servants of God. And they hear not this that he saith, "Let not many be teachers among you, my brethren;" and be not all of you prophets, for he that transgresses not in word is a perfect man, and able to subdue and subjugate his whole body; and, "If a man speak, let him speak by the word of God," and "If there is understanding in thee, give an answer to thy brother, and if not, lay thy hand upon thy mouth, for (it is fitting) in season to be silent, and in season to speak." And again it saith, "He who speaks in season it is comely unto him;" and again it says, "Let your speech be seasoned with grace." For it is necessary for a man to know how to give an

^r These words appear to be a gloss.

^s Lit., simplicity. The radical idea is that which is spread out, extended.

answer to every man in his place. For he that speaks every thing which comes to his mouth, continually makes contention, and he that makes too many words increases sorrow, and he that is hasty with his lips falleth into evil, for because of the tongue's want of discipline wrath cometh; and the perfect keepeth his tongue, and loveth his soul unto life. For these are they who by blessings and bland words deceive the hearts of the innocent, and while they bless them⁴ lead them astray.

Let us, therefore, fear the condemnation which lies against teachers, for those teachers will receive a greater condemnation who teach and do not, and such as take up the name of Christ falsely, and say, "We teach the truth;" and go about and wander without cause, and extol themselves and glory in the carnal mind. Now these are like the blind which leads the blind, and both of them fall into the ditch, and receive condemnation, because by their loquacity and by their vain teaching they teach fleshly wisdom, and the vain deceit of the persuasive words of the wisdom of men, according to the will of the prince of the power of the air, and of the spirit which worketh in the children who are disobedient, according to the worldliness of this world, and not according to the doctrine of Christ. (For from the end of the speech of a man he is known.)⁵ Nevertheless, if thou hast received a word of knowledge, or a word of doctrine, or of prophecy, or of ministry, God be blessed, who helpeth every man without envy; God, who giveth to every man, and upbraideth not. With the gift, therefore, which thou hast received from our Lord, therewith minister to the spiritual brethren, to the prophets who know that the words which thou speakest are our Lord's; and declare the gift which thou hast received in the Church for the edification of the brethren in Christ. For they are good and excellent things which help the men of God, if they are with thee in truth."

12. But again, it is comely and helpful that a man should visit orphans and widows, especially the poor who have many children (first the household of faith). These things without doubt are requisite, and comely, and lovely for the servants of God. (Yea, verily, they are in truth men of truth.)

But again, this also is lovely, and becoming, and comely for those who are brethren in Christ, to visit those who are vexed of

⁴ Lit., give them blessedness: to call them blessed, μακαρίζω.

⁵ Probably this signifies that a man is known or understood *after* he has spoken, and not *before*.

⁶ This is not clear. It seems to refer to what precedes so far as it is commendable, and the writer would then say, Such things are good, etc., if indeed you possess them. The reality and not the pretence is everything.

evil spirits, and to pray and exorcise them prudently, the prayer that is acceptable before God, not in words adorned and numerous, which are drawn up and adopted in order that they may appear to men to be eloquent and famous; and they are, for their loquacity, like a flute which gives a sound, or a cymbal which tinkles, and help nothing those whom they exorcise, but they speak in words which are terrible, and they terrify men with their words, and act not in the belief of the truth, according to the doctrine of our Lord that saith, "This kind goeth not forth but by fasting and by continual prayer always, and by an earnest mind." And let them holily ask and seek from God with joy and with all vigilance and with purity, without wrath, and without evil. So let us approach a brother or a sister who is sick, and visit them as is becoming, without guile, and without the love of money, and without tumult, and without loquacity, and without an appearance which is alien from the fear of God, and without glorying, but in the quiet and humble spirit of Christ. With fasting and with prayer, therefore, let them exorcise, and not with the words of doctrine adorned and arranged and drawn up, but as men who have received a gift of healing from God, (freely ye have received, freely give,) confidently unto the praise of God. By your fastings, and by your prayers, and by your constant watching always, together with your other good works, mortify the deeds of the flesh by the power of the Holy Spirit. He that is such is a temple of the Holy Spirit of God. He hath cast out devils and God will help him. For it is good for a man to help them that are sick. Our Lord said, "Cast out devils," with many other healings; and, "Freely ye have received, freely give." They that are such have a good reward from God, who minister to their brethren by the gifts that are given to them of the Lord.

And this is good and helpful to the servants of God, that they do according to the commandments of our Lord, who said, "I was sick and ye visited me," and those things which resemble these.

And this is good, and befitting, and right, that we should visit our neighbours, for the sake of God, with all comely manners and sober conduct, as the apostle says, "Who is sick, and I am not sick," and "Who is stumbled, and I am not offended." And all these things are said of the love wherewith we should love our neighbour; and in these things let us be without offence; and let us not do anything through respect of persons, as if to the shame of others, but let us love the poor as the servants of God, and first let us visit them. For it is comely before God, and before men, that we remember the

poor, and that we love the brethren and love strangers for the sake of God, and for the sake of those who believe in God, as we learn from the law and from the prophets, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, of brotherly love and of the love of strangers (because this is well pleasing and acceptable to you, since ye are all taught of God). For ye know the words which are spoken of brotherly love, and of the love of strangers, for the words are powerfully spoken to all those who do them.

13. O brethren beloved, that a man should edify and confirm the brethren in the faith of one God is manifest and known. Again, this is also good, that no man should envy his neighbour. And again, it is comely and good that those who perform the service of the Lord should all of them perform the service of God in the fear of God. Thus is it necessary for them to conduct themselves, for "the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few." And this is known and manifest. Therefore we pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth labourers into his harvest, labourers like those who divide and promptly go forth with the word of truth; labourers without shame; faithful labourers; labourers who are the light of the world; labourers who labour not (for) the meat which perishes, but (for) the meat which endures unto eternal life; labourers who are like the apostles; labourers who imitate the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who are careful of the life of men; not hireling labourers; not labourers whose thought is the fear of God and righteousness as wages; not labourers who minister to their own bellies; not labourers who by blessings and sweet words deceive the hearts of the innocent; not labourers who resemble the children of light, when they are not light, but are darkness, whose end is destruction; not labourers who work deceit, and malice, and fraud; not deceitful labourers; not drunken and unfaithful labourers; not labourers who are traffickers in Christ, nor deceivers, nor lovers of money, nor opposers.

Wherefore let us regard and imitate those believers who have well conducted themselves in the Lord, as becomes and befits our calling and our profession. Thus let us minister unto and please God, in righteousness and justice, and without spot, thinking things which are good and comely before God and before men. For it is comely that God should be glorified in us in everything. Amen.

The First Epistle of Clement endeth.

The Second Epistle of the same Clement.

1. Now I wish you to know, my brethren, of what sort our manners are in Christ, as well as those of all our brethren in

those places where we are. And if so be they please you in the fear of God, so also conduct ye yourselves in the Lord.

Now we, if God help us, conduct ourselves in this way ; we dwell not with virgins, and we have nothing in common with them. Nor do we eat or drink with virgins, and where a virgin sleeps we do not sleep. Neither do women wash our feet, nor anoint us. Nor do we at all sleep where there sleeps a virgin who is not a husband's,^a or one who is under a vow,^a and even if she is in another place alone, we do not pass the night there.

Now if it happen that time^a overtakes us in a place, either in the field, or in a village, or in a city, or in a hamlet, or wherever we may meet with it, and brethren are to be found in that place, we enter unto him that is a brother, and call all our brethren thither, and speak with them words of encouragement and consolation ; and those among us who are skilled in speaking will speak such things as are arousing and severe, and words that are weighty, and terrible, and grave, in the fear of God ;^a that they should please God in everything, and excel and make progress in good works, and be without carefulness in everything, as is comely and befitting the people of God.

2. And if we happen to be far from our homes and our neighbours, and day decline, and eventide overtake us, and brethren compel us through brotherly love, and love of strangers, to abide with them, in order to watch with them, and that they may hear the holy word of God, and do it, and be nourished by the words of the Lord, so that they may be mindful of them, and may offer to us bread and water, and whatever God prepares ; and we consent and agree to pass the night with them ; if there be there a holy man, to him we go in and lodge, and let that same brother prepare and arrange everything that is necessary for us : and he ministers to us, and washes our feet for us, and anoints us with oil, and prepares for us our bed, that we may sleep in hope towards God.^a For that consecrated^b brother who is in the place wherein we lodge will do all these things for us himself ; and he will minister to the brethren, and every man of the brethren who is in that place will minister with him all those things which are requisite for the brethren. But for us a woman shall not be there who is a maiden, or who

^a We understand this of one espoused, but not married.

^a Lit., " The daughter of a covenant."

^a " Time," bad weather or night.

^a What follows seems to be what the speaker is to say.

^a Lit., in hope of God that we may sleep.

^b Dr. Beelen renders this expression *asceta*, and defends it.

is a husband's at that time, or who is about to be,^c nor one who is under a vow, nor a Christian maidservant, nor a heathen one, but only men shall be with men.

And if we see that it is requisite to stand and pray because of women, and speak words of encouragement and of edification, we invite the brethren, and all the holy sisters and virgins, and all the women who are there, with all modesty and comely manners to come to the enjoyment of the truth. And those who are with us, and know how to speak, we speak and encourage them, with such words as God gives us. Then we pray and salute each other,^d men the men. But women and virgins will wrap their hands in their garments, and we also with watchfulness and with all gravity, our eyes looking upwards, gravely and with fair manners, wrap our right hand in our garments, and then they may come and give us the salutation on our right hand^e while it is wrapped up in our garments. Then we go whither God vouchsafes unto us.

3. And, again, if we happen to be at a place where there is no consecrated brother, but all are married, all the men who are there will receive the brother who comes to them, and minister to him, and take care of him in everything, earnestly and with a good will. But that brother (as is becoming), shall be ministered to of them, and that brother shall say to those that are married who are there, "We, who are consecrated, do not eat and drink with women, nor are we served by women nor by virgins, nor do women wash our feet, neither do women anoint us, nor do women make our bed, nor do we sleep where women sleep, in order that we may be without blame in everything; that no one may be stumbled or offended by us." And since we do all these things, we are without offence to every man; wherefore, as men who know the fear of the Lord, we persuade men, but we are manifest unto God.

4. But if it happen that we light upon a place where there is no man, but they are all believing women and virgins, and they constrain us to lodge in that place, we call all of them to one place that is suitable,^f and ask them how they do, and ac-

^c The text reads "rich," which is certainly wrong. Zingerley renders it as we do, but Dr. Beelen proposes to substitute the word for "aged."

^d Dr. B. says this salutation was the "kiss of peace;" if so, the mode of it was this:—The men saluted each other as they were wont to do, so also the women each other, but when men saluted women, or women men, they kissed the right hand after it had been enveloped in the wearer's robe. Gloves, it would appear, were not yet invented.

^e Or, come and salute our right hand, which was covered when the salutation was between men and women.

^f Lit., "right," as if on the right side.

cording as we learn of them and see their dispositions, we speak to them as it is fitting, like men who fear God; and when they all assemble and come, and we see they are in peace, we speak with them words of consolation in the fear of God; and we read to them the Scripture with gravity, and with the strict and weighty words of the fear of God (with all honour and a strict mind), so that we do everything for their edification and confirmation. And as to those women who are married, we speak with them, as becometh them, in the Lord. And if the day decline, and eventide overtake us, in order that we may lodge there we choose the most aged and grave woman of them all, and we tell her to give us a place apart, where neither woman nor virgin enters; and this same aged woman will bring us a light, and she will bring us everything that is requisite for us, in order that, for the love of the brethren, she may bring everything which is required for the service of the strange brethren (now an aged woman has been approved by many opinions for a long time if she has brought up children, if she has entertained strangers, if she has washed the feet of the saints),^g and when it is time for sleep she will depart and go to her house in peace.

5. And if we light upon a place where we find one faithful woman alone, and no other be there except herself, we do not stay there, nor pray there, nor read the Scriptures there, but flee away as from before the face of a serpent, and as from the presence of sin. But it is not the faithful woman we despise, far be it from us to think thus of our brethren in Christ, but because she is alone we fear lest any man should lay accusations against us in words of falsehood (for the hearts of men are set on evil, and confirmed *in it*), and because we will give no pretext to those who wish to lay hold of a pretext against us, and speak evil against us, and lest we should be a stumbling-block to any; therefore, we cut off the pretence of these who seek to lay hold of a pretext against us; therefore, we take heed that we become a stumbling-block to no one, neither to Jews, nor to Gentiles, nor to the Church of God; nor do we seek anything which profits ourselves alone, but that which profits many in order that they may be saved. For it profits us not that any one should be stumbled because of us. Therefore, should we sedulously take heed always that we disturb not our brethren, and cause them a troubled conscience by that whereby we may become a stumbling-block unto them. For if because of meat our brother is grieved or stumbled, or made

^g The words in brackets seem to be a gloss.

weak, or scandalized, we walk not in the love of God. Because of thy meat dost thou destroy him for whom Christ died. For thus sinning against your brethren, and buffeting their weak consciences, ye sin against Christ. Because, if through meat my brother is stumbled, let us who believe say we will eat no flesh for ever lest we offend our brother. Now all these things does every one who loves God in truth, who in truth has taken up his cross, and put on Christ, and loves his neighbour; who keeps his soul that he may be an offence to no man, that no one may be offended because of him, and die because he is constantly with virgins, and dwells with them, a thing which is unbecoming, and to the destruction of those who see and hear. Bad conduct like this is a scandal and a peril, and nigh unto death (that which becometh not Christians). But blessed is the man who is cautious and fearful in everything for the sake of sobriety.^a

6. But if we happen to go to a place wherein there are no Christians, and we are constrained to be there a few days, let us be wise as serpents, and innocent as doves, and let us not be as fools, but as wise in all the doctrines of religion, that God may be glorified in everything through our Lord Jesus Christ, through our pure and holy conversation. For whether we eat or drink, or whatever else we do, let us do it as for the glory of God; let all who see us know that we are a blessed and holy seed, sons of the living God in everything; in all words, in gravity, in purity, in humility, because we are not like the Gentiles in anything. Nor^d are believers like other men, but in everything we are strangers to the wicked. Nor do we cast that which is holy before dogs, nor pearls before swine; but with all discipline that is, and with all knowledge, and with all the fear of God, and with all carefulness of mind we glorify God.

For we do not minister where the Gentiles are drunken, and blaspheme in their revellings with words of pollution. Because of their wickedness, therefore, we do not sing to the Gentiles, nor read to them the Scriptures, lest we should resemble singers, whether those who play upon the harp, or those who sing with the voice, or diviners^e like many who live in this way, and do these things to satisfy themselves with a despicable morsel of bread, and for a small portion^f of wine, go singing the songs of

^a i.e., keeps his character for gravity, modesty, etc., so in view that he always takes heed and fears to violate their claims; or, to preserve his character is cautious and fearful, and is strict because he wishes to be consistent.

^d The text omits the negative, but Dr. Beelen supplies it.

^e In allusion to the prophets "peep and mutter;" or conjurers.

^f Lit., "mixing." The wine was mixed with water, "one mixing" would be a small quantity.

the Lord in the strange land of the Gentiles, and do what they ought not. Ye shall not do thus, my brethren. We entreat of you, my brethren, let not these things be observed¹ among you, but set aside those who have chosen to conduct themselves thus in that which is mean and contemptible. It is undesirable, my brethren, that these things should be so, but we beseech you, brethren, of our righteousness,² that these things may be the same with you as with us, for an example of believers and of those who shall yet believe. Let us be of the flock of Christ in all righteousness and in all holy and upright conversation, living in rectitude and piety, as becometh them that believe, and observing those things which are praiseworthy, and pure, and holy, and glorious, and great. And establish ye all those things that are profitable; for ye are our joy, and our crown, and our hope, and our life, if so be that ye abide in the Lord (faithful and upright ye shall truly be in everything in the Lord).³ Amen.

7. Let us, therefore, consider, my brethren, and see how all the righteous fathers conducted themselves all the time of the continuance of their life; and let us search and seek from the law unto the New Testament. For it is good and useful that we know how many the men are, and who they are, that have been ruined⁴ by means of women; and who the women are, and how many they are, that have been ruined through men, from their keeping company one with another. And again, also, I shall on this account shew how many, and what men, have lived with men all the time of their life, and have continued one with another even to the end in pure services without spot.⁵ And it is manifest and known that it is so.

8. Joseph the faithful, and understanding, and wise, and just, and who feared God in everything:—was it not the beauty of this pure and righteous one, for which a woman lusted exceedingly?⁶ And when he did not submit himself, and declined to do her desire and will, she cast that righteous man into all afflictions and into all miseries unto death, by false testimony.

¹ Lit., "ministered,"=practised.

² *i. e.*, "our righteous brethren," or those who have the same ground, hope, and means of righteousness as we. In this chapter we do not breathe the atmosphere of an apostolic age; it smacks more of the precision of later Christian pharisees and scribes, who were less holy but more righteous. It is certainly not the spirit of a missionary Church on apostolic principles.

³ The words in brackets read like a gloss.

⁴ Literally, "perished," which often corresponds with our word "ruined" when it may mean something less than death or perdition.

⁵ Chap. viii. commences here in the old editions, and in Dr. B.'s uncorrected text.

⁶ "Lusted exceedingly," more nearly literally "lusted as with lust."

But God delivered him from all the evils that came upon him by a wretched woman. You see, my brethren, how many afflictions, continuance in seeing the person of the Egyptian woman, brought upon a just man.* Therefore let us not be continually with women, nor with virgins; for this is unprofitable to them who desire to gird up their loins in truth; for it is requisite that we love the brotherhood in all sanctity and purity, and in all strictness of mind in the fear of God; not continuing along with them, nor our foot running every hour after them.

9. Hast thou not heard of Samson the Nazarite, a strong man, with whom the spirit of God was? This man, who was a Nazarite and a holy one of God, and was endowed with power and fortitude, a woman destroyed by her vile person and base lust. Art thou like him? Know thyself, and know thy measure. But the wife of a man hunts for precious souls.† Therefore we do not at all permit a man to sit with a man's wife, much less that a man should live with a woman under a vow, or sleep where she sleeps, or be continually along with her, for this is hateful and to be detested of them who fear God.

10. Does not that of David admonish thee, whom God found a man after his own heart, a faithful man, perfect, pious, true? This man saw the beauty of a woman, I mean Bath Sheba's, when he saw her as she was bathing and washing naked.‡ Her the holy man saw, and truly he was captivated with the lust of her appearance. See therefore how many evil things he did because of the woman, and this just man sinned, and commanded that her husband should be slain in the war. Ye see how many evil schemes David, who was called the anointed of the Lord, devised and executed, and committed murder through lust of a woman. Be admonished, O man! for if men like these have been ruined through women, what is thy righteousness, or what art thou among the saints, that thou shouldest converse with women and with virgins by day and by night, with much scornfulness without the fear of God? Nay, my brethren, let us not conduct ourselves so (after the ruin of these),§ but let us be mindful of the saying which was spoken

* Lit., "that continuance of seeing the body of the Egyptian woman, how many afflictions it brought," etc. The sentence is involved, and the structure irregular. The sense is—how many afflictions the continual sight of the Egyptian woman's body brought upon Joseph. This is not true; his afflictions were drawn upon him by other causes.

† Prov. vi. 26, taken by the writer in their most literal sense.

‡ "Naked." Dr. Beelen would regard this word as an abstract noun "nakedness," but he overlooks a principle of Syriac Grammar, for which see Cowper's *Syr. Gram.*, p. 103, *Annot.* 4.

§ Dr. Beelen omits these words in brackets, but quite unnecessarily, as they belong to the idiom of the language.

of woman, "Her hands lay snares, and her heart spreads nets; now the righteous man is delivered from her, and the wicked falleth by her hands." Wherefore let us take heed that we dwell not with women who are under a vow, we saints, for conduct like this is neither comely nor becoming in the servants of God.

11. Hast thou not read of Amnon and of Tamar, children of David? This Amnon lusted after his sister, and humbled her, and spared her not because he cherished for her detestable lust, and he became wicked and perverse because of his continuance with her without the fear of God; and he wrought abomination in Israel. Wherefore it is not desirable for us, and not befitting for us, to conduct ourselves with laughter and freedom along with sisters, but with all modesty and sanctity, and in the fear of the Lord.

12. Hast thou not read the story of Solomon the son of David, to whom God gave wisdom, and knowledge, and greatness of heart, and wealth, and much glory, beyond all men, that even he was ruined by women, and forsook the Lord?

13. Hast thou not read, and knowest thou (not) of those elders who were in the days of Susan, who, because they continued with women, and were prying into strange beauty, fell into the pitfalls of lust, and could not retain themselves in the mind of purity,* but were overcome of an evil thought, and came upon the blessed Susan to defile her? But she did not submit to their unseemly lust, but cried unto God, and God delivered her from the hands of the perverse old men. Does it not therefore behove us to tremble and to fear after this, that these old men, judges and elders of the people of God, fell from their honour because of a woman? For they remembered not this that is said, "Pry not into strange beauty," and "The beauty of a woman has destroyed many," and "With the wife of a man thou shalt not sit."^w And this again that he saith, "Does a man put fire in his bosom, and not burn his garments?" or "Does a man walk upon fire, and his feet not be burned?" "So no man who goes in to the wife of a man is pure from evil, and no one who approaches her is delivered." And again it saith, "Lust not for the beauty of a woman, lest she lead thee captive with her eyelids, and pry not after a virgin, lest thou

* i. e., in purity of mind.

^w These passages are from Ecclesiasticus, which was written long after the age in which the scene of the story is laid. If therefore Dr. Beelen can chide us as *novatores* for rejecting this book, we can chide him for supposing Clement would blame the elders for not remembering what was not written till long after they were dead. This fact is strong against the authorship of Clement.

perish with her desire;" and "thou shalt not be continually with a woman who sings beautifully;" and "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."

14. But see what they say of the prophets, holy men, and of the apostles of our Lord. Let us see if one of the prophets kept company with virgins, or with the wives of a man, who were young, or with widows whom the divine apostle refused. Let us understand in the fear of God, the life of holy men. Behold we find that it is written of Moses and of Aaron, that their conduct and lives *were* with men, who lived like them; and so also Joshua, son of Nun: and a woman was not with them, but they holily ministered alone before the Lord, men with men. And not only so, but they taught the people that, whenever the camp was moved, every tribe should move apart, and women with women apart, and should come in the rear after the camp; and the men apart, in their tribes. And according to the commandment of the Lord, they set out thus like a wise people, that there might not be any confusion because of the women when the camp was moved. With manners fair and orderly they set out, without scandal. For behold! the Scriptures testify of my words, when the children of Israel had passed over the sea of Suph,* Moses and the children of Israel sang the praises of the Lord, and said, "Let us praise the Lord, because he is greatly to be praised," and after Moses had ceased from singing, then Miriam, the sister of Moses and of Aaron, took a cymbal in her hands, and all the women went out after her, and sang praises with her, women with women apart, as the men with men apart.

And again, Elisha also, and Gehazi, and the sons of the prophets; similarly we find that they dwelt in the fear of God, and there were no women dwelling with them.

Micah, and all the prophets similarly, we find that they dwelt thus in the fear of the Lord.

And, not to prolong the discourse, further, what shall we say of our Lord Jesus Christ? Our Lord kept company with the twelve apostles when he came into the world. And not only so, but when he sent them out, he sent them two and two together, men with men; and women were not sent with them, and neither by the way nor in the house did they dwell with women, or with virgins, and so they pleased God in everything.

Our Lord Jesus Christ himself, also, when he talked with the Samaritan woman at the well apart, his disciples came and found him talking with her, and were astonished that Jesus was standing and talking with a woman. Behold, is not this a rule which

* i. e. "The Red Sea," or Sea of Weeds, for so it is called by the Orientals.

is not to be annulled, and a standard and pattern to all the tribes of men?

And not only so, but when our Lord arose from the dead and Mary came to the sepulchre, she ran and fell at the feet of our Lord, and worshipped him, and sought to take hold of him. But he said unto her, "Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended unto my Father." Is it not, therefore, to be wondered at of our Lord, that he did not allow Mary the blessed woman to touch his feet? But thou dwellest with them,^a and art ministered unto of women and of virgins, and sleepest where they sleep, and women wash thy feet, and anoint thee! Alas, for this mind which is unbecoming! Alas, for this mind which is without fear! Alas, for this daring and folly without the fear of God! Judgest thou not thyself? Dost thou not examine thyself? Knowest thou not thyself and thy measure?

Now these things are faithful, and these things are true and righteous, and these are the unchangeable rules of those who live righteously in our Lord.

Many holy women ministered to the saints of their possessions, as the Shilomitess^c ministered to Elisha, but dwelt not with him; but that prophet dwelt in a house apart, and when her son died, she sought to throw herself at the feet of the prophet, and his servant suffered her not, but restrained her. And Elisha said to the young man, "Suffer her, for her soul is in bitterness." From these things, therefore, it is necessary for us to understand their mode of life. To Jesus Christ our Lord, women ministered of their possessions, but dwelt not with him: also to the apostles, also to Paul, we find that women ministered, but with them they^a dwelt not. But purely and holily, and without spot, they conducted themselves before the Lord, and finished their race, and received the crown through our Lord God Almighty.

16. Therefore we beseech you, our brethren in the Lord, that these things may be observed among you *as* among us; and let us mind the same things, that we may be one with you, and ye may be one with us. And in everything let us all be one soul and one heart in our Lord. Every one that knoweth the Lord heareth us, and every one that is not of God heareth us not.^b He that will keep sanctity in truth heareth us; and the virgin who in truth desires to preserve virginity, heareth us, but she who keeps not virginity in truth heareth us not.

^a *i. e.* The women.

^c *Heb.* 2 Kings iv. 12, *Shunammitess*.

^a *i. e.* The apostles, etc.

^b This is the language of high authority, cf. 1 John iv. 6, 7.

Farewell, therefore, in our Lord, and rejoice in the Lord, all ye saints.

Peace and joy be with you from God the Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Second Epistle of Clement, the disciple of the Apostles, endeth. His prayer be with us. Amen.²

B. H. C.

CHRONOLOGY OF OUR LORD'S LAST PASSOVER.

IN a volume of Essays published in the last year, we put forward what appeared to us a satisfactory solution of an apparent discrepancy of a serious nature between the narrative of St. John and that of the earlier evangelists, relative to our Lord's last passover.^a That solution has not been considered satisfactory by some for whose judgment we have the highest respect, while it has been received by others. We are still satisfied as to its general correctness, but think the argument may be expressed in a better form, and in one which will enable us to answer objections of a grave kind urged against it. We will endeavour to do this in the present paper.

The narrative of the evangelists on the point in question has been always a very perplexing one. One of the latest and most esteemed of our commentators on the New Testament has candidly confessed his inability to resolve its difficulty. Dean Alford, in the latest edition of his volume on the four gospels, gives the different solutions that have been offered, with the observation that "none of them satisfy him, and that at present he has none of his own."^b

The difficulty arises hence:—the three earlier evangelists relate in plain language our Lord's partaking the passover with the twelve apostles, and they relate it apparently as though it was, in every circumstance, the true and proper passover or-

^a This subscription forms no part of the original document, yet Dr. Beelen asks if Wetstein omitted the last clause of it, because they contain a profession of the doctrine of the intercession of saints. The good doctor is too much under a confessional bias. He translates the words *Preces ejus nos adjuvent*. The version above is literal, and the formula itself is very common in Syriac MSS. Of course it can never stand but as the wish of the transcriber, who may be anything but apostolic in his sentiments, and of a comparatively recent date.

^b *Essays, Critical and Theological*. By the Rev. Henry Constable, A.M. Longman and Co.

^c *The Greek Testament*. By Henry Alford, D.D., 4th Edit., on Matt. xxvi. 17—19.

dained in the Old Testament. St. John, on the other hand, calls the day on which our Lord and his disciples partook, "*the preparation of the passover*," and tells us that when our Lord was on his trial before Pilate, and the day approaching to its close, the Pharisees and the multitude had not eaten their passover, but were only intending to do so (John xviii. 28; xix. 14). Between our Lord's passover and that of his enemies there is then, according to these accounts, an evident difference as to the time of keeping it. How are we to account for it? Have we any better solution than the supposition that one or other of these accounts is incorrect?

We have no doubt that we have. We believe that Scripture itself, carefully considered, affords us the solution, and in this way. It will be found on consideration, that the original command as to the passover was, that it should be *killed at the commencement of the fourteenth day, and eaten before the morning of that fourteenth day*. If this can be established, there is no difficulty whatever remaining. From Josephus we know that the Pharisaical party, and the Jews generally, *killed the passover at the close of the fourteenth day, and ate it in the beginning of the fifteenth day*. We have only then to suppose that our Lord followed the precept of the law, and the entire apparent discrepancy in the narratives of the evangelists is removed. The three earlier gospels relate only our Lord's passover: John, omitting all allusion to it, speaks only of the passover as it was kept by the great bulk of the people: and consequently while three gospels relate with perfect truth and accuracy the Lord's passover as past, the fourth gospel, as truly and as accurately, relates the passover of the Jews in general as yet to take place. The varying accounts of the evangelists are, in fact, the accurate representations of things as they actually happened,—are the indications of exact truth, not of imperfection or falsehood. While in strong corroboration of this view, though not essential to it, we think we shall find that among the Jews there was a small party agreeing with our Lord in keeping their passover, as we suppose him to have kept his, at a different time from that observed by the majority.

In pursuing our subject we shall first have to consider carefully *the limits of the Jewish day,—when it began, and when it ended*. Beyond question, we think it was reckoned from one evening to the next: it began at even, and it ended at even.

The origin of this mode of reckoning their civil day would appear to be from Moses' account of the days of creation. In Gen. i. 5, we read, "the evening and the morning were the first day." And so, when speaking of each succeeding day,

Moses' always represents its evening as its commencing period, and the evening after as the commencement of the following day, *i. e.*, he reckons each day as lasting from one evening to the next. That the Jews thus reckoned their days, one or two passages are quite sufficient proof. "From even unto even shall ye celebrate your Sabbath," was God's command to his people (Levit. xxiii. 32). Of course the other days of the week had the same limits as the Sabbath days. That they had we need go no farther than a single passage. In 1 Sam. xiv. 28, we read, "cursed be the man that eateth any food *this day*." But in the 24th verse, where we first read of Saul's adjuration, we find that the words he used were "cursed be the man that eateth any food *until evening*." From a comparison of the two expressions, we find that it was the recognized opinion *that the day ended when evening came*, and thus each evening ended one day and began the next. The Jewish day was from even to even.

We will next shew that evening, when thus used as the limit of the day, is equivalent to sunset. In Levit. xxii. 6, 7, we read, "The soul which hath touched any such shall be unclean *until even*," "and *when the sun is down he shall be clean*." Here even is equivalent with sunset as marking the limit of the day. Further proof seems scarcely requisite, but we will bring forward a few other passages to the same effect. In Judges xiv., we read of Samson's riddle. Seven days were given to find it out, and if not found out before the seventh day was ended, Samson was to win. The time specified had all but elapsed ere Samson's wife induces him to tell it to her (ver. 17). At the very close of it she succeeds, and enables her countrymen to conquer: "and the men of the city said unto him on the seventh day, *before the sun went down*, What is sweeter than honey?" etc. The plain intimation here is, that *if the sun had gone down the seventh day would have been ended*, and Samson the winner. *Sunset ended the day.* So the day continued to be reckoned in our Lord's time. In Mark i. 32, we read, "And *at even, when the sun was set*, they brought unto him all that were diseased," etc. The day on which Christ healed Simon's mother-in-law being a Sabbath (ver. 20), the people refrained from bringing their sick to him till the Sabbath was past, which *was at even or sunset*. See also Luke iv. 40. From these passages it is evident that evening, when used to express the limit of the civil day, is equivalent to sunset, and that the setting of the sun marked the close of one day and the beginning of the next.

This is indeed a point which is seldom disputed, and which it may appear useless to dwell upon. As it is however of con-

sequence to our argument, and has by some few been disputed, it is best to fix the point before proceeding further.

We do not know if it is necessary to insist that sunset means the disappearance from our view of the body of the sun, not the departure of twilight. The Hebrew phrase *וַעֲרַב* is as strong as possible for this. And on account of the necessity on particular occasions for knowing exactly when a day began and ended, such a visible sign, readily seen and apprehended, was requisite. Any one could tell when the body of the sun disappeared from his view, but the departure of twilight was a difficult point to ascertain.

Having thus seen the exact limits of the Jewish ecclesiastical or civil day, we now pass on to consider what Scripture commands respecting the passover.

The passover of Exodus xii. was killed on the fourteenth day of Nisan. And this is the day on which Scripture invariably commanded that it should be killed, (Exod. xii. 6; Numb. ix. 5; Josh. v. 11.) *But at what hour of the fourteenth day was the first passover killed?* We read in Ex. xii. 6, "the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it *in the evening*," or, literally, "*between the evenings*." Different meanings have been attached to this phrase by Jewish and Christian commentators; some supposing it to refer to about from three o'clock p.m., to six o'clock p.m., *i.e.*, the close of the day, while others supposed it to signify from six o'clock p.m., to about eight or nine o'clock p.m., *i.e.*, the beginning of the day. We will consider this more fully farther on, but will at present confine our attention to the passage where the phrase first occurs. The twelfth chapter affords us ample proof that in this place, at any rate, we must understand it of *the beginning of the fourteenth day*. It was on *the night of the fourteenth day* that God passed in judgment over Egypt. It is not possible, we think, to read the chapter without allowing this (verses 12 and 29). And so Josephus relates, "on that day" (namely, the fourteenth of which he was speaking) "God passed us over" (*Ant.*, ii. xiv. 6). The destruction of the Egyptians, and the killing of the Paschal lamb, by whose blood Israel was saved, took place on the same day of the month. But if this were so, it follows beyond any question that the lamb was killed *in the beginning of the day*, *i.e.*, from about six o'clock p.m., to about nine o'clock p.m. It was killed and eaten before God passed in judgment over Egypt (verses 12 and 13). It must, therefore, have been at, or subsequent to, sunset, *i.e.*, at the very beginning of the day, for had it been killed just previous to sunset it would have been killed, not on the fourteenth day at all, but at the close of the

thirteenth day. The first Passover then was killed in the beginning of the day, and this of course determines the sense of the phrase "between the evenings" in this place at least, and with this the subsequent commands of Scripture must coincide.

Before we pass on from this passage, it will be well to consider whether we are to take the expression of "day" in Exod. xii., in its strict civil sense, as a day accurately marked out by certain limits, or may take it in any looser sense. There can be no doubt that we must take it here as the accurately-defined civil day, beginning and ending at sunset. For in the first place this day was a *sabbath* (ver. 16), whose limits were, as we saw, accurately marked (Levit. xxiii. 32). In the second place, death was denounced against any Israelite who on this day should use leavened bread (ver. 15). They must, therefore, have known accurately the limits of the day. It was in fact a day as clearly and accurately marked in its limits as any day we can conceive, and we are, therefore, justified in arguing from it as such a day.

We will now pass on to another passage which shows us clearly that it was on the fourteenth day that God passed over Egypt in judgment, and that consequently our argument in the eleventh section is correct. In Numbers xxxiii. 3, we read, "And they departed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month, on the morrow after the passover the children of Israel went out." We here learn that the actual day of march for the Israelites was the fifteenth day, that this was the day after the passover, and that consequently the passover was on the fourteenth day. What is meant here by the *passover*? We are referred for our meaning of course to Exod. xii., and there we find that the passing of God over Egypt is properly and primarily called the passover, and that from this the feast and the sacrifice derived their name (Exod. xii. 11, 12, 13, 27). We cannot possibly exclude this from our idea of the passover. It is equally certain that our translation, "the morrow after the passover," is a correct translation of the Hebrew, and that the phrase signifies the following day, so that if the "morrow" signify, say, the fifteenth day of any month, the day after which it is the morrow must be the fourteenth day. An examination of the passages where the word מָחָר occurs shews us that this is its invariable sense.*

There is, indeed, one passage where, from our translation, "the morrow" of a day might seem to form a part of the day itself. In Joshua v. 11, we read that the Israelites ate of "the

* See Fuerst's *Concordance*; Levit. xxiii. 1; 1 Sam. xx. 24, 27.

old corn of the land on the morrow after the passover," i.e., on the fifteenth day of the month, while in the twelfth verse we read that "the manna ceased *on the morrow after they had eaten* of the old corn." Now it may well be supposed that the manna ceased on the very day when it was not required from a supply of the old corn of Canaan, and, therefore, we might suppose that here was an instance where "the morrow after" something is done may signify the very day on which it was done. We should be very sorry were we obliged to put such a sense on words, for it would make us think them in some cases better adapted to mislead than to teach. But we are not compelled to this. Our version of ver. 12 is undoubtedly wrong. Instead of reading that the manna "ceased on the morrow *after they had eaten*," we should read "the manna ceased on the morrow *when they ate*," i.e., it ceased on the fifteenth day (the morrow of the passover), when they had other food to eat. That this is a proper and usual sense for the Hebrew particle *ו*, see Numbers xxvi. 10, in connexion with Numbers xvi. 33—35; Exod. xvi. 3; Levit. xxii. 16. There is here, therefore, no exception to the invariable sense of the Hebrew word *ו*, and, therefore, Numb. xxxiii. 3 is a conclusive proof that the midnight passage of God over Egypt took place on the fourteenth of Nisan.

There is, however, one other objection to this view which must not be passed over. From Numb. xxxiii. 3 we learn that Israel marched from Egypt on the fifteenth day of Nisan. In Exod. xii. 32—34, 42, we read that the night on which God passed over Egypt is called the night on which the Lord brought them out of Egypt. And, therefore, it is sometimes argued that the night of the passing over must have been a part of the fifteenth day, not of the fourteenth day, as we have supposed. This same twelfth chapter, however, affords us the clue to this difficulty. From the twenty-second verse we learn beyond a question that the Israelites did not march on the night when God passed over Egypt, for they are there strictly forbidden to go outside the door of their houses before morning. Why, then, is that night called the night of their bringing out? This is readily seen. It is well called so, though they did not stir upon that night, *because on it their deliverance was effected*. Then first Pharaoh resolved to dismiss them, and urged their departure, though, as we learn from Numb. xxxiii. 3, they did not actually march until the fifteenth day had come. And surely a delay of some twenty-four hours was little enough for the necessary preparations that must be made, even though we know that their departure was for some time being prepared for. Our only wonder is how they could march so soon. A great nation was

making its final exodus. The borrowing, or rather requiring from the Egyptians their gold, and silver, and other precious articles, was all done after the morning light which ensued after the passing of God over the land; for while we learn from Exod. xi. 2 that the command to do so was issued previously, we find from xii. 35 that it was not executed till after the passover. And this is the view which Josephus gives us of the transaction. (*Ant.*, ii. xiv. 6.)

We have, then, we think, seen very plainly from Scripture at what hour of the day the first Paschal lamb was slain. Killed upon the fourteenth day of the month, killed several hours before God passed over Egypt, which passing over was also on the fourteenth day of the month, the first Paschal lamb must have been slain at or subsequent to sunset, *i. e.*, *at the beginning of the fourteenth day, and not at its close.*

It may not be devoid of interest, before passing on, to bring together into one view, and in order of time, the chief events which, according to the previous reasoning, occurred on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of Nisan in the year of the exodus. These days are civil days, lasting from sunset to sunset. First, then, on the fourteenth day at sunset came the slaying and eating of the Paschal lambs, and the sprinkling of their blood, which occupied the evening and earlier portion of the night of this fourteenth day; at its midnight came the passing of God over Egypt, and the destruction of the first-born: the remainder of the night is occupied in Pharaoh's urgent representations to Moses and Aaron to depart, in the transmission of messages to this effect to the Israelites, and in their making such preparations as were possible for them within their houses; when daylight came their preparations went on outside, and the people spoiled Egypt of its gold and silver, and so the rest of this fourteenth day was spent until its sunset, and the fifteenth day arrived. By this time the preparations of Israel were complete, and in the beginning of the fifteenth day, during its evening and early night, Israel took their first march from the city of Rameses to Succoth.

We have seen from its context in Exod. xii. what the phrase "between the evenings" means in the first passage where it occurs (ver. 6). Let us now see from other places whether that meaning, viz., the time of sunset, is not its most natural and proper sense. It does not occur in many places, and in most of these we cannot from the context arrive at its sense. There is, however, one passage from which it would appear to signify the time subsequent to sunset. The lighting of the lamps in the tabernacle was commanded to be done "between the two even-

ings" (Exod. xxx. 8). Now we must suppose that the lamps were not lighted until the light had begun to fail, and this would not be until after sunset, the twilight in Syria being long and bright.⁴ Again, the Jews commonly reckoned their two evenings thus:—The first lasted from the decline of the sun to sunset; the second from sunset to the departure of twilight: sunset was the exact point of time between these two evenings. Again, this phrase, "between the two evenings," is analogous to the similar phrase בֵּינֵי הַשְּׁמֶשֶׁת, literally "at the two lights," and as this signifies the exact point where the growing and decreasing lights of day meet, viz., midday, so does the other signify the point of meeting of the evenings, viz., sunset. We see, then, that upon the whole, this is the most natural sense of the term, and that in which it was probably used in the Old Testament.

We will now draw attention to another passage of Scripture which, in our opinion, proves beyond doubt that the time originally commanded by God for the slaying of the Paschal lamb was the time immediately subsequent to sunset, not the time before sunset. In Deut. xvi. 5, 6, we read, "Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover within any of thy gates which the Lord thy God giveth thee. But at the place which the Lord thy God shall choose to place his name in, there thou shalt sacrifice the passover, at even, *at the going down of the sun*, at the season that thou camest forth out of Egypt." The Hebrew for "at the going down of the sun," is בְּרֵדוֹת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ. The Septuagint translates this by "πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἡλίου," and Montanus, by "*circa ingredi solem*," intimating that the passover was to be slain *about or near sunset*. We maintain that it must be translated by "*when the sun was set*." In the Hebrew the particle כִּי is joined to an infinitive of motion, and we maintain that in every instance where this particle is joined to an infinitive of motion or action, it is indicative of this motion or action as past. So Gesenius tells us in his dictionary, and his authority ranks very high. But an examination of the places where the particle thus occurs has convinced us that it is the case. We have examined it in Fuerst's *Concordance*, where it thus occurs in connexion with the verbs יָצָא, שָׁב, אָזַח, and other similar verbs, and have found that in every case where the particle does not mean "as," it means "when," and is indicative of past time, and that in no one instance does it mean "about." We will refer, as instances, to Joshua iv. 18, "when the priests *were come up*;" 2 Sam. xvii. 3, "as if all *returned*;" Exod. xxxiii. 8, "when Moses *went out*." Not only do our translators thus render the phrase, but the Septua-

⁴ A. P. Stanley's *Syria and Palestine*, p. 351.

gint also always renders it thus in connexion with these verbs. We have then the very highest proof that this is its proper meaning. And now let us turn to the exact phrase in Deut. xvi. 6, and we think we shall see reason for counting the rendering of the Septuagint and Montanus, though generally very high authorities, as here of little weight. The phrase $\kappa\alpha\iota$ occurs fifteen times in the Bible; in only two of these places does the Septuagint translate the particle by $\pi\rho\acute{o}s$ and $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$: it elsewhere translates it in accordance with our view. Thus, in Gen. xii. 14, what our version renders by "When Abram was come into Egypt," the Septuagint renders by " $\eta\gamma\iota\kappa\alpha$ $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$ 'Αβραμ;" and so generally. And now why are its exceptions of no force? They occur in Deut. xvi. 6, and xxiv. 13, and are in both places connected with the setting of the sun, and in Deut. xvi. 6, with the killing of the passover. Now let us remember that when the translation of the Septuagint was made, the Jews killed the passover *before sunset*, and maintained that this was the proper time. In the Septuagint translation then of Deut. xvi. 6, it was necessary to translate the phrase by "about sunset," in order to make it in accordance with the established Jewish custom, and not directly contradictory of it. Hence arose their translation, and therefore it has little or no weight. In the one other passage, Deut. xxiv. 13, where they give a similar translation, they were probably influenced by their translation in Deut. xvi. 6, and rendered it as they have done, that the latter might not be the solitary passage of a rendering of the kind. And now let us come to the celebrated Hebrew scholar, Montanus. He too held that the proper time for killing the passover was before sunset, and therefore he of necessity gave to Deut. xvi. 6, a rendering in agreement with his views. But when he comes to Deut. xxiv. 13, where he was not forced to this rendering by his theory of the passover, he departs from the rendering of the Septuagint, and takes our view; $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\kappa\epsilon\tau$ is here with him "*sicut ingreditur solem*," "as the sun sets," or, as he has it in the margin, "*cum occubuerit sol*," "when the sun has set," which is beyond any doubt its proper sense here, for the entire passage shews that the command is to restore the debtor his pledge at the legal close of the civil-day, which was not until the sun was set.

We do not think it then presumption to say that we have shewn that the phrase in Deut. xvi. 6, bears beyond any fair dispute the sense we have put upon it, and means "when the sun is set." So it is rendered in similar and parallel places by every Hebrew authority; and in the very few places where two of these authorities depart from this rendering, we can condemn them by their own example elsewhere, and shew in the excep-

tions themselves a motive which robs them of all weight. We find then in Deut. xvi. 6, this command, "*Thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even, when the sun is gone down.*" We need not say that in this we find plain proof of our position, that the time when God originally commanded the passover to be slain was at or after sunset, not before sunset, as the Jews now maintain.

We will now proceed to other passages of Scripture which speak of the time of day when the passover was originally killed. In many places it is commanded to be killed "in the evening" (Deut. xvi. 6). Let us see if Scripture does not accurately fix this time.

Of course we are not to take into consideration here the manner in which people speaking loosely used this term. In the popular language of Scripture it was often applied to the time preceding as well as following sunset. But there can be no question that, in using it in reference to the killing of the passover, as in reference to other matters where exactness is required, it was not used in the loose and popular acceptance, but as indicative of a certain fixed point of time. That time was sunset.

We will first refer to the law relative to ceremonial defilements. In Levit. xi. 24, we read, "Whosoever toucheth the carcase of them shall be unclean until the evening." Here no one doubts but that a definite time is meant, and that time sunset, when the defilement ceased. We have numberless similar passages in the books of the Law. With regard to the killing of the passover even has the same sense, as we have seen in considering Deut. xvi. 6, "*Thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even, when the sun is gone down.*" In regard to the time when fasting was to cease, it has the same fixed sense. Thus in Judges xx. 29, we read, "All the people fasted *until even*," i. e., as all allow, *until sunset*—not any time, however short, previous to sunset. In 2 Sam. i. 12, we have a precisely similar instance. This expression also signifies the fixed period of the day when labourers left off their work (Ruth ii. 17; Psalm civ. 23). This is beautifully brought out in the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matt. xx.) Here the cessation of daily toil, the hour of the labourer's rest, is "*when the even was come*," i. e. the day being then divided into hours—precisely one hour after the last labourers had been hired, who wrought their hour's work from our five to six o'clock p.m., and when six o'clock arrived, the wished-for even, laid down their tools of husbandry and received their hire. We thus see that in regard of matters wherein precision was required, and the killing of the Paschal lamb is in

Deut. xvi. 6 marked as one of them, the term "even" had a precise meaning, and that meaning was sunset, or, after the day had come to be divided into hours, six o'clock p.m. When God commanded the passover to be killed at even, we therefore see that sunset, not the time before it, was intended.

We now proceed to notices of the passovers which succeeded that kept in Egypt. We will find all that is said of them in strict harmony with our previous view, and no one expression opposed to it. The phrase which is generally used with reference to them seems very plain. It is usually said that the passover was "*kept on the fourteenth day of the month.*" Thus of the first passover observed in Canaan we read, "and the children of Israel encamped in Gilgal, and kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the month," etc. (Josh. v. 10.) A similar phrase is found in Numb. ix. 5. Now what is meant by "*keeping*" the passover? Plainly, *the entire festival is intended, not a portion of it.* The killing, dressing, and eating the lamb are surely meant. When all this was done on the fourteenth day, the killing of the lamb must of necessity have been done in the beginning of that day, *i.e.*, at sunset, or else the festival would have been protracted into the fifteenth day, and the greater part of it in fact, and that as important a part as any, have been done on the fifteenth day. That the entire festival is intended by the phrase, we may see from 2 Chron. xxxv. There "the keeping of the passover (ver. 1) is explained to embrace the killing, dressing, and eating of the lamb (verses 1—18).

We now pass on to the account of the passover of king Josiah, of which a very minute account is given us, and which was kept in accordance with the precepts of the law (2 Kings xxiii. 21; 2 Chron. xxxv. 1—16). Of it we are told that "all the service of the Lord was prepared *the same day*" (2 Chron. xxxv. 16); that day was the fourteenth day of the first month (ver. 1); that preparation consisted in killing, sprinkling the blood, roasting, distributing, and eating the Paschal lamb (verses 10—16). Now let us note *the time of day* on which much of this was done. The thing was protracted, from the great amount of business, *far into the night of this fourteenth day* (ver. 14). As Josiah's passover then lasted to the midnight of the fourteenth day, it must have commenced at the beginning of that day, *i.e.*, the Paschal lamb was slain at the opening of the fourteenth day, and not at its close. But it may be said that we argue with too much strictness in saying that "*the same day*" (ver. 16), necessarily means the fourteenth civil day, beginning and ending with sunset, for that it may very well be supposed to be a natural day, embracing the closing portion of the four-

teenth and the beginning of the fifteenth civil days. Now we think we have already shewn that in respect of the passover, we are to take the fourteenth day as the strict civil day, accurately marked by its legal limits. We will here advance two passages of Scripture which shew us that in matters where the law required strictness, this expression is limited as we have done. In Levit. xxii. 30, we read of the sacrifice of thanksgiving, that "on the same day (ביום אחד) it shall be eaten up." From this expression we find that every portion of the following day is excluded from its meaning, for in the next clause we read, "Ye shall leave none of it *until the morrow*." The next passage is yet more emphatic, though it does not appear so from the Authorized Version. The proper translation of Deut. xxi. 23 is, "His body shall not remain upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him *that day*." From our translation we might suppose that "that day" embraced the whole of the night following, but here it certainly does not. Both Septuagint and Vulgate give it as we have done. But what establishes this as the proper rendering is the usage of the Jews founded upon this precept in Deuteronomy. In Joshua x. 26, 27, we find that the bodies of the kings who were hung were taken down just before sunset (Hebrew, וְשָׂפוּ מֵעֵץ בְּעֶרְבַּיִם; πρὸς δυσμας ἡλίου, Septuagint). They would not be allowed to remain there one moment after sunset, because Deut. xxi. 23, commanded that *on the same day* on which a man was hung he should be buried. Just so it was in the case of our Lord and the thieves crucified with him (John xviii. 31). Hurriedly, and lest the precept of Deuteronomy should be broken, they take down the bodies from the cross ere the Sabbath day began, which was at sunset.

We think we have proved the first and main point of our argument, namely, the hour at which the passover was originally killed by God's command. The Old Testament speaks on this point with one clear and consistent voice. As soon, according to it, as the fourteenth day of the first month arrived, *i.e.*, at even, or sunset, which at this period of the year corresponded to our six o'clock p.m., the Paschal lamb was slain; it was then roasted and eaten, and the whole festival of the passover was concluded before the morning of the fourteenth day came. Such was the passover of Scripture, and in accordance with it we suppose that our Lord partook with his disciples.

Our next point is easy of proof, *viz.*, that in the time of Christ it was not thus generally kept. Instead of being slain in the beginning of the fourteenth day, and eaten ere midnight of that day, the Paschal lamb was slain at the close of the fourteenth day, and eaten in the opening hours of the fifteenth day.

This is an almost uncontested point. Josephus testifies to it in the plainest manner; speaking of the passover, he tells us "They slay their sacrifices from the ninth hour to the eleventh," *i.e.*, from three o'clock p.m. to five o'clock, just before the fourteenth day ended, and the fifteenth day began.^c From this it appears that as to the period of killing the lamb there was a difference of about twenty-one hours between the time commanded by Scripture and the time observed by the Jews in general in Christ's time, though in both cases it was to be killed on the same day, while as to eating the passover there was a difference of about four and twenty hours, and the feast was also on different days, Scripture directing it to be eaten on the fourteenth day, while the Jews ate it on the fifteenth. For Josephus, beyond any doubt, describes the usual passover of his day;—that observed by the great Pharisaical party of whom he was one;—and observed also by the great bulk of the nation, who blindly looked up to the Pharisees as their religious leaders. What Josephus says is also the teaching of the Rabbinical writers in general; and these are, in their turn, as blindly followed by the great host of Christian commentators as the Pharisaical party were by the Jewish people.

Here was a plain departure from scriptural precept. When it originated, or how, we cannot tell. The troubled times of the Maccabees might have allowed such a change from the original practice. But whenever, or however, this custom arose, here was one of those unscriptural traditions which the Jewish rabbis had plentifully introduced into the Church, and which our Lord authorized his disciples to neglect (Mark vii. 1—9).

On the difference between the precept of Scripture and the practice of the Jews generally in Christ's time, we rest the reconciling of the apparently conflicting statements of the evangelists. Our Lord and his disciples, following the command of the law, killed the passover at the even of the fourteenth day, *i.e.*, at its commencement, and ate it on the same evening. The Pharisees and people generally, on the other hand, many hours after the Lord had finished his passover, had not yet killed theirs, but meant to do so at the close of that same day, *viz.*, the fourteenth, from three to five p.m., and to eat it on the beginning of the fifteenth day. The three earlier evangelists speak only of the Lord's passover: John speaks only of that of the nation generally. Both passovers were killed the same day, but at very different periods of it; so that when one was over the other was only in preparation, and long after the Lord had partaken, his enemies were but intending to partake.

^c Josephus, *B. J.*, vi., ix. 3.

Before we proceed to shew that the above view completely reconciles the different statements of the evangelists, it may be well to see if there are not some traces to be found of a party in the Jewish nation in Christ's time who kept their passover as we have argued that the law commanded. We do not rest our argument upon the discovery of such a party: we think it is proved without it.

And in the first place, the undoubted fact that our Lord with his disciples did, according to the testimony of three of the evangelists as compared with St. John, kill his passover about twenty-one hours before the Jews in general killed theirs, and ate it about twenty-four hours before they ate theirs, is, we think, a very clear indication of the existence of such a party. The general passover was only in preparation when Jesus stood before the Roman governor (John xix. 24; xviii. 28). Yet on the previous evening he sat down to a feast which, according to Matthew, Mark, and Luke, he and the disciples with him called and regarded as the true and proper passover (Matt. xxvi. 18; Mark xiv. 14; Luke xxii. 15). Is it not the natural inference that they regarded the time of their observing it as the proper time, or in other words, that there were some among the Jews who thought that the passover should be kept, in order to observe the law, at a time somewhat anterior to that on which it was kept by the body of the nation?

In Joseph of Arimathæa, Dean Alford considers we have an instance of a man who had eaten the passover before the greater number had done so. His words are, "it would appear from Joseph of Arimathæa going to Pilate during the *παρασκενῇ* (Matt. xv. 43), *that he also had eaten his passover.*"^f If he had done so, it is a very clear proof that there existed such a party as we suppose, for no conceivable reason can be given why he should have eaten his passover before others, except that he thought they were in error as to the time.

The case of Joseph leads us naturally to consider a passage in St. John which has caused a good deal of perplexity, and which the learned Dean of Canterbury thinks to "labour under no small exegetic difficulties" in consequence.^g The reason why he supposes that Joseph had eaten his passover is his going to Pilate, by which going he would have contracted an uncleanness which would hinder his joining in the passover (John xviii. 28). It was this dread which kept the accusers of Jesus from going into Pilate's judgment hall. The Dean's perplexity arises hence, that he does not think the uncleanness thus contracted

^f Alford, *Com. in Matt.* xxvi. 17—19.

^g *Com. in John* xviii. 28.

could have kept them from joining in a feast which was not to be celebrated till the beginning of the next day, while the uncleanness itself did not last till the next day. The explanation seems to lie here. Ordinary uncleanness only lasted to the close of the day on which it was contracted (Levit. xi. 24—28); but there was an uncleanness which lasted *for seven days*. It was contracted by touching the dead body of a man (Numb. xix. 11). Such an uncleanness contracted on the first day of unleavened bread would have prevented the Jews from joining in the feast celebrated on the next day, or from taking any part in the seven days' solemnity (Numb. ix. 7—11). Now the law nowhere, that we know of, made such an act as going into Pilate's judgment hall the cause of such an uncleanness; but we suppose that the Pharisees, in their excessive hatred of the Romans and their bigotry towards all Gentiles, had made it such an act. Gentile contamination was with them equal to the greater defilement of Numb. xix. 11.

We will now shew further evidence of the existence of such a party as we have supposed in page 63. It is based upon the fact, that there was by no means an unanimous opinion *as to the time of the day* when God commanded (Exod. xii. 6) that the lamb should be slain. There was a controversy, in fact, what was the meaning of the expression there, "*between the evenings*." Gesenius, when explaining the Hebrew term, says that "according to the Karaites and Samaritans it was *the time between sunset and dark*, but according to the Pharisees and the Rabbinites, it was *from the time when the sun begins to decline until actual sunset*."^a Kuinoel, in his Greek Testament, tells us that "it is not greatly to be wondered at that the Sadducees and Pharisees differed among themselves on this point (viz., the day of the passover) when they disagreed on very many other points, and disagreed *as to the time when the Paschal lamb should be slain*, and on the explanation of Exod. xii. 6."ⁱ The meaning of the command in Exod. xii. 6, "the whole assembly shall kill it *between the evenings*," was then a disputed matter in our Lord's time: some affirmed that it should be killed *between sunset and dark*; others, and these the most numerous and influential by far, *between the sun's decline and his setting*."

But it may be said, suppose this difference to have existed, how does it make out your point? Very clearly, as it appears to us. The Jewish civil day began with one sunset and ended with the next. *From sunset to dark was the beginning of this*

^a Gesenius on *ערב*: London: Howell and Stuart. 1827.

ⁱ Kuinoel, *Gr. Test.*, in Matt. xxvi. 17.

day, from the sun's decline to his setting was its close. All parties among the Jews killed the lamb upon the fourteenth day. If then one party killed it between sunset and dark, this party must have killed it at the beginning of the fourteenth day; and if another party killed it between the sun's decline and his setting, this party must have killed it at the close of the fourteenth day. The fact then of a Jewish controversy in Christ's day upon the sense of the expression, "between the evenings," found in Exod. xii. 6, is proof of the existence of a party who differed from the dominant party, in maintaining that the passover should be killed in the beginning and not at the close of the fourteenth day, and, consequently, eaten in the evening of the fourteenth day, not in the evening of the fifteenth.

We now pass on to shew that, according to the view here taken, there is perfect harmony between the earlier gospels and that of John. But first it will be necessary to remove one or two objections which have been, or may be, brought against our view.

We suppose that the three earlier evangelists teach that our Lord partook of the true and proper passover in every essential particular as it was originally commanded, killing it at the beginning of the fourteenth day, and eating it that same evening. Every expression found in them is consistent with the idea that they at least considered it such, nor, excepting for what St. John says, would any doubt have ever been entertained on the subject. Dean Alford, however, advances two reasons why, according to him, the feast which they relate could not have been "*the ordinary passover of the Jews.*" "When this," (Exod. xii. 22,) he says, "was eaten, none might go out of the house until morning; whereas not only did Judas go out during the meal (John xiii. 29), but our Lord and his disciples went out when the meal was finished. Also when Judas went out, it was understood that he was gone *to buy*, which could not have been the case had it been the night of eating the passover, which in all years was Sabbatically hallowed."^j

We cannot see any force in either of these objections. With regard to the first, every one is aware that between the first passover in Egypt and subsequent passovers there were several circumstantial differences. For instance, the first passover was to be eaten "with loins girded, the shoes on the feet, the staff in the hand, and in haste" (Exod. xii. 11). Later passovers were eaten reclining and at leisure. The difference of

^j Alford, *Com. in Matt.* xxvi. 17—19.

the circumstances required such a departure from the first Paschal feast. The prohibition to go out on the night of the first passover was evidently of this kind too. On that night the Lord passed over Egypt to smite those who were not protected by the blood of the Paschal lamb, and therefore all should remain within their tents. But at later passovers such a prohibition was needless, and therefore our Lord did not regard it. With respect to the Dean's second objection, there does not appear anything in Scripture to prevent a man from buying on the first day of the feast. The precept in Exod. xii. 16, is, "in the first day there shall be an holy convocation, no manner of work shall be done in them *save that which every man must eat.*" There is here evidently a permission to do what was necessary towards the feast upon this day, and doubtless if it was necessary to buy for this purpose, and it was for this Judas was supposed to have gone out, the Lord did not prohibit it. The Dean's objections then to our Lord's passover having been the passover of Scripture do not bear him out. But in addition to these objections, Dean Alford also says that there are expressions in St. Mark's and St. Luke's gospels which are utterly inconsistent with the idea that according to them "our Lord ate the passover at the strictly legal, the Jews at an illegal, time."^{*} A brief reference to the passages will shew that with our view they are entirely consistent, and are in fact confirmatory of it. The passages are, Mark xiv. 12, and Luke xxii. 7. "And the first day of unleavened bread *when they killed the passover*" (Mark). "Then came the day of unleavened bread *when the passover must be killed*" (Luke). Alford's comment on this is, that these expressions "denote the *ordinary day*, when they, (*i.e.*, the Jews) sacrificed the passover." This comment is no doubt correct. Both evangelists imply that the day on which Jesus kept his passover was also the day *on which the Jews killed theirs*. This is what we have all through insisted on. Our theory is that our Lord and the Pharisees killed the passover on the same day, though at different hours, and the evangelists here imply that it was upon the same day, *viz.*, the fourteenth of Nisan, that both killed it.

But there is an expression in the Gospels themselves which may appear opposed to our theory. We have supposed that our Lord's Passover was killed in the very beginning of the fourteenth civil day, and eaten upon the same night. Now the Evangelists tell us that it was on "*the evening*" of the first day of unleavened bread that our Lord sat down with the twelve to

^{*} *Com. in Matt. xxvi. 17.*

the Paschal supper, after all the necessary preparation had been made. This might seem to prove that the preparation had been made before even, *i. e.*, before the commencement of that day on which they ate the Passover, or, in other words, that the lamb had been slain from about three to five o'clock, p.m., of one day, in conformity with the common custom, and eaten on the beginning of the next (Matt. xxvi. 20; Mark xiv. 7). In order to answer this difficulty, it is only necessary to show that, while "evening," where spoken of matters where precision was required, meant the time of sunset, it had, in its popular acceptance, a much wider meaning, and embraced a considerable time previous and subsequent to sunset. In the history of the feeding the 5,000 men in the desert of Bethsaida, we have a good example of the large space of time which this term had in its popular sense (Matt. xiv.; Mark vi.; Luke ix.) The period of time before the miracle is said by Matthew to have been "the evening" (Matt. xiv. 15). From St. Luke's parallel expression, "when the day *began* to wear away," and from the length of time required for the subsequent proceedings—the consultation with the disciples, the orderly arrangement of the multitude, the feeding of the great body assembled, the gathering up the fragments, the sending away the people—all which took place ere it was dark (John vi. 17), St. Matthew must have intended by "evening" a considerable time before sunset, commencing from the period when the sun began to decline to the west. But after all this had taken place, the period when Christ sat alone on the mountain, and when the disciples were in the ship on the sea, is still called "evening" (Matt. xiv. 23; Mark vi. 47). From St. John's use of the term, indeed (vi. 15—17), we see that it included the whole period of twilight, until darkness covered the earth. The twilight in Syria occupies a considerable time. Mr. Stanley, in his work on Syria and Palestine, speaks of the "long bright glow which succeeds an eastern sunset;" and Aben Ezra mentions that it usually continues light after sunset for an hour and three-quarters.¹ It is most likely, therefore, that the time which St. John calls "evening" was not far from our ten o'clock, p.m., *i. e.*, that "evening" in its popular use included probably five or six hours. Now, just as in the feeding of the multitude, Matthew and Mark call the time of the day long subsequent to sunset "the evening," so we suppose them to do in their narrative of the Paschal supper. The expressions in both cases are identical. It is in both "when the even was come" (*ὅψις γενομένης*),

¹ A. P. Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, 2nd edit., p. 351. Lightfoot's Works.

that in the former Christ is described as being by himself on the mountain, and in the latter as sitting down with the apostles. And the Jewish custom of not eating the Passover until night was fully come corroborates this.* There is nothing, therefore, in the expression to forbid our supposing that "at even," *i.e.*, at sunset, the disciples killed the lamb, and that "at even," *i.e.*, some two hours after, they sat down to eat it, having in the interval made the necessary preparation, which this would give quite sufficient time for doing (Gen. xviii. 4—8). We will now, therefore, pass on to St. John's Gospel, merely remarking the skill, designed or undesigned, with which all reference to the passover of the Jews in general is avoided by the three earlier evangelists. They would not confound two things in some respects unlike.

We have to make the same remark of St. John. He carefully avoids one single allusion to the Lord's passover as a passover. For anything we could learn from him, the Lord might not have eaten any passover at all. Now, though some think differently, John must have seen some at least, probably all, of the other Gospels, and known that they described the Lord as having eaten the passover. But he, too, would not confound two different things. He had occasion, more than once, to refer to the common Jewish passover, and he will not confuse his readers by reference to that of Christ. He, like the other evangelists, had his peculiar subject, and he keeps to it; and so we have two distinct paintings, each with a different subject, instead of two distinct paintings, each attempting to depict on one canvass two different subjects, and so confounding them both together. John describes the Jewish passover of his day, and so we have it brought before us exactly as it was. There is nothing to distract our attention. We can compare in at our leisure with the passover of Christ, and with the passover of the law, and see how and wherein it differed from each, and whether it or that of Jesus was the passover of Moses.

It is not out of place to remark that this is a feature of Scripture running through it from first to last. Its narrative is simple narrative—nothing more. Each writer relates what is to be related, without attempting to give any views of his own about them, or any reconciliations of them with other accounts. Though narrative of the natural and the miraculous, the usual and the most extraordinary, the same simple pen runs on, never stopping, wondering, commenting, apologizing, explaining, ob-

* Lightfoot's Works, ix. 146. *The Temple Service.* London: 1823.

jecting, doubting—simply relating—yet doing so, when closely examined, with a skill beyond that of man.

The first passage in John that calls for our consideration is xiii. 1, 2. He there says that the supper which our Lord partook of with his disciples, and which, in common with all but unanimous opinion, we hold to have been the Paschal supper described by the other evangelists, was "*before the feast of the passover.*" So it was. It was the day before it. Following the corrupt rabbinical tradition, the Jews killed their passover at the close of the fourteenth day, and partook of it on the fifteenth. The Lord ate his Paschal feast at the same time that Israel did in Egypt under Moses, but in his time the common Jewish Paschal feast was not till the following day; the Paschal supper of Jesus was before the common feast of the passover.

The next passage is John xiii. 29. At what we suppose to have been our Lord's Paschal supper, when he told Judas to do quickly what he was determined to do, we read that some of the Apostles thought that this was said "because Judas had the bag, that he might buy what they had need of *against the feast.*" It is here urged that they could not then have been partaking of the Paschal feast, since they are described as looking forward to its celebration. There is here no difficulty of the smallest moment. The day after the passover was to the Apostles a great feast day (Numb. xxviii. 16, 17). Partaking of the passover on the fourteenth day, they were also looking forward to the feast of the fifteenth.

The expression in John xix. 14 is quite agreeable to this view. The Apostle here calls the day on which our Lord was on his trial before Pilate "*the preparation of the passover.*" This is understood as signifying the day before the passover, and so it does. According to the original institution, indeed, the preparation of the passover was made upon the same day on which it was eaten. Such was our Saviour's passover, prepared and eaten the say day. But the alteration made by the prevailing Jewish party in this institution had placed the preparation and the eating of the passover upon different days. Accordingly the fourteenth of Nisan, the day on which our Lord was on his trial, and especially its closing hours, was "*the preparation*" of that passover which the Pharisees partook of in the beginning of the fifteenth.

Once more it is urged that John, xix. 31, presents a view inconsistent with the earlier Gospels. It presents none in the smallest measure opposed to them on this theory. It brings before us the request of the Jews to Pilate that the bodies of those crucified should be taken from the cross ere the rapidly-

approaching Sabbath should commence, "*because that Sabbath day was an high day.*" The peculiar sacredness of this approaching Sabbath is supposed to have arisen from its being the day of the passover also, and that consequently the day of the crucifixion could not have been the day of the passover. But our theory fully accounts for the peculiar sacredness of this Sabbath. Supposing our Lord to have been crucified on the fourteenth day of the month, the day following was not only a Sabbath, but was also the feast-day of Numb. xxvii. 17, and was, also, according to common usage, the day of eating the passover. It was, indeed, in Jewish eyes, "an high day."

We have thus, we think, shewn that all the passages in St. John's Gospel which are usually supposed to be inconsistent with the other Gospels, are readily reconciled to them on our theory; we will now, in conclusion, bring forward one or two passages from St. John's Gospel which prove very plainly that his reckoning of the day of the month on which Christ was crucified, and on which he partook of his passover, agrees exactly with the chronology of the other evangelists.

These relate that this took place within the twenty-four hours of the first day of unleavened bread, *i. e.*, the fourteenth of Nisan. Let us then turn to a passage in St. John which plainly supposes this. In xix. 14 he calls this "*the preparation of the passover.*" This could be no other day than the fourteenth. For what is meant by the preparation of the passover? It meant the killing and dressing of the Paschal lamb (2 Chron. xxxv. 10—16). But according to universal consent this was to be done *on the fourteenth day*. Whatever other difference there might have been, there was none on this point. The hour of preparation may have been different with different parties; the day with all was the same. When St. John, then, calls the day of the crucifixion "*the preparation of the passover,*" he agrees exactly with the reckoning of the other Gospels, which style it "*the first day of unleavened bread.*" Again, from the question of Pilate in John xviii. 39, we know, according to this Gospel, the passover had begun, and was entered on. It was only *during the Paschal season* that the Romans gratified popular feeling by the release of a state prisoner. The day of the crucifixion was then, according to John's account, part of the Paschal season, and as nobody argues that it was the second, or any later day of this season, it must have been its first day—the fourteenth of Nisan—the first day of unleavened bread of the early Gospels. John's reckoning synchronises with theirs.

We venture, then, with perfect confidence, to lay this paper before the public as a reconciliation of St. John with the other

evangelists on a very important point. We have merely sought after the truth, and have consciously strained no argument in support of our views. We have sought to interpret Scripture according to the natural force of its language, and it becomes those who may differ from our view to show that our interpretation of it is incorrect. On one point alone, in our opinion—but that is not an essential point—are we at fault. We cannot tell when the change we have supposed in the time of killing and eating the passover took place. In every other respect, we consider our argument complete. We have shewn from Scripture what the time for doing this originally was. We have shewn that the prevailing Jewish party did not observe this time; and that our Saviour did. We have given very strong grounds, at least, for believing that in his time others agreed with him in his departure from common custom. And we have shewn that this theory, supposing it to be true, is a perfect reconciliation of a discrepancy which no other theory has solved. The difference of the evangelists, so far from being a proof of error, is but one of innumerable proofs of the perfect accuracy and fidelity of their narratives.

H. C.

MODERN MIRACLES.—THE ABBÉ PARIS.

AMONG the controversies which have distracted the Romish communion, that concerning Jansenism is one of the most remarkable. Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypres, left at his death, in 1638, a manuscript, which was published afterwards under the title of *Augustinus*. This book caused great sensation among the Jesuit party, and led to a succession of disputes which lasted for more than a century. All forms of influence were employed to suppress certain opinions said to be taught in the book of Jansen, but in vain. Jansenism still gathered around its standard men of strong religious sentiments, and not seldom men distinguished for their genius and erudition. Even the famous bull of Clement the XI., known as the bull *Unigenitus*, was insufficient to quell the storm, and in France especially, many appealed from it to a future council, and were known as *appellants*. Among these appellants was Francis de Paris, a deacon of the church of Paris, whom Mosheim accurately describes as “a man of noble birth, but of a gloomy temperament and excessively superstitious, and one who had voluntarily brought on his own death by abstinence from food and other

self-tortures." The name of this person, and the fact that miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb, are best known among us probably from the notice of them by Paley in his *Evidences*. As the history is a curious one, and its details not commonly known, it is proposed to give a brief sketch of the life of this singular man, and a short account of the miracles and the controversy which they excited. We shall derive our materials chiefly from the accounts left us by those who believed in and defended the genuineness of the miracles. These materials are chiefly a short memoir of De Paris, sundry anonymous treatises on the miracles published from 1731 to 1734, and the writings of M. Montgeron, one of the most indefatigable apologists of the miracles, to which we may add a MS. volume in quarto, in our own possession, containing additional details, which appear to be, in part at least, unpublished.

The story of the life of M. François de Paris is soon told. He was the child of illustrious parents, and born at Paris, June 30th, 1690. While yet a child he was characterized by many qualities which indicated the tendency of his mind. At the age of seven or eight years he was sent to school at Nanterre, where the regular canons found him so inapt a scholar, that his parents had to withdraw him from the school and take him home again. He was then instructed by private teachers, and acquired some taste for reading; above all, he took pleasure in reading the Bible. At the age of ten he was sent to the college of the Four Nations, where his tendencies became still more marked. While conscientious in his attendance to study, he would rise from his bed in the night, and weep and pray upon the floor of his room. His quiet and retiring disposition made him court solitude, and led him to flee from the ordinary amusements of youth. He took no part in boyish games, went to see no sights, and even avoided taking walks in company, his only diversion was to visit one or two friends whom he found like-minded with himself.

Having completed his course in philosophy he made known to his parents his desires to become an ecclesiastic, but this was altogether opposed to their wish, and they required him to enter upon the study of law. He conscientiously obeyed them, and when his course was finished repeated his request. He was now in his twenty-second year. All that he could obtain from his parents was the permission to retire for some time as a layman to one or two religious houses, a permission which he gladly embraced. His friends soon repented of the concession they had made, and recalled him to the parental roof, beneath which he continued the practices which he had begun at the places of his retreat. In the solitude of his chamber he spent his time

in prayer and the reading of the Bible, "calmly expecting the time when God would set him free." An attack of the small pox disfigured him, and made him less attractive to the world, but on his recovery his parents renewed their endeavours to induce him to follow his worldly interests; promises, threats, and all means were used in vain, and he was eventually dismissed from the bosom of his family. This expulsion was to him a deliverance, and in August, 1713, he re-entered the seminary of St. Magloire, where he took the ecclesiastical dress and the tonsure. He gave himself up to a life of seclusion, and to the performance of those exercises which he regarded as the duties of his station. The death of his parents soon after, relieved him from further anxiety, and the diversion from him of most of the property which he would have inherited, caused him no regret.

In 1715 he took orders, and not long subsequently consented to take charge of the affairs of his younger brother. This drew him from his retirement, but he persisted in his ascetic practices, and in the course of studies which he had entered upon. His house, while he had one, was furnished in the simplest manner; indeed, his whole furniture consisted of a bed, a table and three chairs. He abstained from the use of wine, ate as little as he could, and fasted every Friday. His scanty fare was shared by the poor, and all he had was placed at the disposal of the needy. With singular zeal he distributed many copies of religious books, and especially of the New Testament, and he did all he could for the benefit of others. Of course, so austere and remarkable a life attracted attention, and he was made a sub-deacon of the parish of St. Côme. Further advancement was well nigh forced upon him, but he escaped the promotion which he did not wish. In 1719 he retired to the college of Bayeux, where he redoubled his mortifications, wearing a hair shirt next his skin, and exposing himself to the extremes of heat and cold.

In 1720 he was made a deacon by the Cardinal de Noailles, but he obstinately refused to accept of any appointment which would require him to come more into public. He strove to rival and surpass the greatest ascetics of his time, sold his house and furniture, gave away the proceeds, and dismissed his servant. He withdrew to a miserable lodging in the Faubourg St. Marcel, where he redoubled his devotion to those practices which he regarded as essential to the highest sanctity. With a strange ingenuity he devised new methods of mortification, and shut himself in his chamber, from which he went out only on Sundays and festivals. His hour for rising was four in the morning, and three times every night he left his bed to pray. He fasted

and practised other austerities to such a degree that he became subject to convulsions. Nothing daunted, he continued his privations in the hope of complete detachment from the world. He now began to rise at two hours after midnight, and spent his time in meditation and prayer. His food was the coarsest bread, with soup made of cabbages, and rice boiled in water. His cabbage was boiled once a fortnight, and his rice once a week, part of it being daily warmed for his use. For exercise he laboured in the garden, for which it was his task to draw water from a deep well. After his death many persons used to go on pilgrimage to this well to drink the water! Abandoning the use of linen, he clothed himself in coarse woollen, and slept in his clothes on a palliasse, upon the floor, or upon a sorry mattress. Next to his breast he wore a texture of iron rings in the form of a heart, and armed with points which pierced his flesh. Round his waist he wore a girdle similarly armed, but his confessor compelled him to abandon this for an iron chain wrapped two or three times round his right arm. In preparing his food, for ordinary fuel he used pieces of turf, because their smoke and smell seemed better fitted to mortify his senses. His external appearance was so wretched that he was fit for no company,—cloak, coat, shoes, and hat being of the worst possible. He hid himself from his own friends, and would go and lodge with the poorest; indeed, he stripped himself of all he had, and gave away his income as fast as he received it. That he might have more to give, he learned the trade of a stocking weaver, and laboured hard at this humble calling.

In 1725 he was compelled by the authorities to undertake the functions of his office, which he did at St. Medard in Paris. Apart from the singularity of his conduct, he seems to have had some good qualities which are very rare. It is no wonder that while he found admirers and imitators, he found enemies, but he heeded neither and pursued his course. One day his friends gave him, for a treat, some salad mixed with oil and vinegar, this he accepted, but did not eat it till he had washed out the oil and vinegar in water! To carry out more perfectly his plans he went on certain pilgrimages, exposing himself to every possible hardship and fatigue. The result of one of these journeys was to throw him upon a sick bed, but he was no sooner off it than he renewed his self-martyrdom with some fresh severities. He took up his quarters in a shed in the garden, where he slept on an old chest, with two wooden logs for pillows. Again his health broke down, and this time he was visited with a dangerous tumour, which compelled the physicians to take him in hand, he submitted himself reluctantly, and only in part,

to their directions. It was evident that he could not last long, he therefore made his will, and prepared to die; his closing agonies were intense, and he fell a sacrifice to his mistaken austerities on the 1st May, 1727, in the thirty-seventh year of his age.

When it was noised abroad that he was dead, people flocked to his bedside, kissed his feet, carried away single hairs of his head as precious relics, and touched his body and his coffin with chaplets, images, and books, which were kept as holy things. He was buried in the cemetery of St. Medard, where his brother erected a monument with a long inscription to his memory.

We do not pause to reflect on a life so perversely thrown away, from false notions of obedience to Him who will have mercy and not sacrifice. Many accounted him a saint of the first magnitude, and the Jansenist party, to which he was warmly attached, encouraged the persuasion, and very soon published the astounding fact that miracles were being wrought at his tomb. Prove this, and not only do you prove him a saint, but you secure the divine testimony in favour of Jansenism, and by implication the condemnation of the Jesuits. Judge if the Jesuits were to be so easily foiled. Yet it required no small courage to attack these miracles, many of them were public enough, and involved extraordinary circumstances, the belief of them was popular, and the Jansenists pointed to them with triumph.

It very soon began to be hinted that extraordinary benefits were obtained through the intercession of M. de Paris, but it was some months before any notable example took place. At length in June, 1728, one Pierre Lero, who had been afflicted with ulcers in his legs, was induced to visit the tomb of de Paris, which he did on foot, but with great difficulty. Lero prayed upon the grave of the saint (as he is called), and promised certain masses if relieved. The sacristan gave him a morsel of the bedstead of the defunct to be applied to his sick limb, and departed. From day to day he got better, and another visit cured him completely! Such is the statement of the Jansenists, and if true, we must admit that it was a remarkable occurrence, but then the cure was *gradual*.

A second case was that of one Marie Orge, a woman of fifty-seven years of age, who suffered from erysipelas in the right leg, from fevers, and vomitings, with other ailings. Surgical aid rendered her very little assistance, so she visited the cemetery of St. Medard, where she prayed fervently for restoration, and went home much better, and was soon quite cured, and lived three years longer, when she died of quite a different malady.

The Jesuits persuaded her for a time to deny her first statement, but she returned to it, and died declaring it to have been true.

Six months after the death of de Paris, Elizabeth Laloe, a convert from Protestantism, who suffered from a severe injury caused by a blow upon her breast, affirmed that she had been healed by the application of the relics of the Jansenist saint.

In July, 1728, Madlle. Mossaron, who was afflicted with convulsions and partial paralysis, derived some benefit from a visit to the tomb.

In June, 1728, an inquiry was instituted into the genuineness of the asserted miracles.

In November, 1730, a remarkable case occurred in the effect produced upon one Anne le Franc, who had lost the use of her legs, and was almost blind, who had been blooded more than three hundred times, and had received extreme unction twenty times. It was affirmed that she had been cured in answer to a prayer offered upon the grave of M. de Paris. This cure was sustained by no fewer than one hundred and twenty certificates.

To confirm this miracle, it was asserted that soon after it a person named le Doux, who lay at the point of death, had been cured by the use of relics of de Paris, and this was followed by a case in which a man who had lost one eye and almost another obtained relief at the tomb; unfortunately, the blind eye was not restored.

The Jesuits, who have always been admirable tacticians, as bold as they were clever, saw that to allow the miracle on Anne le Franc to pass unchallenged would be very adverse to their course, and attacked it. The first result of the inquiries instituted was a document emanating from the Archbishop of Paris, declaring the said miracle false, and forbidding the faithful to honour the tomb of the new saint, or to say masses in his honour. This *mandement*, as it was called, was publicly read in the churches, and excited the strongest and most opposite feelings. Some of the Paris clergy counted it a triumph and expressed themselves accordingly, while others declared their dissent from it, and urged the people to trust in M. de Paris still, and still to visit his tomb. As might be supposed, the devotion at the tomb continued in defiance of authority, and new miracles were alleged as an answer to the document. Pilgrims from all parts of France were reputed to have been cured, and the most marvellous effects were attributed to the relics of the deceased abbé. Some who possessed them were rendered invulnerable, others received the gift of prophecy, and others were influenced in other ways. Those who slighted the new saint were said to be miraculously punished. The reports of these

miracles were presented to the archbishop, and new enquiries were demanded. On the other hand, the opposition became more determined than ever, and resisted with all its energy the efforts of the partizans of the miracles; even the court of Rome was moved, and took part in the controversy, ranked M. de Paris among the heretics and schismatics outside the pale of the Church, and declared the miracles false. The memoir of de Paris was condemned by the Inquisition, and publicly burned by the executioner. The excommunication of the saint, as they called him, had little influence in quelling the commotion, and the numerous writings which appeared against them, by their very violence, rather inflamed their passions than convinced them. The very Protestants took part in the affair, and, at the expense of their consistency (such was their hatred of the Jesuits), sided with the Jansenists.

The miracles still continued, and the number of the disciples of the new saint increased, in the face of all opposition. One of the most extraordinary results was the conversion of M. Montgeron, a man of high rank, but a most worldly character. This man was so affected by what he saw, or fancied, at the tomb, that he abandoned his course of life, and was for many years the most active defender of the miracles, which he recorded in successive publications. Nothing could shake his faith, and although severely punished he persevered, and dying left behind him a MS. on the subject, which he had written in prison.

Interdicts, threats, imprisonments were repeated, but all to no purpose. At length the king published an ordonnance for the closing of the cemetery of St. Medard, where de Paris was buried, and it was seriously proposed to exhume his body, to remove it beyond the reach of the credulous and intoxicated multitude, who were not content with relics and images, but would get as near to their beloved saint as it was possible. Gradually, however, the confusion died away, the crowd diminished, the miracles decreased in number, and in the course of a few years the affair was practically at an end. The cause of Jansenism suffered by that which might have been its glory, and they lost the desperate throw on which they had staked almost their existence. If the Abbé Paris had died in league with the Jesuits, the Romish calendar would have gained a saint, but the case was otherwise, and the result that which we have indicated. Little more than a century has passed away, and the whole subject is well nigh forgotten. Strange that a controversy which agitated France for years, and excited the attention and interest of Europe, should have left so little to remind us of it, but perhaps it is owing to the fact that while

the Jansenists have passed away, the Jesuits have since then seen reverses which make us wonder that they still exist.

We might ask what would have been the result of such minute examination in other cases of pretended miracles and saints. While the dispute lasted, the writer of a series of letters, professedly by an Englishman, adopted this line of tactics, but as he was compelled to publish surreptitiously, as well as to write anonymously, he had no fair field, and effected nothing.

The history is not without its lessons, certainly few canonized saints have had so many miracles alleged in their favour, seldom have they been so minutely described, so publicly performed, so solemnly attested. Yet these miracles of M. de Paris, with all these advantages, and recorded by contemporaries as regularly as we record court news, were pronounced a cheat and a lie, while the others, doubtfully authenticated in every sense, are made the ground of worship. We are disposed to think that the miracles of M. de Paris failed for two reasons, first and chief, because they favoured a falling party; and, secondly, because they were investigated at the time. We think that few of the modern saints would come unscathed through such an ordeal, and that this case is one of the most decisive which can be appealed to against the absurd and fictitious miracles of modern Rome, or of its so-called saints.

Q.

ON THE TIME WHEN THE BOOK OF JUDGES WAS WRITTEN.

THE Book of Judges introduces us to one of the darkest, most remarkable, and by no means least instructive phases of Israel's history. It connects the period of the monarchy with the time of Moses and his immediate successor, and thus forms a link which is of the greatest importance to the student of the rise and progress of the Israelitish power. It exhibits a contest between religion and superstition, which testifies in no small degree to the general character of that age. It records events which are among the most extraordinary that ever happened, while a careful study of its details cannot fail to elicit most weighty lessons as to the moral government of God in the world.

The date of the *events* recorded in this book may be determined without much difficulty, and with approximate correct-

ness. The question as to when the *book was written* is by no means so easily decided. We purpose briefly to discuss this point, and to arrange in order the evidence that can be gathered on it.

It has been generally allowed that the book is divisible into two distinct portions, which we may with tolerable certainty consider to have been written at separate times, as will presently appear. The first part consists of chapters i.—xvi., and contains notices of the chief points in the history of Israel from the death of Joshua to that of Samson. The second part (chapters xvi.—xxi.) does not follow the first as a connected narrative, but is a record of certain events which happened *some* time during the administration of the judges; probably not very long after the decease of Joshua.

In endeavouring to determine the date of each of these portions we must, from the nature of the case, be guided almost altogether by *internal* evidence. This can only proceed from a careful investigation of the book itself, and must therefore be both interesting and instructive. The very fact that there still exists a record of events so ancient—so utterly beyond any contemporary history that can by any possibility be reckoned trustworthy—is one which may well excite wonder; and would be almost inexplicable, were it not that that record is a portion of that divine word, which amid all the wrecks of earthly kingdoms and human compositions has survived in its integrity—proving in no unnoticeable manner the words of an apostle,—that while “all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass,”—while “the grass withereth and the flower thereof falleth away,” yet “the word of the Lord endureth for ever.” (1 Peter i. 24, 25.)

We may, however, and in inquiries like the present we *must*, recognize the human channel through which God’s word has been conveyed. The divine element did not crush the human, but ennobled it; making it the means of conveying to the mind of man truths beyond its own reach, in a form compatible with its understanding, and consonant with its sympathies. And thus in endeavouring to ascertain the date of any portion of the Bible, we are at liberty, under certain very considerable restrictions,^a to apply similar tests to those which we should employ in the case of an ordinary book. It is in the historical portions

^a *e. g.*, We certainly may not, as recent writers (*Essays and Reviews*, p. 343), blame us for not doing, take “the mention of a name later than the supposed age of the prophet” in “evidence of the date.” Such a method evidently assumes one main point in debate, viz., whether there be a predictive element in prophecy, or not.

of Scripture that this principle is *most* useful—partly because the guidance of the Spirit of God in their case, differing from His operation in foretelling things future, or revealing things of the unknown past,^b left somewhat more of room for the human element to shew itself; and still more because the subjects and nature of these portions afford constant opportunities for some tokens of the age in which each was written.

In reading the Book of Judges every one must be struck with the vivid and accurate manner in which the events recorded are described—an accuracy extending not merely to the great exploits, but even to the smallest details. Moreover, ancient customs are referred to without explanation, and names^c incidentally mentioned that would have little place in the nation's memory very long after their own time. All this seems to indicate no long interval between the events and the written account of them. Any one who will attentively study the Song of Deborah and the history of Gideon, will scarcely fail to be convinced that these portions were committed to writing either during or soon after the lives of those persons. The probability is that the separate accounts were written soon after the events which they record; and then that the whole of the first portion of the book was arranged and edited (perhaps with some additions) by some one man, not very long after the period of the Judges.

This latter circumstance is rendered very probable, if not certain, from the arrangement of the book. In ch. ii. verses 8—23, we have a programme of the work, which is carried out in detail in ch. iii—xvi:—thus rendering apparent an unity of design pervading the whole. Of course no attempt to decide who this author was can be of any use. Samuel has been named with much probability; though merely because no other name equally probable has come down to us.

We now proceed to some more minute evidence touching the date of the first sixteen chapters.

I. The Book of Judges has some passages which are common to itself and Joshua.

(i.) Judges ii. 6—10, narrates the dismissal of Israel by Joshua, each man to his own inheritance—Joshua's death and burial—and the fidelity of the nation to God till after the decease, of the elders who were alive with Joshua.

This passage occurs in a very slightly different form in Joshua xxiv. 28—31.

^b *e. g.*, The Mosaic account of the Creation.

^c *e. g.*, Shamgar, ch. v. 6 (see Josephus, *Ant.*, v. iv. 3.)

(ii.) Judges i. 9—15, records the capture of certain places, and the destruction of certain kings. It also mentions the fact of and circumstances connected with the marriage of Othniel and Caleb's daughter.

The whole of this passage occurs almost verbatim in Joshua xv. 13—19.

(iii.) Judges i. 21, records the same fact as Joshua xv. 63 : to which we shall presently recur.

The first of these passages occurs in strict chronological sequence at the end of Joshua, serving as a species of appendix or conclusion to it. In the Book of Judges its position is different ; as it there follows the general description of Israel's state, after Joshua's death, and forms the first sentence in the programme of the work.

The events recorded in the second passage are distinctly stated in Judges i. to have occurred after Joshua's death. Hence the account is evidently parenthetical in Joshua xv. ; and seems merely to have been added to the account of Caleb's lot, as a brief memoir of himself and his family. A similar account may be given of the third passage in Joshua.

It will appear on reflection that it is more probable that the second passage was taken from Judges and incorporated into Joshua, than *vice versâ*. And though it is impossible to draw any certain inference from any or all of these common portions as to the order in which the books were written, yet either of the following hypotheses would solve the phenomenon :—

a. That Joshua and Judges were taken from the same sources (viz. extant records), and probably therefore were written about the same time.

β. That Judges was written before Joshua. (This will be again referred to.)

II. The Jebusites were dwelling in Jerusalem when the Book of Judges was written (ch. i. 21.)

But their stronghold was taken by David (2 Sam. v. 7.)

This fixes the date of the book in one direction.

We may also notice that this passage [which has been marked (iii.) above] affords some presumption that the hypothesis (*β.*) is true. For in Joshua the Benjamites are considered as part of Judah, while in Judges their tribe is distinctly mentioned. Hence it appears likely that when the Book of Joshua was written, the tribes had become more mingled, and thought less of their separate existences, which points to a later date.

III. The death of Abimelech is minutely narrated in Judges ix. 53.

This account is referred to—almost quoted—by Joab in 2 Sam. xi. 21.

IV. In the last five chapters of the book, the fact that “in those days there was no king in Israel,” is four times stated. This is never mentioned in the first sixteen chapters.

This seems to shew that chapters i.—xvi. were written before the commencement of the monarchy; or, at all events, before its establishment had ceased to be fresh in the recollection of all.

From these considerations we collect with certainty that the first part of the Book of Judges was written before David’s reign, and probably before that of Saul. And certainly no name has come down to us so capable and so likely to have edited the book as Samuel.

The remainder of the book contains a dark picture of a corrupt age. The events which it records can hardly be assigned with certainty to any particular period; though, as we have already intimated, they probably belong to a time not very far removed from the days of Joshua. But on no question have more widely different opinions prevailed, than as to the date at which this narrative was written or cast into its present shape. It appears to us, however, that it is possible to fix its period, with a considerable degree of certainty, within tolerably narrow limits. The following considerations will, it is hoped, lead to this conclusion:—

I. It is no argument as to the date of this portion that it has been placed in the same book with the rest. This is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the events belong to the same period.

II. It is scarcely possible to suppose it was written at the same time as the earlier part of the book: partly because it is not connected with it in chronological order; and partly for a reason which will appear under the next head.

III. It was evidently written after Saul was chosen king—probably *some time* after; as the expression, which so often occurs,—“In those days there was no king in Israel,” seems to indicate that a sufficient period had elapsed since such was the case, to render the recollection of the fact not quite a matter of certainty.

IV. Yet the narration of the events is vivid and very minute; which tends to argue no very long separation between them and their record. If, however, we consider this portion of the book to have been written from previous records, this argument has less weight.

V. Israel and Judah are treated as one people, and spoken

of under the national name of Israel. To this must be added the significant fact that no *mention* is made of their union. This is a very strong argument that the date is prior to that of the revolt of the ten tribes.

[These considerations fix the time required within narrow limits; and were it not for what others have written, we might perhaps stop here. But there is one passage in the text from which several critics, and among them men whose learning is entitled to the highest respect, have inferred a widely different date. We proceed, therefore, to examine this.]

VI. It appears certain that this portion of the book was written before the captivity of the ten tribes.

(i.) Because it does not contain Chaldee words, as is the case with *Ezra*, and other books written after the captivity.

[This will not account for the supposition that it was written in Judah after the captivity of Israel; which however, if worth considering, is disproved by what follows.]

(ii.) Because the passage which has been thought to shew that it was written after the captivity, really favours, or rather proves the contrary supposition. As the whole pith of the dispute lies here, we will give the passage entire.

“And the children of Dan set up the graven image; and Jonathan the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan *until the day of the captivity of the land*.”

“And they set up Micah’s graven image, which he made, *all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh*” (*Judges xviii. 30, 31.*)

If those who have argued from this passage that the last part of the book was written after the captivity, had fairly and fully examined the words of the text, they could hardly have come to such a conclusion. For the most part the inference appears to have been drawn hastily,* and to be simply the result of the first impression conveyed by the sound of the words. We will examine the passage by calling attention to the following points.

a. From *à priori* considerations it is highly improbable that the words “captivity of the land,” can refer either to the extinction of the kingdom of Israel or to the Babylonish captivity. It is incredible, unless distinctly stated, that these priests could have been allowed to continue their idolatry through the days of Samuel, David, and Solomon. When we take into account

* Rosenmüller, who is among the upholders of the later date, bestows a mere passing notice upon the passage.

all the circumstances of the case, this argument certainly appears very strong. We pass, however, to matters of fact.

β. The second verse of the passage above quoted defines the time alluded to in the first. Taking the two verses as a whole we collect that "the house of God was in *Shiloh*" "*until* the day of the captivity of the land." Now we may observe,

I. The ark remained in Shiloh till captured by the Philistines at the time of the death of Eli (1 Sam. iv. 3, 4, 11).

II. It never returned there. It was brought by the Philistines to Bethshemesh (1 Sam. vi.), thence transferred to Kirjath-jearim, where it remained twenty years (1 Sam. vii. 1, 2), was brought thence by David, and finally placed in Zion (2 Sam. vi. 2—12).

[Compare Ps. lxxviii. 58—69, especially verses 67, 68.]

This shews clearly that the ark ceased to have any connexion with Shiloh after the death of Eli.

γ. The phrase "captivity of the land" is not at all too strong an one to be applied to the capture of the ark by the Philistines. For the ark was considered to be the symbol of the divine presence,^f and "the house of God."^g Hence it was the distinguishing feature and national glory of Israel. Its capture, therefore, would be a fearful humiliation, tantamount to the captivity of the nation itself.

That such was the case is evident from the effect the news had on Eli (1 Sam. iv. 17, 18); from the name Ichabod (iv. 21, 22); from the whole account in Ps. lxxviii. 58—64; especially ver. 61, "delivered his strength into captivity and his glory into the enemy's hand."

δ. It accords with the above view that the capture of the ark is expressly declared to have occurred in consequence of *high places* and *graven images* (Ps. lxxviii. 58, 59).

This connects the account in Judges xviii. with that event in a very striking manner.

From these considerations we infer, and we think on sufficient evidence, that the event referred to in Judges xviii. 30, under the name of "the captivity of the land," was the capture of the ark by the Philistines.

This being established, it follows that the words "captivity of the land" *never could have been penned after* the captivity of the ten tribes had taken place. For after the latter event the words would never have been used in so ambiguous a manner.

^f "Lift up your heads . . . and the king of glory shall come in" (Psalm xxiv. 7—10).

^g "Thou that *dwellest* between the cherubims" (Ps. lxxx. 1).

The whole difficulty is thus removed ; and the passage examined above, so far from favouring the later date, is in reality one of the strongest arguments for the earlier.

From all that has been said it will appear that the latter portion of the book may be safely assigned to the period which elapsed between the establishment of the monarchy and the reign of Rehoboam ; and most probably to the time either of David or of Solomon.



THE PRAYERS OF THE LORD JESUS ILLUSTRATIVE OF HIS HUMANITY.

A MYSTERY hangs round every prayer of the Saviour. Whether we follow him in the early morning to the solitary place ; or whether we watch with him through the eastern night on the lonely mountain top ; or whether we hear the invocation to his Father burst from his lips at the grave of Lazarus ; or whether we witness his last agony of prayer amid the shade of the olive trees in Gethsemane ; wonder and awe take possession of our minds. That the Son in the days of his incarnation should long for intercourse with his Father ; that he should often seek silence and retirement for the purpose of communion with him, can easily be understood. But that the Lord, even in his humiliation, should have positive need of prayer for grace and strength is a mystery beyond our comprehension. That the body should grow weary ; that the flesh should succumb to wants and necessities inherent in its nature ; that the human frame should assert its rights, and send him athirst to the woman of Samaria, or rock him to sleep on the sea of Galilee ; these things neither surprise nor startle us. But that the soul of Jesus should become faint ; that it should shew sympathy with the weakness of the body and share in its imperfections, is a fact well calculated to fill us with astonishment.

It might be naturally supposed that the prayer of Jesus was only communion with his Father. If there were no express testimony of revelation on the subject, it would reasonably be surmised that nothing beyond this was thought of ; and that Jesus sought the presence of God as we might seek the presence of those we love. But such is not the fact. The prayer of Jesus involves much much more than this ; it is the expression of his want ; it arose out of his sense of need, as truly as the prayer of the believer

arises out of his sense of need. The prayer of Christ is the earnest supplication for guidance; it is the seeking for assistance; it is the cry of distress; it is the outpouring of his soul in trouble; it is the heartfelt entreaty for strength to enable him to bear up under the pressure of physical pain and mental horror. We see the man Christ Jesus, in all the weakness of his manhood, looking for aid and help from his God. And this must be so because of our Lord's true humanity. However much the divinity and humanity blended in him, the divine never interfered with the working of the human nature. He was perfect man; he shared all the want and need of man's nature; he felt all its weaknesses. The divine which existed within him never raised him above and beyond the humanity he had condescended to assume; it never exalted him into a sphere of being freed from the struggle and conflict to which flesh is heir; and experiencing with men their frailties, their sorrows, and their cares, he was constrained with men to seek for the strength necessary to bear them in the lowly attitude of prayer. Perhaps nowhere does the humanity of the Lord Jesus shine forth more clearly and conspicuously, than when bowed in heart and troubled in soul, in all the consciousness of human weakness, he pours out his supplications before his God.

It is the object of this essay to illustrate the humanity of Christ by contemplating him in the attitude of prayer. We would attempt to read the mystery of the incarnation by gazing on the mind of Jesus as it lies unveiled before his Father in the act of prayer. A few passages of Scripture have been handed down to us, in which the heart of the praying Saviour is thus presented to our scrutiny. Such passages can never fail to be of inestimable preciousness to the Church at large; but they possess a double value to those who love to explore the heights and depths of that humanity of our Lord, which, assumed once in humility, shall be his triumphant crown of glory throughout the ages of eternity. May we draw nigh in lowliness and reverence, looking for the gracious assistance of his good Spirit to teach us.

The first recorded instance from which we can gather anything of the nature of our Lord's prayer, is in Luke vi. 12.

It was the commencement of his ministry. He was about to choose from the general gathering of his disciples certain men, who were to form an inner circle, and enter into closer communion and relationship with himself. Much depended on the choice. The men now selected were to be specially taught and trained under his own eye. It was to them that the mission of upholding his teaching was to be committed when he should

be removed. Whether his doctrine should be strangled at its birth, or whether it should be propagated throughout the world, depended (humanly speaking) on the wisdom of his choice. And more than this, they were to be his companions and associates. On their faithfulness, on their friendship, on their power of understanding him, his own happiness must in a great measure depend. When the world scoffed, and Pharisees taunted, and his usual followers were offended, it is to them he must have recourse. With them his chafed spirit must find calm and repose; from them he must look for all the sympathy he could hope to obtain. Whether he thought of the future prospects of the religion he came to found, or whether he had regard to his own comfort and well-being, the choice was alike momentous. St. Luke informs us what means were taken to insure the most fitting persons. "And it came to pass in those days, that he went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God." We here see Jesus offering a prayer for guidance at a critical point of his career. He did not exert the infallible virtue of the divinity which dwelt within him, he did not at once proceed in the power of the Godhead, without hesitation or deliberation, to make choice of the most suitable instruments for his purpose; he did not exercise the exalted prerogative of reading men's hearts, and laying bare by his omnipotence their past and future before his eyes; but he watches their conduct, he converses with them, he frequents their society, he draws his conclusions from their words and actions, he marks their characters, and finally, at once acting like man, and giving to man an example to follow, he lays the matter before God. Then he chooses, and the wisdom of the choice is abundantly verified by the result.

How far in this matter the human instinct was corrected and controlled by the divine intuition, must ever be unknown. The conclusion arrived at will vary according to the peculiar cast of mind of the enquirer. Those who are accustomed to regard our Lord chiefly on the divine side of his character, will make the divine element predominate largely in the reasons which influenced the choice; those who contemplate the Saviour principally from the human aspect, will refer the decision in the main to the insight into character which Christ possessed as man. There is, of course, no question as to the capability of the Redeemer to exercise supernatural power; the point is, did he do so? and, in what measure? In the case of Peter and Nathanael (John i. 42; i. 47) he undoubtedly read their character by divine penetration without previous knowledge; and the words of St. John (vi. 64) compel us to believe the same of Judas. The hypo-

thesis of some German theologians that the words are not to be interpreted strictly, but that St. John, writing after the event, imputed a knowledge to Christ which he really did not possess, cannot be received by those who believe in the plenary inspiration of Scripture. The name of Boanerges, though according to St. Mark (iii. 17) given to the sons of Zebedee upon the call to the Apostolate, and after an opportunity had been afforded of tracing their characters, might have been previously added, as in the case of Simon Peter. The fact, however, that he did not choose them at once, nor until by personal intercourse he had been able to judge of their dispositions of fitness for their office; and still more the prayer for guidance and direction, proves to demonstration, that on this occasion our Lord was not wholly guided by the divine omniscience which dwelt within him. The incident shews us the man Christ Jesus acting as a man; it holds him up as a model which we may follow; it gives us a beautiful picture of his perfect humanity; and it exhibits him coming as a member of the human family to seek for aid and counsel from the great Hearer of prayer, to whom all flesh shall come.

The next prayer of our Lord that we shall bring forward is the one pronounced at the grave of Lazarus. It is a prayer for assistance in working a miracle; or rather it is a thanksgiving for the assistance which had been given him. The expressed thanksgiving includes the unuttered prayer. Our Lord on his approach to Bethany had been met by Martha, and joined a little later by Mary, and the Jews who had come to comfort her. In a series of broken, dark, and enigmatical utterances, he had raised the expectations of those who were susceptible to his teaching for some mighty display of the divine power. It was a presentiment rather than a definite idea; and none, unless perhaps we except Mary, who had been accustomed to penetrate deeper into her Lord's mind than the rest, seem to have looked for the actual resurrection of Lazarus from the dead. Amid the tears of the mourning followers, and even of Christ himself, they reached the tomb. Silencing Martha by a word, he commands to take away the stone. Then, before the open grave and in presence of the dead, "Jesus lifted up his eyes and said: Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me; and I knew that thou hearest me always, but because of the people which stood by I said it, that they may believe that thou hast sent me."

These words furnish us with the materials for tracing out the means by which Christ wrought his miracles. It teaches that they were not accomplished by the inherent power of the

divinity which dwelt within him, but followed as the result of faith and prayer. The power of working miracles was *given* to the Son. It was a power given in answer to prayer; a testimony in some degree to himself, but in a much greater degree to the people, that the Father heard and acknowledged him. In his filial relation all that he had was not his own, but was bestowed upon him by the Father. During his humiliation upon earth the acts of power which he manifested were not done in virtue of the glory which he possessed as the Son of God from all eternity. That glory he had laid aside when he became the Son of Man. The grace, and truth, and power which beamed forth in dim during the period of his earthly life was the fulness of the Father within; the fruit of that abiding Spirit which was given to him without measure. It is the express testimony of Jesus (John v. 19), that the Son can do nothing of himself, and that his power is a derived power drawn from the Father. The works of Christ did not proceed from his own will, but from the will of the Father, and in like manner the energy by which the will is inspired does not proceed immediately from the Son, but only mediately, having its source in the Father who is the fountain (*ἀρχή*) of all life and power.

There is a very noticeable distinction between the prayers of the Godman, and the prayers which proceed from all others of the human race. The prayers of Jesus were always heard and granted according to the letter of their request. In other words, there was always harmony between the mind of Christ and the mind of God. We know that God hears and answers the prayers of all who cry unto him; but these are answered, not according to the letter of the petition, but in such a way as God sees most fitting. No man can ever say—at least in the same sense as Jesus—I know that thou hearest me always, because in no man is there perfect oneness of will with the divine will. Our faith is as a grain of mustard seed, the faith of the Son was whole and perfect. His own word so often repeated, and which holds good of all, is equally applicable to himself in his human relationship, “According unto thy faith be it unto thee.”

While, however, we admit fully the subordination of the Son to the Father, it must not be forgotten that the Son is very God, of the same essence and substance with the Father. His miracles were performed by faith and prayer only because he willed that they should be so performed. None could take from him that divinity which was intrinsically his own; but it was the good pleasure of the Son to veil that inherent glory which he possessed in the bosom of the Father before the world was. Nor has this subordination any tendency to uphold Arian or

Socinian errors. It only exists when we view our Lord from the side of his humanity. When we pass over to the other side, and consider him in his divine relationship, it ceases altogether. If one discourse (John v.), declares most plainly that the Son can do nothing of himself, another (John x.), most emphatically vindicates his Godhead. However much later sceptics may endeavour to explain away the *ἐν ἑσμεν* of Christ, contemporary Jews understood it rightly enough as claiming equality with Jehovah. They sought to stone the speaker as being guilty of blasphemy. The line separating the divinity from the humanity is vague and indistinct. In almost every recorded instance it is impossible to define exactly how much is to be set down to the human nature, how much is to be attributed to the divine. I think we shall best arrive at a correct interpretation of Scripture, and best be able to appreciate the character of our Lord, by attributing to the humanity all which seems to belong to the humanity, and to the divinity all which seems to belong to the divinity; without being too careful to harmonize results, which, inasmuch as they spring from a union to our capacities unfathomable, must be necessarily marvellous and mysterious.

Some have supposed that the raising of Lazarus was essentially different from the other miracles of Christ. Believing that other miracles were wrought by Christ's indwelling divine power, they regard this as accomplished by God for him, and class it among answers to prayer. But as this is the only miracle in which we are told anything of the means by which Christ performed them, it seems much more reasonable to take it as a type than as an exception. It is more reasonable to suppose that *all* the miracles of our Lord were dependent upon the power given to him—were, in fact, answers to prayer, than that the raising of Lazarus was a solitary instance. This conclusion is strengthened, we may say proved, by two considerations: the dependence of the Son upon the Father, of which we have already spoken; and the fact that as prayer and thanksgiving were not isolated fragments in Christ's life, he could have expressed himself in like terms in regard to any of his miracles.

In John xii. 27, 28, a prayer of the Saviour is recorded, uttered under peculiarly trying circumstances. It is a prayer in which anguish and apprehension seize, as it were, upon the human heart of Jesus, and press from him an exclamation at once expressive of his trouble and his submission.

The occasion which gave rise to it was this: It was probably the day of his triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The people had gone forth to welcome the prophet whose late miracle had filled them with wonder. Meeting him at the descent of the Mount

of Olives they had preceded him in triumph, causing the city to ring again with the echoes of their hosannas. Amid the senseless jubilation of the fickle populace, and the sad stern lament of Jesus, they reach the temple. There vindicating, as at the commencement of his ministry, the honour of his Father's house, he is encountered by his old enemies the Pharisees. Their fear and hatred is increased tenfold by his enthusiastic reception by the common people. Attracted by the commotion some heathens (*Ἕλληνες*) who happened to be in Jerusalem, wish to see him. They make their request through Philip, one of his hellenistic disciples. Philip having consulted one of his fellow disciples, informs Jesus. The sacred historian does not tell us if the request was granted, and in absence of any direct information it is idle to speculate whether they were presented to the Lord or not. But their request gave rise to very weighty words. Viewing the wish of these strangers as a type of the desire which all nations were to have towards him, the Redeemer naturally looks forward to his death through which their desire was to be fulfilled. "The hour is come that the Son of Man should be glorified. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." And as he speaks the whole impending scene of his sufferings rises before his view. He sees himself alone, friendless and forsaken. He beholds the countless multitude who have collected to see him suffer. He sees the same lips which lately welcomed him with hallelujahs, now quivering with the savage yell, Crucify him, Crucify him. He hears the mocking voices of priests and elders taunting him in his last agony. He sees the brutal soldiery collected round his cross, and the human sensitive soul of Jesus shrinks from the shame and agony. "Now is my soul troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour; but for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify thy name."

There is a difficulty about the punctuation of this prayer which materially affects the sense. Some would place a note of interrogation after the clause, "Father, save me from this hour." The sense of the passage will then be as follows, "Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Shall I pray to my Father to save me from this hour? but it was for the very purpose of passing through this hour of pain and death that I came. No; rather let me say, Father, glorify thy name." Others read the sentence affirmatively and think, "Father, save me from this hour," to be a veritable prayer. In this case the passage may be thus paraphrased, "Now is my soul troubled; and how shall I express this inward trouble? Father, save me

from this hour, since to this hour I am come, that I might be saved in it. Father, glorify thy name (by saving me).” I think this second to be the right meaning of the prayer. Our Lord was not saved from passing through the pain of that hour, but the very exhausting it was his glorification. The whole is a true prayer; and the whole was granted. The Son was saved, because through suffering he was triumphant; the Father’s name was glorified, because he was obedient unto death.

The point, however, which chiefly concerns our present purpose is the troubling of the soul of Jesus as the cause of his prayer. “The life of God in him did not exclude the uprising of human feelings as the prospect of suffering and death rose before him; it only kept them within their proper limit.” Not by unhumanizing himself, but by allowing every pure human feeling to have its due effect, was the Son of Man to realize the ideal of a perfect humanity. As David in Messianic Psalms had poured out the trouble of his soul, till deep answered unto deep; the Son of David was to penetrate into the truer and more exalted meaning of these prophetic songs, and to fulfil them to the utmost with his far-reaching cry: “My soul is cast down and disquieted within me; Lord, be thou my helper and deliverer; be thou my strong rock and castle of defence; be thou my salvation and my glory.” To those who are accustomed to look upon Christ as their model *man*; who are not afraid to watch all the feelings and impulses of humanity mirroring themselves in his sinless person; to those who do not shrink from looking upon Jesus as their brother, born in their likeness and partaker of their flesh, the alternations in his mind are full of comfort and instruction. In his troubling of soul they see that sorrow may be holy, and that the flesh may rightly shrink from suffering; in his outburst of prayer they may learn to carry their griefs to God with the cry: “Save me, Father, from this hour;” in his perfect resignation they may be taught a lesson of loving trustfulness and meek submission, echoing, though at a long distance, his holy prayer: “Father, glorify thy name.”

We must not forget to notice the thorough naturalness of this troubled exclamation. The same thing occurs, in a lesser degree, in the life of Elijah, and, if we may venture to make the comparison, affords an admirable illustration. Elijah had passed through a day of soul-stirring excitement. He had rebuked the king; he had called down fire from heaven; he had vindicated the majesty of Jehovah; he had slain the idolatrous priests of Baal; he had saved the land from the famine which desolated it. The concourse disperses; the noise and tumult is at an end; the prophet is left alone in his solitary dwelling on the top of the

desolate Carmel. Then comes a change. The excitement dies away. Languor and despondency succeed; and he who yesterday feared not to brave the wrath of the king, and the fury of the exasperated, starving people, now flies precipitately before the threat of a woman. Very much of the same kind may be traced in the feelings of our Lord on this occasion. Perfect man as he was, he could not but have felt keenly the excitement of his triumphal entry into Jerusalem; he could not but have been stirred by the purifying of the temple; he could not but have experienced some exaltation at the desire of the heathen to see him. Suddenly a different scene rises before his vision—his death-scene. The last sacramental meal, the agony of Gethsemane, the howling of the populace, the scourging, the cross, the grave—all are present. The transition was instantaneous. The heart fails; the human soul trembles at the prospect. Those who with this shifting panorama before them cannot understand the feeling of despondency and shrinking which wrung from his lips the cry, "My soul is troubled; save me, Father, from this hour," must have formed to themselves a very inadequate idea of the perfect humanity of Christ.

We proceed to the Lord's agony of prayer in Gethsemane. "Oh, my Father, if it be possible let this cup pass from me! nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt." Nowhere, perhaps, is the manhood of Christ seen so plainly as here. Apprehension, trouble, dismay, anguish of soul, shrinking from death, and dread at the more fearful conflict with sin and hell, stir his being to its depths. "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death." Every feeling which naturally would arise in our hearts at the contemplation of a prospect so terrible, exercise their full force in him. It is the Man of Sorrows going forth in all the weakness of man's nature to suffering and death. It is the son of the human mother, in all the abasement of the inferior nature, about to drink the cup of anguish to the dregs. It is Jesus "in the days of his flesh" carrying the pent-up agony of his life before his Father, at the moment that he is about to consummate his self-surrender by his death. But the divinity is only veiled, not concealed. Ever and anon it flashes forth in brightness all the more intense for the darkness which surrounds it. The calm, sorrowful rebuke to the sleeping disciples, the unmoved steadfastness of the divine will, the falling backward of the armed multitude at his word of power, the stern command to the too impetuous Peter, the lofty tone in which he declares that more than twelve legions of angels are only waiting a nod to hasten to his rescue, the healing of the stricken servant's ear—these things proclaim to all who possess hearing ears, that a

greater than any mere child of Adam is here. If the humanity is most prominent, we have not to look far for manifest tokens of the divine within him. In the agony of Gethsemane, as in every other incident of his mysterious life, the humanity and divinity find in him their meeting-place.

Our present object, however, is with the human side of this wonderful event, and to that we will turn our attention.

He had risen from the sacramental table; he had pronounced those beautiful farewell discourses which St. John has recorded for the everlasting benefit of the Church; he had given utterance to that inimitable prayer, in which, viewing all things as already accomplished, he enters proleptically on his mediatorial and high-priestly office. They sing a hymn, and go to the Mount of Olives. A change comes over him. One of those sudden transitions, to which the mind is liable in seasons of great emotion and excitement, seizes on him. The quiet, God-like calm which he had preserved while comforting his disciples, and while engaged in prayer for them, passes away, and gives place to an agony of feeling. The human soul gives way before the pressure of that hour. He is sore amazed.

The garden of Gethsemane was a place to which the Lord often resorted. He had often been accustomed to cross the brook Cedron, and lead his disciples into the quiet retirement of the olive-trees which grew around. It had many times before seen the Saviour bending in prayer, or pouring out thanksgiving or adoration before his Father. But it is different to-night. It is now to witness his last agony of prayer. The great sacrifice is to be completed. The last conflict is to be fought and won. Satan is to be crushed and vanquished. The sinless Lamb of God tastes death for every man. He bears the curse of sin. He makes atonement for his people. But even the God-man staggers beneath the load; even he can scarce sustain the burden of a world's iniquity. In conquering he grows faint. Nature can endure no longer. His sweat is as great drops of blood falling to the ground.

In the midst of this anguish a little trait brings home to our hearts the reality of the manhood of Christ. In this hour of weakness and abasement he longs for human sympathy and fellowship. He would not be alone at the last trying time. As stay after stay broke from him, as the last final conflict comes nigher and nigher, as the reality of fearful death—doubly fearful to the Sinless One—rose before his view, as sin embracing him in her shadow overwhelmed him with unutterable horror, he clings almost convulsively to the last earthly support left him. He falls back on the love and faithfulness of his chosen com-

panions. Charging them to tarry in wakefulness and prayer, he leaves the greater part of his disciples at a little distance. But he chooses three of their number to watch and pray close beside him in his temptation. As in his glorification on the mount he had willed to have sharers in his triumph, so now in his agony shall these same three favoured followers share his humiliation and support him under it. There is something exquisitely beautiful in this human craving of the Saviour for companionship in his anguish; something which enables us at once to recognize him as one who is our brother-man; something which proves to us intuitively, that, in taking upon himself our likeness and our flesh, the Redeemer assumed all the inward feelings and longings to which our nature is subject. And at the same time he blesses and hallows the interchange of love and the reliance upon fellowship. If the Son of God would not forego the solace and aid of those he loved, how shall we, in our despair, affect to despise the sympathy of friendship which he has hallowed to us by his example.

It is important in the consideration of this prayer to keep in view the two wills which co-existed in Christ. The human soul (*ψυχή*) with its human affections and human will is troubled. It shrinks from the horror of death. It would gladly escape the shame and torture of the cross. But the spirit (*πνεῦμα*) is undisturbed. The divine will in Christ knows nothing of the shifting and vacillation of the soul. It is unalterably fixed in the steadfastness of its purpose. It remains in unmoved union with the will of the Father. While the flesh in dismay is exclaiming, "Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee; let this cup pass from me;" the higher spiritual being, calm and resigned, can say in the depths of his divine consciousness, "Thy will be done." The soul was crushed down, even to death, by the weight of anguish which lay upon the Lord; but the Spirit could, in spite of all, rest serene, relying surely on the divine wisdom. Herein the personality of Jesus differs from our personality. In us, when any deeper emotion stirs our being, our spirit is liable to be affected by the alternations of calmness or distress which affect our soul and flesh. It is likely to be depressed or exalted by bodily weakness or animal (*ψυχικός*) spirits (according to the incorrect popular expression). Our spirit (*πνεῦμα*) is only partially informed by the Holy Spirit in virtue of our faith; and, therefore, is very variable indeed. But in Christ this was not the case. His spirit was wholly and thoroughly informed by the Holy Spirit in virtue of his divinity; therefore it remaineth unchanged amid all the perturbations of the animal nature. At Gethsemane there was in Christ a soul-

suffering and a soul-conflict; but though there might have been in him trouble of spirit (yet even this expression does not occur in the New Testament), there could have been no spirit-conflict. The weakness of the flesh, and the liability of the human soul to emotion, gave Satan a point of contact from which he might distress our Lord; but in his pure sinless spirit Satan could find nothing; there was no point there on which he could so much as fasten his temptation.

Lastly, his prayer was heard. He was saved in that last hour of darkness. This is not only to be inferred from analogy; it is not only to be deduced from the word of the Lord, that the Father always heard him; it is distinctly asserted by inspired authority. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews tells us (v. 7) that in the days of his flesh when he offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, unto Him that was able to save Him from death, he was heard on account of his religious resignation (*ἀπο τῆς εὐλαβείας*). Already does glory begin to illumine the darkness of that night. The angel descends to strengthen him, his enemies fall backward at his word, his accusers are confounded in his presence, and, if he dies, that very death is his glory and triumphant crown. "And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts, and the elders; and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands, saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing. And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing and honour, and glory and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the lamb for ever and ever."

Space does not allow us to enter into the other recorded prayers of Jesus. Those which have been already referred to are the most important for illustrating the humanity of Christ. The high-priestly prayer might seem to require some notice; but, in the first place, any brief comment on this prayer would be unsatisfactory and incomplete; and, secondly, though it does indeed illustrate the humanity, it is rather that glorified humanity with which our Lord is now clothed in the kingdom of his Father, than the humanity in which Jesus trod our earth as the meek and lowly Son of Man.

Let us sum up briefly what has been said, and endeavour to see the inferences which are to be deduced from it.

1. The prayers of Jesus prove his dependence upon the Father. The mere fact that Christ offered up veritable prayer

to God, that he sought from him strength and assistance, guidance and support; that in the time of his trouble, and in the agony of his temptation he had recourse to him; prove that in himself—that is, in his human nature—he had neither strength nor power independent of the Father. Before choosing his apostles he seeks by prayer the divine guidance and direction; before working the most stupendous miracle that he wrought while on earth, he obtains the power by which he performed it by prayer; when the first presentiment of horror and trouble overshadow his soul, he cries out in his distress to God to save him; and when the time of the last agony has come, and he stands face to face with all the powers of death and hell, he nerves himself for the conflict by supplication, and is strengthened by the angel sent to succour him. We see, then, that Jesus in his human capacity does not look within for strength, but raises his eyes to heaven and looks for help from thence. We do not see him asserting his own independent and underived power; we do not find him claiming that equality with God which he might rightfully have demanded; we do not observe him exacting the worship due to deity, nor arrogating to himself openly the attributes of the Godhead. All that would have been incompatible with the obedience that he came to fulfil. But we see him in lowliness and humility; we behold him in the form of a servant; we view him meek in heart and gentle in spirit, referring everything to his Father, submitting in all things his own will to God, careless of his own glory and estimation, shewing the constant feeling of resignation and dependence that ever dwelt in his heart by his once outspoken word: “Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.”

2. The prayers of Jesus prove his inferiority to the Father. Dependence of itself implies inferiority. The inferior is succoured and assisted by the superior. The inferior prays to, and supplicates the superior. As inherent possessor of the Godhead, and as of one substance with the Father, Christ is equal with Jehovah; but in his filial relationship as the Son, and in his Messianic relationship as the Sent, Jesus is the inferior of the Father. Equal to the Father as the only-begotten, born before creation; inferior to the Father as the human Son of the human mother. Nor need we fear to acknowledge this inferiority of the Son, as if it detracted in any way from the glory of Christ. Those who entertain such a thought can know little of the glory which lies in humility, and the honour which is hidden in submission. There is no brighter jewel in the crown of the Lord's humanity than his willingness to become lowly. The very cause of his present glory in the kingdom of heaven, is, that he was

content to empty himself of his glory. Because he made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness and fashion of men; therefore, hath God highly exalted him, and given him a name that is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

3. The prayers of Jesus shew the perfectness of his humanity. They are especially precious to us on this account. The infinite, absolute, pure, sole, essential Spirit, dwelling in the loneliness of inaccessible light, dazzles our finite comprehension. Such a God is to us an unknown God. But we are at no loss to understand a praying Saviour. The very act of prayer speaks to us of wants and need, of hesitation and doubt, of weakness and infirmity, of conflict and struggle, of sorrow and suffering, of temptation and sin; and these things need no explanation. We know them, each one for himself only too well; and we are at once disposed to give our confidence to one who, since he knows them also, can feel for us, as we suffer under them. The weakest, the most ignorant, and the most sinful, feel that they may without misgiving approach a praying Saviour. They know that if he has himself known the need of prayer, he is not likely to refuse those who come unto him by prayer. The agony of Christ, the human craving for sympathy of Christ, the human tears of Christ, the human supplications of Christ for help under the pressure of his anguish, the human troubling of the soul of Christ, have strange power to touch the deepest chords in the heart of man. Time takes from them nothing of their power; distance deprives them nothing of their strength. The scene is all as present with us, as if we ourselves beheld it. The story is as fresh and heart-stirring, as if it occurred but yesterday.

The prayers of Jesus were doubtless of service to himself in calling down from heaven the strength which he needed. But their usefulness does not end here. From the time they first were uttered, the prayers of Jesus have been an estimable blessing to every man, or woman, or little child, who have ever heard them; for the prayers of the suffering Saviour are, as it were, an irresistible magnet to draw into union and fellowship with himself, the hearts of all who in their trouble and distress have felt their own need of prayer.

4. The prayers of Jesus differ from the prayers of ordinary men. The prayers of Jesus were always heard and answered in exact accordance with their intention. As he possessed the

Spirit without measure, and as his will was always one with the Father in the ground of the divine unity, it is impossible that he could ever offer a prayer which was not in strict accordance with the mind of God. But as the minds of men—even of the best men—are only imperfectly taught by the Divine Spirit, they are continually offering up prayers which are incompatible with the will of God; and such prayers cannot be granted. At least they cannot be granted according to their literal intention, but only according to their spirit. The prayers of Jesus are also marked by another difference. In virtue of his oneness with the Father, Christ could use language which would be unbecoming in the mouth of man. We find, accordingly, that he demands as a right, rather than supplicates as a favour. This is conspicuous in the prayer at the grave of Lazarus where the supplication is altogether unuttered, and takes the form of a thanksgiving for the answer given; and it is still more prominent in the high-priestly prayer, where the authoritative *θέλω* (I will) of the Mediator assumes actual equality with God.

5. The prayers of Jesus uttered upon earth, enable us to understand the intercessory prayers, which he now offers in heaven for his people, as their mediatorial High Priest. Without the prayers of Jesus, or without the knowledge that he uttered prayers out of his own sense of need, we could not find much comfort in his intercessions for us. That he learned to pray while on earth on account of the trouble and sorrow which he himself felt, is the sure proof we possess, that he can rightly pray for us according to our need. "We have not a high priest who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are," etc.; therefore we can "come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need." When any sorrowing, broken-hearted child of earth comes to the mediating Saviour with his tale of grief, Jesus is able to look back upon his own earthly life and traces out the sorrow in his own experience. There is no fear of his misunderstanding the sorrow, as earthly friends are so apt to do. He sees the whole heart; he knows every bitter feeling; he counts every tear; and, what is more, he sympathizes with it in all the overflowing compassion of his divine human heart. Care may be soothed; anxiety may be relieved; every morbid feeling hushed to rest by being placed on him, who not in vain has experienced every human ill; or if in his loving wisdom he should see that the thorn in the flesh is doing his work; that it is making us more humble, more prayerful, more reliant upon him and more Christ-like; and so should not intercede for its removal; he will still present our, "Save me from this hour,"

before his Father's throne, and send us away strengthened by his might. .

6. Lastly, the prayers of Jesus are an example for us. Oh! if he needed prayer, how much more must we need prayer. If he had recourse to prayer in the days of his humiliation and trial, how much more cause is there for us to be found instant in prayer. As sorrows pressed on him, so will they press on us; as trouble of soul overwhelmed him, so will trouble of soul, and weakness of spirit also, overwhelm us; as temptation tried him sorely, so will temptation try us sorely; as Satan fought with him, so will Satan fight with us. Christ conquered by the intenseness of his earnest prayer. Let us tread in his steps. We shall find that prayer has not lost its power; as it availed to "save" him, so shall it surely avail to save us.

H. N. B.

ECCLESIASTES.

THE book Ecclesiastes has been described as "the work of a morose Hebrew philosopher, composed when he was in a dismal mood, and in places thoroughly tedious."^a Luther says that there are good reasons why "this noble little book should be read of all men with great carefulness every day." Again, it has been described as presenting to us the picture of a distracted heart, of a divided spirit; stating with great boldness the most distressing problems of life, but offering no solution of them. By some expositors it has been supposed to contain a comforting revelation of the future state, and almost an anticipation of the New Testament Gospel. Regarded as a philosophical treatise it has seemed to some the expression of Epicureanism, or of a gloomy and disappointed fatalism. Perhaps we may say its general reputation has suffered from having a place in the canon, thereby provoking the easy attacks of enemies and the scarcely less dangerous defence of friends. If it could be presented to the world as a newly-discovered relic of antiquity, its merits would be scarcely denied, and there would be no temptation to distort its meaning for the sake of producing an outward and literal conformity to the rest of the Scriptures. There can be no doubt that it contains very profound views of human life, and exhibits to us as no other book of Scripture does, the *pro-*

A. Th. Hartman (quoted by Hengstenberg).

cesses by which a man of great and various experience arrived at wisdom. It is plain too that the wisdom and spirit of this book, and many of its separate lessons, are in perfect agreement with what we may find in the latest and fullest revelations. On the other hand *Ecclesiastes* stands alone among all the sacred books; differing from all the rest in its point of view and its method. It belongs rather to the speculative philosophy than to the theology of the Hebrews; and its philosophy resembles most nearly what in modern literature would find its place in satire. It is unquestionably true and valuable, but its truth is intentionally only one-sided, like the truth of all satires.

The meaning and moral value of the book can scarcely be separated from its authorship. The opinion that it is the work of Solomon may perhaps now be considered obsolete, or at any rate traditional only; that is to say the opinion of persons who on such matters accept, without examination, what they believe to be the popular judgment; devoting their own independent examination to subjects which are to them at least of much greater importance. A really good book can scarcely be less valuable, and may chance to be more valuable, for being anonymous; and the wisdom of Solomon is not necessarily greater than the wisdom of any other person writing by inspiration of God. Even within the limits of the Bible itself we are far too readily overborne by the weight of great names, and often think far more of some particular writer or speaker than of the Divine wisdom itself, which he may have been commissioned to utter. Yet the life of Solomon contained in itself so deep a fall and so awful a captivity, that his experience alone might justify those passages which seem to Hengstenberg and others decisive of a much later date than the time of his reign. Anyhow, the "Son of David, king in Jerusalem," occupies, as "the preacher," a representative position; his life is a typical life; his experience is different in degree, not altogether different in kind from that which is common to all men. Nor is it necessary to suppose that everything he has "seen" is primarily a part of his own experience. We can "see" through the glass of history and know by sharing the knowledge of others; and such knowledge may be abundantly sufficient for the purposes of a satirist or moralist. It seems, therefore, too much to say with Hengstenberg, that the true interpretation of *Ecclesiastes* has suffered serious detriment from the opinion that Solomon was its author.

The peculiarities of dialect, as indications of the date of the book, do not come within the object of this paper, which is rather to determine its ethical value. There are, however, some half-ethical, half-sentimental reasons for attributing this work to

Solomon, which may be worth a brief examination. The sentimentalism is favourably represented in the preface to Mr. Bridges' *Exposition*,^b—a very interesting book, full of pleasant quotations, thoroughly “evangelical” and “practical;” and also, we must add, apparently even more concerned with reconciling Solomon to St. Paul than with finding out what Solomon himself has to teach us. This reconciling kind of exposition does in fact rob the Bible of about half its value. The peculiar structure of the Sacred Scriptures secures these two ends:—that “we have *many* members and *one* body” of divine truth. Most of the ingenious reconciliations with which sacred literature abounds, destroy the members as effectually as rationalism mutilates the body. They fuse the component elements into a shapeless, inorganic mass. The variety, picturesqueness, beauty and sterling worth resulting from differences of time and places, customs and authors, are sacrificed for a string of propositions which are the expressions of truths far too precious to be needlessly deprived of any collateral and extrinsic charm.

Mr. Bridges thinks “Ecclesiastes” was written by Solomon in his old age. “This date,” he says, “is a matter of some anxiety clearly to ascertain, as bearing upon the momentous point of Solomon’s final salvation. If we admit that Scripture hath pronounced no *certain* judgment upon this matter, we yet contend that the balance of testimony and inference lies strongly upon the favourable side. His name given to him at his birth—“Beloved of the Lord” (2 Sam. xii. 24, 25)—was surely the seal and pledge of unchangeable love. The covenant made with his father concerning him before his birth included—not the temporal kingdom only—but the privilege of personal adoption and mercy &c.” If so, why trouble Ecclesiastes for further evidence? But all this is entirely irrelevant. It may, without much straining, be called the *sentimentalism of criticism*. An amiable man may well hope that Solomon may have been saved. It requires no alarming stretch of the charity that “hopeth all things,” to believe that he *was* saved. But Ecclesiastes has only one real meaning, which is the same whether Solomon was saved or not. It is a great blessing that even a wicked man cannot cease altogether to benefit others; and the prophecies of Balaam and Jonah are not rendered worthless by the covetousness and profanity of the one, or the mean and savage temper of the other. Happily we are not required nor even permitted to pass judgment on the “final salvation” of

^b An *Exposition of the Book of Ecclesiastes*, by the Rev. Charles Bridges, M.A. Preface, page ix.

anybody; and it is utterly unwise to try. And when irrelevant matters of this kind are introduced into an exposition of Scripture, they make it very difficult for the expositor to maintain that rigid impartiality for the want of which no other excellences can compensate.

The half ethical reasons also for attributing Ecclesiastes to Solomon may as well be taken from Mr. Bridges' exposition as from any other source.* "The arguments in favour of the hypothesis, that the writer belongs to some later era, amount only to theoretical doubts or plausibilities: while they involve a supposition utterly unworthy of inspiration—namely, that some unknown writer has palmed upon the church in the sacred canon his own thoughts and words, under the deceptive cover of the name of *Son of David—King in Jerusalem.*" We are sorry to say that this argument seems to us entirely foolish. Whether the employment of a fictitious name be really "unworthy of inspiration," is quite an open question; but there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the writer of Ecclesiastes was unknown to the men of his own time and country because he happens to be unknown to us; there is not the slightest reason to suppose that he knew anything whatever about a sacred canon; there is not the slightest reason to suppose that his use of the name of Solomon deceived, or was intended to deceive, a single individual. The arguments of those who deny that Solomon was the author of Ecclesiastes necessarily imply that the book has been so constructed as to prevent deception, and that the writer has made it perfectly plain to all careful readers in what sense he attributes his work to the Son of David, king in Jerusalem.

But it is not foreign to the object of this paper to consider (in passing) this use of fictitious names, and whether or not it should be considered unworthy of inspiration. Might it not, indeed, be the best way of settling questions of this sort, first to get together all the inspired books, and by carefully examining them, to find out what is in fact, and not only in theory, compatible with their supposed origin? "Extremes meet" oddly enough. Mr. Bridges is so far from being a rationalist that he would manifestly be willing to sacrifice all the axioms of geometry to the obscurest verse in the Song of Solomon. Nothing can exceed the prostration of his intellect before the Bible. To do him justice, it is plain that he would believe anything whatever, if it could be proved to have a place in the sacred canon. And yet this very habit of determining beforehand what is and what is not "worthy of inspiration," has probably done more to un-

* Preface, page viii.

settle men's confidence in the Bible, and to produce the rejection of many parts of it, than any other habit whatever. The books of the Kings, for example—Judges, Ruth, Job, many of the Psalms—can scarcely be admitted into the canon, because it is "unworthy of inspiration" that a canonical book should be anonymous. The Song of Solomon should be rejected because the production of a mere love poem is "unworthy of inspiration;" or at the least, for the same reason, the obvious and literal meaning of the Song must be abandoned, and a far-fetched, mystical, allegorical interpretation substituted for it. It may be asked again, whether a very short letter to the Elect Lady is "worthy of inspiration." In a word, silly questions of this kind may be asked for ever. The test of inspiration must surely be quite independent of the literary form in which the divine truth may be communicated. The moral and spiritual value of a book, its profitableness, as St. Paul tells us, will be a far surer proof of its inspiration than the name of its author.

In fact, if books are to be the vehicle of divine truth at all, we may be prepared to expect that any kind of literature whatever will be employed for this purpose. In the Bible itself we have unquestionably many kinds so employed. We have, for instance, ordinary prose narrative, different sorts of poetry, allegories, parables, even fables, letters to churches, and letters to private individuals. The book "Job" has been considered by many an inspired fiction of a semi-dramatic character, and the book of Proverbs belongs to yet another department of literature. And why not all these various modes of communicating truth? There is no truth of any depth and compass that can be expressed in any one form; and until the thoughts and lives of men become poorer, or their languages immeasurably richer, the truth must continue to find expression both in tragedy and comedy, poetry and prose, clear statement of the results of thought, and the careful exhibition of its process, the history of the past, and the exhibition of those laws of human development and well-being which are operating in all places and through all time. Nor can it be "unworthy of inspiration" to employ any form of literature unless there be some phase of human life unworthy of divine regard. To take even the extreme case suggested by the Song of Solomon, the fidelity of lovers may not be absolutely undeserving of that poetic eulogy which the Bible gives it.

These remarks should scarcely be considered a digression, because the ethical value of *Ecclesiastes* must depend upon the class of literature to which we assign the work. If it be simply a didactic treatise, to be literally interpreted, intended for a complete account of human life and duty, then its ethical value

seems to us to be very considerably less than nothing. On the other hand, if it may be regarded as a satire, or an account of human life and duty as seen by one who had given his heart "to know folly and madness," and was urged on by divine inspiration to tell us what kind of lessons folly and madness can teach, or as the picture of a long and terrible spiritual conflict faithfully painted, and left almost entirely to suggest its own meaning, in any or all of these cases it seems to us to possess a very high ethical value. Perhaps in such an age and country as ours, where we are enamoured of mere material prosperity—where we measure almost everything by some money standard—where, moreover, there has now for a long time prevailed a mean and sensuous philosophy, there is scarcely a book of Scripture more worthy of serious attention than this book *Ecclesiastes*.

Its value as a complete account of human life and duty will probably be made most apparent by a few extracts:—

"Vanity of vanities, all is vanity," i. 1.

"What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun," i. 2 (compared with Proverbs xiv. 23, "In all labour there is profit.")

"There is no remembrance of former things, neither shall there be remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come after," i. 11, (compared with Heb. xi. 4, "By it he being dead, yet speaketh.")

"How dieth the wise man? As the fool," ii. 16.

"There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labour," ii. 24.

"As a beast dieth, so dieth a man. . . . A man hath no pre-eminence above a beast: for all is vanity. All go into one place, all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again," iii. 19, 20.

"Who knoweth what is good for a man in this life, all the days of his vain life which he spendeth as a shadow?" vi. 12.

"All things come alike to all: there is one event to the righteous, and to the wicked; to the good and to the clean, and to the unclean; to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not: as is the good, so is the sinner; and he that sweareth as he that feareth an oath. This is an evil among all things that are done under the sun, that there is one event unto all: yea, also the heart of the sons of men is full of evil, and madness is in their heart while they live, and after that they go to the dead. For to him that is joined to all the living there is hope: for a living dog is better than a dead lion. For the living know that they shall die: but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them

is forgotten. Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy, is now perished ; neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun," ix. 2—6.

"I saw under the sun that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor riches to the men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill ; but time and chance happeneth to them all," ix. 11.

Such is the doctrine of human life furnished by the book Ecclesiastes : if it be a complete view, it seems to us that it can scarcely be worth any body's while to take the trouble to say so. It is at least plain that it is not a Christian view ; that it is as nearly as possible the exact opposite of what we are taught by the life of Christ, and opposed to the whole spirit of the New Testament. That a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast, if intended for a complete account of what man is, or rather, perhaps, of what he is not, would be the most comprehensive falsehood that could possibly be uttered. It would be denied by all history, it would subvert all morality, it would render impossible every form and degree of religion. If the dead know not anything, then the confusion of the world is more incurable than ever, the revelation of the judgment of God impossible, and the hopes and fears of men alike deceptive. But there can be no need to go further. No commentator will maintain the literal truth of these passages ; they are true, we are told, *in a sense*. In other words, they are true only from a particular point of view. They are out of place in a didactic treatise ; they are perfectly appropriate and valuable, as forming part of a satire or the record of a peculiar experience or a spiritual conflict. When we are told (especially by reconciling expositors), that a passage of Scripture is true, "*in a sense*," but must be modified by some other passage of Scripture, we may always take warning that we are to be thenceforth at the mercy of the commentator. Instead of the rules of grammar and logic, rhetoric and the columns of a lexicon, his caprices or theories are thenceforward to determine the meaning of his author. But the question, of course, continually arises, if there be need of such continual modification, amounting often to what can scarcely be distinguished from flat contradiction, why did not the writer himself supply it? Solomon was probably not less wise than Mr. Bridges ; why could not *he* see the necessity of expressing himself somewhat less extravagantly, and diluting his strong expressions till the weakest head could comfortably bear them? Why, on the contrary, did he carefully avoid this milk-and-water treatment of his subject, and evidently intend to affirm, in the boldest, clearest, and most unmitigated manner, *one side only* of

the truth? Mr. Bridges, and English commentators in general, view human life from the Thirty-nine Articles, or the Assembly's Catechism, or some *ism* which, in their judgment, is identical with the whole of revealed truth. But what point of view did Solomon occupy, or the writer, whoever he may have been, of the Book Ecclesiastes? To remove every one of the *peculiarities* of a book, and so to make it resemble as nearly as possible all the other books of the sacred canon, is merely a caricature of exposition. The question, therefore, recurs, to what class of literature does this book Ecclesiastes belong? It is plainly intended to be one-sided and incomplete. What was there in the manners or circumstances, the miseries or vices of the age in which it appeared, or in the peculiar experience of its author, to justify or necessitate this one-sidedness?

"The book," says Hengstenberg,* "evidently took its occasion from passing events, was addressed to a particular generation of men, and was intended for their admonition and comfort. . . . According to chap. vii. Israel was then in the house of mourning, the heathen, on the contrary, sat in the house of feasting (ver. 2), in the house of mirth (ver. 4), had the upper hand, and were floating on a sea of pleasures and delights (ver. 5). The times were such as to incline men strongly to deem the day of death better than the day of birth (ver. 1). These were times when men asked, 'What is the cause that the former days were better than these?' (ver. 10), when Israel was compelled to listen to the rebukes of the wise, who took occasion from their misery to reproach them for their sins (ver. 5)—when the temptation to cherish a bitter and discontented spirit lay especially near (ver. 9)—when there was abundant opportunity of exercising the virtue of patience (ver. 8)—when no signs were discernible of the victory over the world promised to the Church of God, but in that respect it was left entirely to faith and hope (ver. 6, 8). According to verses 11, 12, Israel was then without possessions, and had fallen into the hands of death. Every other portion which should belong, and once had belonged to the people of God, was now taken away, and it was reduced to the one inheritance of the wisdom coming from above—an inheritance, however, the author teaches, which must bring all other blessings in its train, inasmuch as it was itself the good of chief value at that time. In verses 19 and 20, also, power is represented as being entirely on the side of the heathen, whilst to Israel there remained only its inalienable prerogative and birthright of wisdom. Verses 15—18 complain that Israel is

* *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, Introduction.

unfortunate, despite its righteousness, and that, on the contrary, the heathen, or the heathen tyrants, are fortunate, notwithstanding their wickedness. According to verses 21, 22, Israel was forced to listen without reply to the curses and slanders heaped upon them by the Gentiles; and those held the upper hand who, of right, and by God's ordination, should have been the bondsmen of the nation which, from its very commencement, was exalted to the throne of the world.

"From chap. viii. 9, we learn that it was a time when 'one man ruled over other men to their hurt,' when the wicked had in their possession Jerusalem, 'the place of the holy' (ver. 10). When this state of things had already lasted long (ver. 12), when the earnestly expected decree of their heavenly King against the usurpers had been long delayed (ver. 11). (Throughout the entire book no other king than the heavenly one is spoken of as their own; and it is a very characteristic feature that he is without hesitation designated 'the king' (viii. 2). Everywhere the Gentiles are introduced as holding external earthly rule over the people of God).

"The commencement of chap. ix. gives us to understand that the present condition of affairs proved a serious stumbling-block in the way of faith, and caused men to err in respect to God and the righteousness of his rule in the earth, as they saw how the lot of the righteous was interwoven and confounded with the lot of the wicked. So truly hopeless and forlorn did the condition of the covenanted people appear to those who looked on it with eyes of flesh alone that they were in danger of utterly despairing. Whilst in other and happier days the men of God regarded it as their bounden duty to counteract frivolity, and to draw attention to the earnestness of life, the author of this work strives, on the contrary, with all diligence to impress on his readers the lesson 'eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart' (ix. 7), a plain proof that his generation was in great danger of yielding to a gloomy and discontented spirit, and that their life was threatened with the loss of all that made it desirable and joyful. The desperate nature of their circumstances is clear also from the earnestness with which the writer warns them against listless inactivity (ix. 10; xi. 4—6). Sluggish hands are to be found wherever men's circumstances seem hopelessly bad (see Isa. xiii. 7; xxxv. 3; Ezek. vii. 17; Job. iv. 3). Now the picture just drawn corresponds to no period but that when the Persians held dominion over the people of God."

It is unnecessary to point out how superior this mode of exposition is to that which is far too common in this country, and

which consists in simply cutting away those portions of a book which cannot otherwise be made to adapt themselves to the expositor's scheme of doctrine. Hengstenberg not only admits that the teaching of Ecclesiastes is not exhaustive, or suited to all kinds of circumstances, but he urges this as a reason why the circumstances under which it was written should be carefully ascertained. This is necessary indeed if we would find out (not what the author of the book can be made to mean, but) what he actually did mean. At the same time Hengstenberg's exposition seems itself too artificial. It depends upon the hypothesis that the wise man means Israel, and the foolish man his Gentile oppressor. We should scarcely have supposed that the second verse of the eighth chapter has a specially solemn reference to God as the only king of his people, whatever foreign oppressors might seem to be ruling over them. "I counsel thee to keep the king's commandments, and that in regard to the oath of God." "Where the word of the king is there is power." "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child." "Curse not the king, no not in thy thought; and curse not the rich in thy bed chamber; for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter." There seems nothing mystical or occult in the meaning of any of these passages. Exhortations to obedience to "the powers that be" would scarcely be inappropriate at a time when rebellion would be fruitless and suicidal; while "the bird of the air" and "that which hath wings" is interpreted by Hengstenberg himself to mean that the Hebrews were surrounded by numerous spies and informers employed by their tyrannical heathen rulers. So again the beginning of the seventh chapter seems scarcely to require the historical interpretation which Hengstenberg gives to it. "It is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting: for that is the end of all men; and the living will lay it to his heart. Sorrow is better than laughter, for by the sadness of the countenance the heart is made better. The heart of the wise is in the house of mourning, but the heart of fools is in the house of mirth" (vii. 2—4).

It seems to us far fetched to interpret this of the oppressed condition of the Israelites; for we can scarcely suppose that their *hearts* were in the house of mourning, and they would gladly have chosen the laughter of liberty instead of the sorrow of subjection to heathen oppressors. "Better is the end of a thing than the beginning thereof," seems to be the opinion of "the preacher" himself, and seems to be almost equivalent to the parallel portion of the verse, "Patience is better than pride;" it does not seem, therefore, necessarily to indicate the

hopelessness which is produced by tyranny. Nor are we able altogether clearly to perceive that consolation which Hengstenberg believes it was one main object of this book to offer to the suffering Israelites, in the assertion that *all* is "vanity and vexation of spirit."

"That loss is common does not make
My own less bitter, rather more.
Too common ! Never morning wore
To evening, but some heart did break." *f*

This is undoubtedly the true feeling. It is indeed also true that "*dulce est solamen miseris socios habere malorum*;" and it is a solace for this very reason, that the combined experience of many sufferers enables us to perceive, in spite of those appearances which would otherwise drive us to despair, that *all* is *not* vanity and vexation of spirit. The just man perishing in his righteousness (vii. 15), can scarcely be taken as a description of the Israelite in the time of his national distress; for it was unquestionably his unrighteousness that had brought him into trouble.

It may of course be granted that there must have been some peculiar external circumstances to suggest that view of human life which we find in *Ecclesiastes*; but once suggested it might be justified by many considerations derived from very various sources. Long continued bodily sickness has wrung from many the cry, "*all is vanity and vexation of spirit*;" and once uttered it seems to be echoed from all sides. The poor man, the victim of political oppression, the baffled seeker after truth, all these and many more may unite in the same complaint of vanity; and the satirist or moralist may take up the same theme, and illustrate it by the discontents and disappointments of all sorts and conditions of men. Indeed there seems to be no very elaborate plan in *Ecclesiastes* at all. Some of the chapters seem very slightly connected with the rest, and might have found as appropriate a place in the Book of Proverbs (ex. gr., viii. 1—5; ix. 17—18; x. 1—4, 8—20; xi. 1—6; iii. 1—8; iv. 5, 6, 9—13; v. 1—7, 9—12; vii. 1—13, 16—22, 24, 26—29). Nor does there appear to be any complete answer to the difficulties that are suggested, nor any satisfactory progress of thought, such as would be required in a didactic treatise intended for a solution of the mystery of human life. The vanity of the first chapter reappears in the twelfth; in the eleventh we are told that if we live many years, and rejoice in them all, we should yet remember the days of darkness for they shall be

many. All that cometh is vanity. Childhood and youth are vanity. "Who is as the wise man?" asks "the Preacher" in the beginning of the eighth chapter; yet in the eleventh verse of the ninth the old puzzle returns, the old knot that cannot be untied. "Time and chance happeneth to all." Even the very conclusion itself of the whole matter is no solution of a single difficulty, it only declares the duty of those servants who know not what their Lord doeth. In a word, we are quite unable to discover any "fundamental idea" of this book, much less can we perceive that "the fundamental idea is developed with progressive clearness till the solution comes forth at the end."⁵ Indeed it seems better to regard *Ecclesiastes* either as the work of an inspired satirist, or the record of a personal experience, or the first under the disguise of the second.

It may be supposed that the production of a satire is "unworthy of inspiration," and it may be confessed that satire is almost the least pleasing form of literature. It is never completely true. It is often extremely bitter and irritating. It is its very object to bring to light those evils and weaknesses that we most anxiously conceal. It laughs at us precisely when we are most painfully sensitive to ridicule. Even when it is good-natured, it tells us only our faults, without giving us much help in mending them; and when it is most valuable, it must always seem to be least good-natured. A good example of this may be found in the satires of Juvenal as compared with those of Horace. Horace was of an easy playful spirit, and his writings give us the impression that he was almost more amused with vice than disgusted by it; moreover in his day, though the morals of the Roman empire had become very corrupt, the corruption was but the beginning of the end. "Juvenal had to deal with vice and folly more than a century older than the vice and folly of Horace's day, and a tyranny which Horace never witnessed. The playful personalities of Horace did not suit Juvenal's subject, and would not have represented his way of viewing it; nor did they suit the severe and defiant spirit in which he approached it."⁶ The satires of Juvenal, therefore, are more stern, and yet have a far higher ethical value than those of Horace. Of course they are one-sided; it is their very object to hold up to the ridicule and loathing of mankind the detestable vices that disgraced the times in which they were written. They do not, therefore, exhibit the virtues by which those vices were

⁵ Davidson's *Introduction to Old Testament*, p. 782.

⁶ Maclean's *Juvenal*, Introduction, p. xiii. Horace, *Sat.* i. 3, may be taken as an example of the good natured playfulness of satire.

in some degree mitigated and neutralized. They do not, therefore, furnish any more than Ecclesiastes a complete account of human nature; though in that satire which most nearly resembles the work of "the Preacher" the conclusion of the whole matter is singularly beautiful and true. The cure it offers to us for the vanity of human wishes seems almost a paraphrase of some of the best and wisest counsels of the Hebrew philosopher:—

"Nil ergo optabunt homines? Si consilium vis,
Permites ipsis expendere numinibus quid
Conveniat nobis rebusque sit utile nostris.
Nam pro jucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt di.
Carior est illis homo quam sibi. Nos animorum
Impulsu et cæca magnique cupidine ducta
Conjugium petimus partumque uxoris: at illis
Notum qui pueri qualisque futura sit uxor.
Ut tamen et poscas aliquid voveasque sacellis
Extæ et candiduli divina tomacula porci,
Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano:
Fortem posce animum, mortis terrore carentem,
Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat
Naturæ, qui ferre queat quoscunque labores,
Nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil, et potiores
Herculis ærumnas credat sævosque labores
Et Venere et coenis et pluma Sardanapali."

Satire occupies a very large space in the literature of all civilized countries. We may be sure, therefore, that it corresponds to something in human nature, and does not fail to commend itself to the consciences of men. We cannot fail to perceive that sin may be regarded, not only as sin, but also as folly. There is a comedy corresponding to every tragedy. There is a grotesque side to that most terrible of all tragedies, the rebellion of a human spirit against its true Ruler, its scornful rejection of what alone can satisfy its best desires, its choice of the mean and perishable instead of what is noble and eternal. To convince of sin is, indeed, "the mission of the Comforter;" to convince of the foolishness of sin has been, and always will be, the work of the satirist; and there are states both of individuals and of societies in which this conviction of the folly of sin is most necessary. We judge by a sure instinct that every way of God must be a good way, and the way of our own interest. It seems at first sight only the same thing to say that every way which seems to be the way of our own interests is by that very characteristic proved to be a way of God. It is only too easy

¹ *Juvenal* x. 346, et seqq.

to become content both with this sign of what is right and with our own notions of what is really for our own good. In this way we almost imperceptibly become a law unto ourselves; and, having no longer the fear of God before our eyes, follow the devices and desires of our own hearts. We cease to trouble ourselves with the question what is godly, and pious, and reverent; we content ourselves with asking what is profitable and agreeable. What we mean by a "worldly" life is precisely a life that rests upon this foundation. The external life of a "worldly man" may be forbidden by no divine law, may, in fact, be required by the divine law; but it is not for that reason that he is living it. Moreover, it is notorious that almost every way of wickedness seems to promise an increase of happiness and liberty. The old temptation is being through all generations repeated,—“And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.” “And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew *that they were naked*.” It is the function of satire to repeat in all varieties of form this ancient testimony; to say to men, “You have stripped yourselves bare of all the true adorning, you have gained the knowledge of evil rather than of good, you are poor fools, and in your inmost hearts you know that you are.”

This, it seems to us, is precisely the intention of the book Ecclesiastes. It could not be, and assuredly it is not, an anticipation of that doctrine of sin which belongs only to the New Testament age. It is not even a clear exposition of duty as determined by the Mosaic law. It is the clear and full expression of that self-reproach with which the godless man curses his day. It is no true account of life; the satirist has to do only with the vices and extravagances and negligences of life. No man need look upon all his labour and say, “All is vanity and vexation of spirit.” This is the epitaph that we can write only over those buried years that have been wasted by dissipation and murdered by crime.

It would therefore not have been unfitting that Solomon himself should have been the author of a book like this; and assuredly his experience is present to the mind of him, whoever he may have been, who really did write it. In this we may find the explanation of the first verse. Whoever wrote them, these may well be taken for the words of “the Preacher, Son of David, King in Jerusalem.” The wisdom of Solomon is here, possibly even a wisdom deeper than his. ‘I will tell you,’ the writer seems to say, ‘what is the spiritual meaning and significance of

such a life as Solomon's; what all his glory and wisdom came to; what lessons he learned in the valley of his humiliation; how life appeared to him from the depths of his foolishness and sin: what he believed to be our only safeguard amidst the temptations and perplexities of the world. I will tell you what were the thoughts of his heart in the day of his honour and in his fall. I will enable you to listen to the two voices that used to ask and answer each other in his soul. I will tell you the conclusion of the whole matter, and teach you that by fearing God and keeping his commandments, you may live a nobler life even than Solomon's; a wiser life than his whose wisdom was the wonder of the world.'

If this be really the object of Ecclesiastes, we need not expect to find in it any very elaborate plan. We need not expect its contents to be "comprehended in four discourses," nor trouble ourselves about numerous sub-divisions, and strophes, and half strophes. The record we may expect to find as irregular as the life itself. Dissipation can only find vanity everywhere. There is not much wisdom in wine, nor in seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines.

Perhaps with this key we may be able to unlock the book, which will after all contain many minor difficulties. The Preacher is describing not life generally, but a life including everything "*præter amare Deum et illi soli servire*,"—a life, therefore, cut away from its proper root, a dead life. This is the answer to Jerome's enquiry, "*Si cuncta quæ fecit Deus valde bona sunt, quomodo omnia vanitas, et non solum vanitas, sed etiam vanitas vanitatum?*" All things are *not* vanity. That they are so is the verdict of Solomon, drunken, idolatrous, and lewd: and we may appeal against it to the verdict of Solomon, sober, and chaste, and loving God. "The writer," says Luther,^j "does not speak against the creatures, but against the naughtiness of the human heart which will not rest, but makes for itself all kinds of sorrow and misfortune." Every one has noticed how bright was the morning of Solomon's life, and how clouded its evening. It is painful, indeed, to try to measure the distance which separates the builder and consecrator of the temple from the worshipper of idols, sunk in those gross vices which idolatry has in every age produced. Not the merely vicious man, but the man who has been both virtuous and vicious, knows the true bitterness of life. Only such a one could have furnished for us the book Ecclesiastes.

It remains then, from the point of view we have indicated,

^j Quoted by Hengstenberg.

to offer a rapid general exposition of the book. Solomon,⁴ looking back upon his own life, which he knew to be too true a type of the life of all men, is overwhelmed with shame and disappointment. It seems to him to have been empty and barren, all its labour wasted and unprofitable. He is so full of bitterness and remorse and discontent that he fancies he perceives his own unrest reflected from all sides. His own cry of vanity he hears repeated by every race of men, and even by inanimate nature. "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh," but the dead earth that seemed only their tool and slave outlives them all. The very sun himself is restless, scarcely rising up into the sky before he hurries back again into the place where he arose. The fickle wind whirleth about continually. The rivers are running into the sea, but they cannot satisfy it, and they will not stay with it. Unto the place from whence the rivers came thither they return again. Everywhere there is an unutterable labour and no fruit. The eye is for ever looking, but not satisfied with seeing; the ear is always listening, but never filled with hearing. Men are for ever trying over again the old experiments. There is no new thing under the sun. "Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new?" Is it anything more than another form of the old experiments, another attempt to fill up the bottomless desires of men? Does it not *seem* new, only because former things have been forgotten?

He goes on to justify this despondency, this cold, merciless view of life, by the record of his own experience. He was king over Israel in Jerusalem. He gave his heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven. It was a sore travail, but it was the proper work of a man; for to men it is given to seek for wisdom, to find out the causes and grounds of all things, to discover, if possible, some Divine order at the root of all. But he had seen that all the works of men were vanity, only vexing the spirits of those who were doing them. There was somehow an incurable wrongness everywhere; something wanting that could not be numbered; a crookedness that could not be made straight. What did it matter that he had come to great estate, and was counted the wisest of men? He could not guess for all that the riddle of the world. Perhaps the secret lay hidden under madness and folly. It might be that a man should eat both fruits of the tree of knowledge, and become god-like by knowing evil. No: that also was vexation

⁴ In what follows, the name Solomon is used without implying that he was himself the author of Ecclesiastes.

of spirit. "In much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow."

Why be tormented for ever by seeking the unattainable? Yet wine and women, mirth and laughter, are more hollow and delusive still. "I said of laughter, it is mad, and of mirth, what doeth it? I sought in mine heart to give myself unto wine, *yet acquainting mine heart with wisdom.*" Here surely is the experiment which half unconsciously the majority of men are trying; here is the struggle between the nature of the animal and the spirit of the man. The things that a man possesses cannot after all be considered the end for which the man himself exists; therefore the endeavour to find or to make them so, to exhaust all their value, to measure what they are in themselves, can have only one result. "Then I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do; and behold all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the sun." Regarded as ends instead of means, severed from God and the spiritual culture of men, this is the fruit of industry, and of art, and of wealth, and of luxury, and of amusement, and of reputation, and of the skill by which all these are obtained. Yet in this failure and disappointment there is a promise of something better; in the power that wisdom gives over material prosperity and sensuous enjoyment, there is the proof that it is better than folly; the image of a higher wisdom for a nobler work.

Yet once more comes the ever-recurring difficulty, that wisdom does not seem in this world to be more profitable than folly. "As it happeneth to the fool," says the Preacher, "so it happeneth even to me, and why was I then more wise?" The wise man has to die just as the fool does, and he seems to be just as little remembered; so that even life itself becomes hateful, for "all is vanity and vexation of spirit." And even when the wise man is prosperous, he may have to leave all the fruit of his labour to a fool, who "shall have rule over all his labour wherein he has laboured, and wherein he has showed himself wise under the sun." There can be no doubt that this is a true view of life, and it is a view of life which in a rich and prosperous country should never be lost sight of. Even wisdom, regarded as a mere trade investment, is almost useless. The man who loves the profits of wisdom more than herself, will find himself continually disappointed; and the entire uncertainty of "who shall come after us," may well moderate that restless desire to accumulate which very often takes entire possession of a man. Getting is after all for the sake of spending, and for nothing else in the world; moreover, to know how to spend is a far rarer accom-

plishment than to know how to get. Every poor man perceives this in the case of his rich neighbours; he can see clearly enough that *they* do not know how to spend; he thinks how differently he would act if he were in their place. Of course it is most likely that he would act in exactly the same manner, or perhaps in a worse. Nevertheless, a ceaseless, restless pursuit of wealth long after all necessities, and comforts, and luxuries have been abundantly provided for, can only be regarded as a frightful waste of the truly *human* life. These accumulated stores must be left to somebody, may be left only to a fool. It cannot be very satisfactory to anybody looking back upon life to be compelled to acknowledge, 'I have long been far beyond the danger of any probable reverses of fortune. I have long ago made ample provision for all the rest of my own life. I have long ago been rich enough to give my children every advantage they could desire in beginning life for themselves. And still I go on accumulating. I am tired in body, and harassed in mind, but I go on working still. Nobody is the better for it. The very work-people I employ might be quite as well remunerated if I were to lend my capital to another, and at the trifling cost of slightly diminishing those profits which I could very well afford altogether to lose, were to devote my remaining days to quiet meditation, to the enjoyments of home, to works of charity, to literature, or art, to anything, in short, which would benefit myself and my fellow men. Meanwhile, I am caring nothing whatever about myself, only about the things that I possess. I have a well-furnished library, indeed, but unhappily not a well-furnished mind. Of that which is imperishable and eternal I possess next to nothing. And for all this frightful sacrifice I am perhaps only turning my friends into insincere flatterers, tempting my children into idleness and pride, and preparing for those I love best a huge destruction. What am *I myself* in the midst of all my possessions? what do I mean to do with all that I get? what share am I bearing of the burdens of my own family and household, of my friends and neighbours, of my country, and the Church of God?' These, and such as these, are the questions we should be continually asking. To accumulate wealth regardless of its real uses, to subordinate the spiritual to the material, to make wisdom herself the handmaid only of the senses, to forget the brotherhood of men in the family of the Infinite God, can have only that result which is set before us in the Book Ecclesiastes. This will make all our days sorrows, and disturb the rest of night: than all this complication of anxieties and toils, it were better only to eat and drink until that tomorrow when we must die.

Still the very disappointments of life seem suggestive of a divine order. Nothing is really unlovely; it only seems so because it is out of time or place. "God hath made everything beautiful in his time." Notwithstanding the iniquities that abound on all sides, "God shall judge the righteous and the wicked, for there is a time there for every purpose and for every work." There is endless vanity, a brute side of human experience; there are unavenged oppressions; there are tears of those who have no comforter; there are agonies that make death better than life. Nevertheless, there is some solace in human fellowship. "Two are better than one," and "a threefold cord is not quickly broken." There is a house of God, and "One higher than the highest." Perhaps we have done enough to indicate the direction in which the interpretation of *Ecclesiastes* should proceed; nor could there be a fitter ending of the conflict and distress of a heart so tried as was his who wrote this book than that which he gives us as the conclusion of the whole matter,— "Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of Man. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil." This is no answer to a speculative inquirer; it is a complete answer to a weary spirit. By all our searching, we can but come to Him who is the source of wisdom; how much better must it be for us if He will come to us; if He will search us, and know our hearts; try us, and know our thoughts, and see if there be any wicked way in us, and lead us in the eternal way. There are very many men who need not thought but work; not even philosophy, but faith.

It is not always in professed commentaries that we find the best explanation of the books of Scripture. There are very few commentaries on *Ecclesiastes* which are more faithful to its spirit than Wordsworth's "Ode to Duty," which approaches the same conclusion with a calmer spirit, and from a far serener life.—

"Stern daughter of the voice of God!
O, Duty! if that name thou love,
Who art a light to guide, a rod
To check the erring and reprove;
Thou, who art victory and law
When empty terrors overawe;
From vain temptations dost set free;
And calm'st the weary strife of frail humanity!

"There are who ask not if thine eye
Be on them; who, in love and truth,
Where no misgiving is, rely
Upon the genial sense of youth:

Glad hearts ! without reproach or blot ;
Who do thy work, and know it not :
Ah ! if through confidence misplaced
They fail, thy saving arms, dread Power ! around them cast.

“ Serene will be our days and bright,
And happy will our nature be,
When love is an unerring light,
And joy its own security.
And they a blissful course may hold
Even now, who, not unwisely bold,
Live in the spirit of this creed ;
Yet seek thy firm support, according to their need.

“ I, loving freedom, and untried ;
No sport of every random gust,
Yet being to myself a guide,
Too blindly have reposed my trust :
And oft, when in my heart was heard
Thy timely mandate, I deferred
The task, in smoother walks to stray ;
But thee I now would serve more strictly, if I may.

“ Through no disturbance of my soul
Or strong compunction in me wrought,
I supplicate for thy control,
But in the quietness of thought :
Me this unchartered freedom tires ;
I feel the weight of chance desires :
My hopes no more must change their name,
I long for a repose that ever is the same.

“ Stern Lawgiver ! yet thou dost wear
The Godhead’s most benignant grace ;
Nor know we anything so fair
As is the smile upon thy face :
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds,
And fragrance in thy footing treads ;
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong ;
And the most ancient heavens, through thee, are fresh and strong.

“ To humbler functions, awful Power !
I call thee : I myself commend
Unto thy guidance from this hour ;
Oh ! let my weakness have an end !
Give unto me, made lowly wise,
The spirit of self-sacrifice ;
The confidence of reason give ;
And in the light of truth thy bondman let me live.”

W. K.

ANALYSIS OF THE EMBLEMS OF ST JOHN.—Rev. xiv.

(Continued from No. XXII., p. 296.)

THE fourteenth chapter opens with a new scene, and commences a fresh series of emblems and allegories. The apostle says, "and I looked, and lo! a Lamb stood upon the mount Zion." Griesbach, Lachmann, and Bloomfield have here "the Lamb," which is certainly a better reading; seeing the Lamb here mentioned is obviously the same as that which had been previously described, and which has been shewn to be a type of the human nature of Christ, viewed as distinct from his divine nature. The translation "stood" scarcely conveys accurately the sense here implied, for the verb is in the perfect participle, so leading to the inference that the action has been continued for some time past. The Lamb does not now for the first time stand upon the mount Zion, but has been long standing there, although the attention of the apostle is now for the first time called to this particular fact.

Seeing the Lamb is to be understood in an allegorical or metaphorical sense, it would be an obvious incongruity to take "the mount Zion" in a literal sense as referring to the hill of that name upon which the temple of Jerusalem stood; and this the more especially as we are, in other parts of Scripture, taught to regard the mount Zion of Jerusalem as a type or allegory.

The metaphysical meaning of this type is partly unfolded in Hebrews xii. 18—22, "For ye are not come unto the mount, that might be touched, and that burned with fire; but ye are come unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem." Here it is evident that the apostle places mount Sinai and mount Zion in contradistinction to each other—the former as representing the Mosaic, the latter the Christian dispensation. This explanation of the allegory is still further developed in Gal. iv. 22—26, "for it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bond-maid, the other by a free woman; but he of the bond-woman was born after the flesh, but he of the free woman by promise; which things are an allegory; for these are the two covenants, the one from mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. For this Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children; but Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all." From this passage it is evident that mount Sinai is regarded as a type of the covenant of the law which was promulgated from its summit, but that mount Zion and the heavenly Jerusalem

are typical of the covenant of grace, and the scheme of salvation by Jesus Christ.

Viewing the vision of the Lamb standing upon mount Zion as an allegorical symbol, then it may be regarded as having a twofold meaning. As the material temple of God stood upon the terrestrial Zion, so this vision represents to us the Lamb of God, Jesus Christ, standing upon the metaphysical Zion, as being the true temple—the veritable *naos* in which dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. Of this true temple the material edifice on the terrestrial Zion was a type; and we have here unfolded to us the great truth which it was designed to represent, namely, that God is, in the future state, to render himself perceptibly present to the redeemed, to live and dwell among them in the person of Christ, the Lamb of God, the most perfect manifestation of the divine presence.

But there appears to be another and still more recondite meaning conveyed by this emblem; for, viewing the mount Zion as a type of the covenant of grace, as contradistinguished from mount Sinai, the type of the covenant of the law, we may regard the Lamb as an emblem, not only of Christ's human nature, but of his religion—of the Christian dispensation, and his standing upon mount Zion as meaning that the Christian religion rests upon the covenant of promise and of grace—upon God's gracious promise to forgive men their trespasses for the sake of Christ, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.

But the Lamb did not stand alone upon mount Zion; the apostle saw "with him an hundred forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads." In the edition of Griesbach, the reading is, "having his name, and the name of his Father written on their foreheads;" and although this reading is not free from doubt, it is worthy of consideration, as conveying a more enlarged idea. On the inquiry, who are these 144,000? it will be better to delay entering, until we have before us the whole particulars concerning them, which are afterwards given. In the meantime let us turn our particular attention to this one feature of the description—their having written on their foreheads the name of the Father of the Lamb, and not improbably also his own. The expression, "his Father," as bearing reference to the Lamb, is a clear indication that the Lamb is an emblem of the human nature of Christ, to which God, in a peculiar manner, stood in the relation of a Father. It farther indicates how erroneous are those views of the divine nature that was in Christ, which are held by some—namely, that it was a distinct and separate divine nature from that of the Father; or what is still more illogical—a portion of the divine

nature, standing to another portion of the divine nature, in the relation of a son to a father.

We have here set before us, in a very simple form, the true doctrine—namely, that the human nature of Christ, symbolized by the Lamb, is the Son of the divine nature, symbolized by him that sat on the throne—that the human nature of Christ is the true *naos* or sanctuary—a vehicle of the divine presence, not of one portion of the divine nature, but of the whole; for in him dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. The dogma, that there is one divine nature, the son of another, both without beginning; and yet that these are not two divine natures, but only one, requires merely to be stated in plain terms, and free from all mystification, in order to its being repudiated by every sane mind.

What, then, are we to understand by the 144,000 having the name of the Father of the Lamb written on their foreheads? The word “name” is obviously used here in the same sense in which it has been previously employed, as meaning—not the proper name, but the “character.” These 144,000, then, had the character of Christ’s Father written on their foreheads,—a beautiful metaphorical description of the countenance worn by those of a pure and holy mind. Their very aspect conveys the serenity and peace that reign within. The phrase implies—not only that these parties had an accurate knowledge of the divine nature and character, but that they had been made “partakers of the divine nature” (according to the expression employed by St. Peter), and had received the impress of the divine character stamped upon their mind. In their case had been fully answered the prayer of Christ, addressed to his Father, in which, after interceding in a particular manner for his immediate disciples, he adds—“Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word. That they all may be one, as thou, Father! art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them; that they may be one even as we are one. I in them, and thou in me—that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as thou hast loved me.”

The union subsisting between Christ and his followers, referred to in this passage, explains to us why it is that, in the vision of St. John, the Lamb, standing upon Mount Zion, is represented as surrounded by the 144,000; for these, having the divine character stamped upon them, are thus made one with Christ. Hence, while Christ is by pre-eminence the true *naos*,

or habitation of the Deity—the holy of holies in the spiritual temple, these his followers are, as St. Peter expresses it, “lively stones” in this spiritual house, Christ being the chief cornerstone, elect and precious, laid in Zion. Hence the Lamb, standing on Zion, surrounded by these 144,000, regarded as one entire emblem, may be viewed as a symbol of the true temple of God—the church of the redeemed, resting upon the covenant of grace, of which Mount Zion is a type.

The apostle proceeds farther with his description in these words:—“And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder, and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps.” The word “*sound*” ought to have been used instead of “voice” throughout this verse, as conveying, in our language, a more correct idea of the meaning of the original.

This sound, it will be observed, reached the ears of the apostle from heaven. We may hence infer, either that the emblematical Mount Zion appeared to him suspended in the sky, or that, while the familiar mount appeared to him to occupy its natural terrestrial site, all whose features must have been deeply impressed on the apostle’s mind, yet he, imagining himself placed at the foot of the hill, and gazing up towards its summit, crowned with the glorious apparition of the Lamb and his followers, regarded the sound of their harps, and the voice of their praise, as coming to him from heaven, meaning thereby the lower atmosphere, penetrated by the mountain top. It is not inconsistent with the idea, that the Mount Zion was here introduced as an emblem of the covenant of grace, on which are laid the foundations of the spiritual temple of God, to suppose that the apostle really saw what appeared to him to be the actual Mount Zion, whose peculiar features were so familiar to his eye. Indeed, unless such had been the character of the apparition, he would have called it simply a mountain, not the Mount Zion.

That the sound which affected the mental ear of the apostle was the combined effect of the voices of the 144,000 uniting in a hymn of praise becomes evident from the sequel. No one who has heard from a distance the effect produced by a much smaller number of human voices, blended in choral song, can fail to appreciate the beauty of the simile employed by John in his description. It was as the sound of many waters, and as the sound of a great thunder. It would be impossible to find words more truly expressive than these.

In the next clause, both Griesbach and Lachmann introduce a variation in the reading. They make it, “And the sound which I heard was as of harpers harping upon their harps;” in-

stead of "I also heard the sound of harpers harping upon their harps," as it stands in our version. According to the former reading, which is also adopted by Bloomfield, John heard only one sound, which, while it resembled the sound of many waters, and of great thunders, was in reality that of harpers harping on their harps, or at least something resembling this last sound, more than either the murmur of waters or the roar of thunder. According to the reading of the received text, the apostle heard two distinct sounds—one, which resembled the rushing of waters and the pealing of thunder, produced by the multitude of male voices, blended in song; the other, the sound of many harps, forming an accompaniment to the voices. As we are presently told, that the 144,000 did sing an anthem of praise, the latter appears a more probable view than that the apostle heard nothing but the sound of the harps, which could have had little resemblance to the rushing of waters, or the pealing of thunder.

This sublime description ought for ever to shut the mouths of those would-be-spiritualists and purists, who inconsiderately object to the use of instrumental music in the worship of the Christian church; for we have here placed before us in symbol the most perfect form of Christian worship,—the song of praise, uplifted by the first-fruits of the redeemed; and we are informed that even they accompany their voices by the sounds of the solemn harp. The melodious tones, produced by instruments, whether of string or tube, are as much the creations of God as are the mellow notes of the human voice. In employing these instruments, therefore, to aid us in hymning his praise, we only render to Him of his own. If the sounds of instruments affect us with pleasing emotions, it is because the human mind is framed after the pattern of the divine mind, and is so constituted as to take pleasure in all that yields delight to Him. Can we doubt that the admiration, with which the mind of man contemplates a beautiful flower, is a faint reflection of the satisfaction which its graceful form and lovely tints afford to the mind of its Creator. Why then should we doubt that the strong emotion of delight, awakened in the human mind by the harmony of many instruments, especially when associated with the human voice, is also a faint reflection of a delight existing in the mind of the Deity, when the laws of melody and harmony, which He himself has framed, are thus brought into operation by his intelligent creatures as a tribute to his praise? No; let it not be said, that instrumental music was fit only for the more material worship of the ancient Jewish church, but is unsuited to the more spiritual worship of the church of Christ. Let it not be viewed even as a mere harmless luxury of worship; for we have

it here indicated, in terms admitting of no mistake, that it is a fit and appropriate accompaniment to the most perfectly spiritual praise that can be rendered by the purest and holiest of human minds.

While the harp accompaniment to the song of the 144,000 conveys to us this lesson, it has probably also another, and more symbolical meaning. The sound of many harps may be viewed, as an emblem of the harmony, pervading the host of the redeemed; for as the music of the harp presents a concord of various melodies, so these many minds, how various soever in their individual peculiarities, are all harmoniously blended together, in the love of God and of each other; so that their emotions of gratitude and joy, expressed in their new song, form, as it were, successions of spiritual concords, like the rich and solemn chords, which the harper strikes on his harp.

It was not improbably a due appreciation of this correspondence, between the physical harmony of melodious sounds, and the spiritual harmony, that ought to pervade the minds of Christians, when they unite to sing the praises of God, that led the old composers to avoid, in their sacred music, all dissonant intervals, and to employ nothing but concords more or less perfect. This practice is so far laudable; for, however much a cultivated ear may relish that variety of sensation, which is produced by the skilful introduction of dissonant intervals, to heighten the effect of the more perfect harmonies, yet such contrasts are apt to deprive the music of that dignified simplicity, and unvarying sweetness, which renders it so fit an emblem of a perfect oneness of sentiment and feeling, pervading many minds. In the present life, an occasional contest makes us relish more keenly a subsequent period of repose; but in the future life, no such jarring intervals will be necessary to enable us fully to enjoy the unvarying continuance of harmony and peace.

Nevertheless, so long as man remains in his present imperfect state, his religious emotions must, of necessity, vary from time to time; and of fit expressions for such varying emotions, we have an ample store in the inspired poetry of the Psalms. To awaken those sentiments to their fullest extent, such music should be employed, as, by the laws of harmony and melody, are best suited to the purpose; for those laws have been, by their great Author, so adapted to the human mind as to subserve this end. For sacred song, then, that music is the fittest which brings most fully into play those beautiful and subtle laws by which certain strains of melody and combinations of harmony awaken in the mind sentiments corresponding to those embodied in the language to which the music is set; and it is quite

legitimate to resort to every species of combination, known in harmony, for the attainment of an object so much to be desired.

The apostle proceeds to inform us, with respect to the 144,000, that "they sung, as it were, a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts and the elders, and no man could learn that song but the 144,000 which were redeemed from the earth." Griesbach is of opinion, that the adverb rendered "as it were," in the first clause of this verse, has crept in by an error of transcription, and that it ought to be entirely omitted, reading—"And they sung a new song." This view has every appearance of being correct, for the adverb rather obscures than improves the sense. We can understand what is meant by singing a new song; but it is difficult to form any conception of what is meant by singing a song, which is only, *as it were*, new. That it was really a new song, and not the mere semblance of such, may be farther gathered from the statement, that no one could learn it but the 144,000.

From the circumstance of this song being sung before the throne, and before the four living beings, and the elders, it is evident that the throne, with all its surrounding imagery, had, after the passing away of the visions, described in the two preceding chapters, still remained in the apostle's field of view. It might hence be inferred, that the Mount Zion, on which the Lamb and the 144,000 stood, appeared in the same elevated region in which the throne was seen. It is quite possible, however, that the Mount Zion may have appeared to the apostle in its natural terrestrial position, and that the throne may have seemed to him as if suspended in the atmosphere, immediately over the Mount. But the probability seems greater, that the entire scene appeared to the apostle as being in that region of the natural heavens, which was immediately above him.

The circumstance that this song of praise is said to have been sung before the throne, and before the four living beings, and the elders, is a confirmation of the views that have already been propounded in regard to the symbolical meaning of these adjuncts of the throne,—namely, that they symbolize the divine attributes specially brought into exercise in that dominion over the human mind, which is called the kingdom of God, and the graces and virtues which bear sway over every mind in which that kingdom is fully established. These graces and virtues have their amplest development in the divine character itself, as manifested to us, through the medium of Jesus Christ; so that the redeemed, in thus singing their song of praise before the emblematical living beings and elders, render their tribute of admiration to the divine attributes and moral excellences which

these living beings and elders symbolize. The fact of these adjuncts of the divine majesty being here so pointedly represented as joint recipients with the Deity himself, of the prayers and praises of the redeemed, ought to remove any lingering idea that these symbolical living beings and elders typify any mere creatures, however exalted or holy.

The statement, that no one could learn the song but the 144,000, is a clear indication that they were the parties by whom it was sung; and we are thus confirmed in the view that the sound which John heard from heaven, resembling the noise of many waters, and the noise of great thunder, was that of the harmonious swell of this vast chorus of human voices, and also that he heard the sound of harps, distinct from the voices, but accompanying and aiding them with a concordant strain.

The relative "they," used at the beginning of this verse, to indicate those by whom the song was sung, would, according to the accurate construction of the passage, include the Lamb as well as the 144,000. To see this more clearly, we ought to omit the second verse, and read—"Lo! a Lamb stood on the Mount Zion, and with him 144,000, having his Father's name written on their foreheads; and they sung a new song before the throne." Nor should it surprise us to find that the 144,000 were led and guided in this new song by the Lamb, viewing it as a type of the human nature of Christ, regarded apart from the divine nature. For, when we peruse the beautiful prayers which this Lamb of God, while he was on earth, preferred to his Father on behalf of his disciples, and for all those who should believe on him, through their word, as these prayers are recorded in the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel, it is most natural to suppose that he should render thanks to his Father on finding himself surrounded by such a goodly company of the redeemed, and should teach them in what terms to express their gratitude to him that sat upon the throne. He taught them how to pray; and it is befitting that he should also teach them how to render thanks and praise.

That this view is correct may be farther gathered from the statement, that no one could learn this song except the 144,000. Whence it is evident that the song was not a spontaneous effusion of their own, but taught to them by an instructor. And who so likely to be their teacher as the Lamb, whom they follow whithersoever he goeth.

We are here naturally led to inquire, why it was that none could learn this song but the 144,000, who were redeemed from the earth? It is evident from the description given of them that these represent that portion of the followers of Christ who have

attained to the highest degree of moral perfection, and who have been rewarded with the greatest amount of intellectual enlightenment. They have acquired the most complete knowledge of the divine nature and character, and the clearest conceptions of God's goodness, wisdom, and power, as displayed in the works of creation and providence, and in a more especial manner in the great work of the redemption of mankind. Their thoughts of the Deity are therefore higher, purer, and more intensely affectionate than are those of other men. They have more for which to render thanks, and a livelier sense of gratitude for which to find expression; so lively, indeed, and so ardent, that their own efforts to clothe it in words are vain; and they therefore with a willing heart learn from the Lamb that new song, in which he teaches them to convey their thanks and praise. They only can learn it; for they alone can penetrate its meaning, and they alone feel those intense emotions which it is designed to express.

The character of these 144,000 is farther unfolded to us in the fourth and fifth verses—"These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from among men, being the first fruits unto God and the Lamb, and in their mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault before the throne of God."

In this description we have a beautiful sketch of the perfect Christian character. At the same time we must guard ourselves against taking up its language in a strictly literal sense. More especially the first clause. To penetrate the true meaning of this passage, we must bear in mind that the genuine spiritual church of Christ is, in Scripture, denominated his bride and his spouse, while that portion of the outward church, which consists of mere nominal Christians—of false and hypocritical teachers and professors, is denominated a prostitute—a metaphor which we shall afterwards find developed at large. Hence all those composing the true spiritual church—the virgin espoused to Christ are spiritually chaste; while those, who are members of the prostitute, that has fallen away from her allegiance, are spiritually unchaste. Thus we find St. Paul addressing the Corinthians in these terms (2 Cor. chap. xi., vers. 2 and 3). "For I am jealous over you, with a godly jealousy; for I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you, as a chaste virgin, to Christ. But I fear lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve, through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ."

Here we find the whole body of Christian converts, married

and unmarried, described as a chaste virgin espoused to one husband. Nay, we learn that among those who were thus regarded as spiritually chaste, were many who had been carnally unchaste. For, after describing the gross unchastity and wickedness which prevailed among the Gentiles, St. Paul says,—“And such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.”

These quotations furnish a key to the meaning of the passage before us, for we must bear in mind that the character here given to the 144,000 is not that which they exhibited during the whole of their mortal career, but that to which they attained after they were redeemed from the earth. This is rendered evident from its being said of them that “they were without fault, before the throne of God.”

That spiritual chastity—a mind not corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ—is what is here meant, will become further evident when we consider that the taking of this passage literally would amount to an exclusion from among the number of these excellent of the earth, of all married persons—an idea quite repugnant to the doctrines taught in Scripture; for it is there declared that marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled; that both bishops and deacons should be each the husband of one wife, so that they may set an example of every Christian virtue, in every relation of life. It would be to exclude from the Christian character a class of virtues of the very highest order—the faithful performance of the duties of husbands and parents, the former being exhorted to love their wives, even as Christ the Church, the latter to train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. These duties are, in their bearing on the welfare of society, second to none, and he that excludes himself from the discharge of them withdraws himself from one of the most important spheres of usefulness on earth, and denies himself the privilege of directly adding to the number of the redeemed. Celibacy is a virtue only in those peculiar cases where a man, after the example of St. Paul, abstains from marriage for the sole purpose of devoting himself with more disengagedness of spirit and freedom from encumbrance to the work of distant and dangerous missionary enterprise. Nevertheless, we may learn, from the example of St. Peter, that a due discharge of even those difficult and dangerous duties is not incompatible with the married state. Except, then, for the purpose of engaging in distant missionary enterprise, the abstaining from matrimony, so far from being a virtue, is really a mere shrinking from responsibility, and involves a neglect of Christian duties

of the highest order, and which have the most important influence on the welfare of the human race. A due discharge of the duties of husband and father is indicated by St. Paul as the best preparation, and the surest test of fitness for being a bishop of the Church; for, after pointing out that a bishop ought to show a good example as a husband and a father, he adds, 1 Tim. iii. 5, "for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God." We accordingly find him foretelling, as one of the signs of the apostasy of the latter times, that the false teachers should be men "having their conscience seared as with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats," (1 Tim. iv. 2—3).

From all these passages it is evident that the married state is not inconsistent with the Christian perfection specified in the first clause of this description of the character of the 144,000. He would be a bold man who would assert that Moses, called by pre-eminence the servant of God, or the Apostle Peter, whom our Lord himself pronounced to be supremely blest, was unworthy to be classed among those first-fruits of the redeemed, merely because each of these distinguished individuals had a wife.

This metaphor, then, of corporeal chastity must be held to indicate that spiritual chastity which is not corrupted from the simplicity which is in Christ, and also that victory over all fleshly desires which is achieved by those who are united to Christ by faith, who, although they may have once been such, as St. Paul describes his Gentile converts to have originally been, have subsequently been washed and purified in the blood of the Lamb, and so been presented as a chaste virgin to Christ.

We are further informed that these 144,000 are the attendants or followers of the Lamb, whithersoever he goeth. This clause is capable of two interpretations. It may mean that these are imitators of the Lamb in all his ways, following his example in every particular. Or, regarding the 144,000 as a representative symbol, it may mean that these symbolize the attendants of the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. According to this view, the Lamb is represented as traversing the earth accompanied by a large number of followers. We might, therefore, understand the Lamb as symbolizing not only the person of Christ, viewed in his human nature, but the Christian doctrine, especially that portion of it which relates to the sacrificial death and atonement of Christ, typified by the Lamb slain in sacrifice. The 144,000, again, would represent those instrumental in spreading the pure Christian doctrines throughout the earth.

In forming a judgment upon this point, it must be borne in

mind that, in the interpretation of emblems it is the usage of the sacred writers to say, not “these *signify* or *represent*” so and so, but “these *are*” so and so. Thus in explaining the emblems of the stars and the candlesticks, it is said, “the seven stars *are* the angels of the seven churches, and the seven candlesticks *are* the seven churches.” In like manner, in explaining the symbol of the countless multitude in white robes, and having palms in their hands, standing before the throne, the elder says: “These *are* they who came out of great tribulation,” etc. To the same effect our Lord himself, when he presented to his disciples the broken bread and the cup of wine, said, “This *is* my body, broken for you; this *is* the new testament in my blood.” In all these instances it is evident that the meaning is, “these *symbolize* the seven angels and the seven churches;” these *represent* those who came out of great tribulation;” “this is an *emblem* of my broken body, this a *symbol* of the new testament in my blood.” In the case before us, the form of expression employed in the Greek fully warrants this mode of interpretation; and the meaning of the original would perhaps be best rendered as follows: “These represent all who were not defiled with women; for they represent virgins; these represent the followers of the Lamb, whithersoever he goeth.”

We have no more reason to suppose the 144,000 to have been individuals actually existing at the time of the vision, than we have to imagine that the multitude in white robes were actually existing individuals. Both assemblages were emblems, the countless multitude being a type of the whole body of the redeemed, the more restricted number 144,000 being a type of those most distinguished for Christian principle, and most devoted to the service of their Great Master. Whithersoever the Lamb goes, he will always be followed by such. Into whatsoever part of the world Christ designs to carry his doctrine, there will always be a devoted band of missionaries ready to convey to the erring and the ignorant the glad tidings of great joy. The followers of the Lamb, then, here mentioned, appear to be not the mere imitators of the Lamb; for every Christian must follow the example of his Master; but the missionaries of Christ, his personal attendants, who accompany him in his migration into the domains of moral darkness and spiritual death. Of all such this select band of 144,000 is an appropriate type, for such are the select members of the Christian brotherhood—the picked men—the bodyguard, as it were, of the army of the Lord of Hosts.

They are accordingly farther described as having been “purchased from among men—an offering of first-fruits to God and the

Lamb." We are not to understand this expression as meaning that they were purchased *first in order of time*, but that they were the *prime*, or most excellent part of the human harvest, those of whom the Messiah, in the sixteenth Psalm, is represented as speaking in the most approving terms, calling them "the saints that are in the earth, the excellent, in whom is all my delight." The idea of the harvest of the human race we find farther developed towards the end of this chapter, and this mention of the offering of first-fruits is an obvious allusion to what follows.

We should probably fall into a great error were we to suppose that the number 144,000 here specified is intended to represent the *precise* number of individuals who shall possess the character here assigned to them. It is much more likely that this specification of a number is designed to convey merely the general idea that, in the future state, there is to be a *selection* of the most approved saints, upon whom special honours are to be conferred—that the whole body of the redeemed are not to be placed on an equal footing, but that every man is to be rewarded "according to his work." The same truth of a gradation of excellence and a corresponding gradation of rank is indicated in our Saviour's promise made to his disciples that, in the future state, they shall sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel, and shall be admitted to hold immediate and familiar intercourse with himself. The representation, therefore, of the most excellent of the redeemed by a specific number in immediate attendance on the Lamb, most probably indicates no more than this general principle, that those who have been distinguished by the highest and purest Christian attainments in this life shall be selected to fill the highest offices in the future life, and have conferred upon them the greatest honour, being regarded as the first-fruits of the redeemed.

In the fifth verse, we have the completion of the character of the first-fruits of the human harvest. "And in their mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault before the throne of God." These expressions render it very evident that this was the character of these saints, not during their whole lives, but in their perfect state, after their complete redemption and sanctification. Jude, in his epistle to the Christian converts, addresses them as those "that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ," and in his concluding ascription he says, "Now unto him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory, with exceeding joy, to the only wise God, our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now

and ever. Amen." Now, as there must have been among those whom the Apostle thus addressed many who were at one time very far from being without guile, and faultless in the sight of God, it is evident that they must have been brought into this condition by the process of sanctification, of which he speaks in the outset; consequently, that their freedom from fault arises, not from any inherent goodness in themselves, or from any attainments they have made in their own strength, but solely from their having been sanctified by God the Father, and preserved by Jesus Christ. They do not stand, in their *own right*, faultless before the presence of the divine glory, but being, by the grace of God, which is in Christ, kept from falling, they are, by the only wise God, their Saviour, presented faultless before the presence of his glory, with exceeding joy.

Hence we learn that the freedom from guile and fault, ascribed to the 144,000, is not an inherent, but an imparted and imputed character. No man being throughout his whole life free from guile and fault, but the Son of Man, the second Adam, the representative of all the redeemed, it is plain that it can be only in virtue of an union with him that any man can be held to be free from guile and fault. In consequence of the union between Christ and the redeemed, his perfection is held to be theirs, and they are regarded in the sight of God as *in him* free from guile and fault. But seeing that none can be thus united to Christ, so as to have his perfect righteousness *imputed* to them, except by having that same mind and spirit that was in Christ *imparted* to them, and seeing this spirit is *improved* and *availed* of in various degrees, so the actual amount of *imparted* righteousness may be very various in different individuals, and those will be accounted most worthy in the sight of God who shall have acquired the greatest similitude to their pattern Christ. Thus, while it is the righteousness of Christ alone that renders any man perfect in the sight of God, this circumstance does not destroy individuality of character, or confound and reduce to one uniform level all Christian attainment. These 144,000, then, the representatives of the excellent of the earth, are regarded as free from guile and fault, not only because of their union to Christ, who alone was absolutely free from fault, but, because, having imbibed largely of his spirit, they have ultimately become free from guile and fault, all their sins and imperfections having been washed away in the blood of the Lamb.

There yet remains an important inquiry in regard to this company of 144,000 surrounding the Lamb, namely, what connexion has this emblem with the sealing of the 144,000 mentioned in the seventeenth chapter. That there is such a relation

is evident. The assemblage on Mount Zion is obviously either the gathered company of those servants of God who were selected from the twelve tribes of Israel, and sealed in their foreheads ; or some analogous company of the approved servants of God.

The view that this was not an assemblage of real personages, but a type of a class, and a symbol of a great truth or principle, removes much of the difficulty surrounding this subject. St. Paul says, "They are not all Israel who are of Israel." It is only those who are truly the servants of God that are sealed from among the twelve tribes. This circumstance shows us that no man has *by right of birth* a title to salvation, or that any spiritual privileges, however high they may be, can of themselves secure salvation to their possessors ; but that Christ picks out from among the multitude who enjoy such privileges only those who are the servants of our God. He selects those most distinguished by high attainments in Christian perfection, and imparts to them a peculiar and more intimate knowledge of the divine character, symbolized by his impressing the name of his Father on their foreheads, and he makes of such his immediate followers to carry the glad tidings of his Gospel whithersoever he wills them to go.

Nor ought we to imagine that this select band of Christ's immediate followers is to consist of the exact number of 144,000, or that these are to be taken, in equal proportions, either from the tribes of Israel, or from the various denominations of Christians which these tribes may symbolize. We are merely to gather from this emblem that there is to be a principle of selection among the redeemed, and that it is to be carried out with the strictest impartiality.

In analyzing the emblem of the sealing of the 144,000, it was pointed out that this number being one of perfection is most probably used as a metaphor for *totality*, as indicating that *all* who were found true servants of God were sealed. The same view may be taken of its meaning in the passage now under consideration ; and we may understand the number 144,000 to be used metaphorically for the *whole* of those who shall be found answering to the description here given.

Before quitting this important emblem it is necessary to consider for what reason it is introduced at this particular part of the vision. On this point two views may be entertained. The preceding emblems give a symbolical representation of the contest which has been in progress for a lengthened period between the anti-Christian principle in various forms and the pure religion of Christ which stands upon faith, is clothed with righteousness, and crowned with knowledge. This vision, then,

of the Lamb, who is said to have been standing upon Mount Zion, surrounded by a select band of followers, may be designed to indicate that during all this strife, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the anti-Christian principle, the faithful servants of the living God have taken their stand upon Mount Zion, the type of the covenant of grace, upon whose summit stands the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.

Or this emblem may be intended to denote the commencement of a new epoch in the history of the Christian Church, the first event in which is Christ, surrounded by his obedient followers, taking his stand upon Mount Zion. According to this view, the emblem may shadow forth the fulfilment of the prophecy concerning the general conversion of the Jews to Christianity, and their consequent return to their own land as a Christian nation, "When the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob." St. Paul, in the eleventh chapter of Romans, enters largely into the consideration of this promise, and expresses his perfect confidence in its fulfilment. He also indicates that this expected conversion of the Jewish nation will introduce a new and happier era into Christendom, saying, "For if their fall be the riches of the world, and their decay the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their fulness; for if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall be their reception, but life from the dead?"

This emblem, however, lends no countenance to the idea of a *personal* appearance of Christ on Mount Zion, or a *personal* reign of Christ at Jerusalem. On the contrary, his appearance in the form of a lamb that had been slain in sacrifice, indicates the very reverse. It shews us that this type of the doctrine of salvation, through the sacrificial death of Christ, is to be recognized among the scattered remnant of the people of Israel, and that the religion founded upon it is at last to become predominant in the ancient land of promise. It also possibly indicates that when this grand consummation shall at length have taken place, Mount Zion shall again become a conspicuous centre of missionary enterprise, whence the devoted servants of the Lord shall go forth to carry the religion of Christ into the benighted regions of the earth. This may be gathered from the statement that the company who appeared on Mount Zion with the Lamb, follow him whithersoever he goeth; for it implies that the Lamb does migrate from land to land, and that his faithful servants attend him on his migrations.

Indeed, the occurrence of such an event as the general conversion of the Jews to Christianity, would be such a remark-

able fulfilment of prophecy, and corroboration of the truth of Christianity, that it would carry conviction to the mind, almost as strongly as if Christ were to reappear personally on the earth to vindicate the truth of his doctrine. We can conceive of no event which would be better calculated to promote true Christianity, or to awaken the spirit of genuine missionary enterprise in the bosom of the Church.

To which of these two views of the nature of the event to which this symbolization applies, the preference ought to be given, it is somewhat difficult to decide. The first view is, perhaps, the more consonant to the spiritual meaning of the Mount Zion here mentioned, and seems to be favoured by the use of the perfect participle, indicating that the Lamb did not now begin to stand on Mount Zion, but has been standing there for some time before being observed by the apostle. These two circumstances, however, are far from being decisive in favour of this view, for they are quite reconcilable with its competitor.

According to the second view, the Apostle must be regarded as being, in this scene, the representative of his nation; and the time referred to must be understood to be the period when the Jewish people, *as a body*, are to have their attention steadily directed towards the Lamb who has been all along standing upon Mount Zion; when their understandings are to be opened to perceive the true spiritual meaning of Mount Zion and of the temple which formerly stood there; that the mount was a type of the covenant of grace on which Christianity is founded; while the material temple erected upon it, with its sacrificial ordinances, was a type of the Lamb of God, the true *naos* or dwelling place of the Deity, and the anti-type of the daily sacrifice.

The spiritual meaning of Mount Zion in this emblem would, therefore, not be degraded but elevated by the supposition that the conversion of the Jewish people to Christianity, and the reconstituting of Mount Zion as a fresh centre of missionary enterprise, are the events here foreshadowed. Mount Zion is not unfrequently used in Scripture as a type of the Jewish people, and more especially of the Jewish Church, the godly portion of that remarkable race; and there appears to be here a conjunction of this metaphorical meaning with the spiritual; for the emblem may be regarded as denoting the reception of the Jewish people and Church into the covenant of grace, so that Zion may once more become the centre whence the light of divine truth is to radiate and enlighten the whole world.

There are, moreover, other considerations which appear to throw the balance more decidedly in favour of this latter view. From the eleventh chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans,

and the ancient prophecies to which he there refers, the Apostle appears to have cherished the confident expectation that a period in the distant future should arrive when the Jewish people, as a body, should be converted to Christianity, and should be engrafted into their own olive tree. Now, no believer in the inspiration of the writings of this Apostle can suppose that he was *mistaken* in this expectation,—that the divine spirit which guided his trains of thought could have permitted him so far to misunderstand and misapply the ancient prophecies as to imagine that the Jewish people are to be, as a nation, converted to Christianity, if there be really no such event in the womb of futurity, and these prophecies are to be understood in a totally different sense. But if it be true that such an occurrence is predicted at all, it appears improbable that an event so remarkable, and calculated to produce so important an effect on the religious condition of the world, should be passed over in the apocalyptic symbolization without any notice whatever, the more especially, if, according to the anticipation of St. Paul, the reception of the Jews into the Christian pale is to be followed by a revival of the pure principles of Christianity throughout the world, so great that it can be likened to nothing but “life from the dead,” (Rom. xi. 15.) Now, if this remarkable event be indicated in the apocalyptic symbolization at all, there is no other part of it save the emblem under consideration, upon which we can lay our finger, and say, here is a symbolical representation, foreshadowing the general conversion of the Jews to Christianity.

If the emblem before us foreshadow any event whatever, there is none to which it can correspond so exactly as to the conversion of the Jews. There is no past event upon which we can fix as answering precisely to the description here given. The only alternative supposition is, that it does not represent an event at all, but an abstract truth, namely, that the Lamb and his followers continually take their stand upon Mount Zion, as a type of the covenant of grace. But this is a truth in the Christian system so fundamental, so intimately woven into its fabric, as to render it very unlikely that it should be thus prominently exhibited in symbol to the apostle’s mental eye. The only object of its introduction at this particular point would be to present a contrast between the followers of the Lamb and the worshippers of the beast. But this contrast has already been sufficiently well marked in the concluding verse of the twelfth chapter, where the seed of the woman are described as “they who keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.”

The symbolization which immediately follows, moreover, strongly tends to shew that this scene represents the dawning of a new era in the religious history of the world, and that great results are to ensue from that which is symbolized by the Lamb thus standing on Mount Zion with a band of select followers, prepared to accompany him whithersoever he goeth; and this circumstance appears to render it far more probable that the emblem foreshadows an event than that it symbolizes a mere abstract truth. Again, if this emblem represents an event, the historical inquirer will in all likelihood search the records of past history in vain for any occurrence which corresponds in every particular to this symbolization, and he must therefore look to the future for its realization.

Of all the emblems presented to the mind of the Apostle, there is not one whose precise meaning it is more important to determine than the one now before us, because of its bearing on the chronology of the visions. For if this emblem foreshadow an event yet future, then all the remainder of the symbolization in the Apocalyptic visions must also relate to events still in the womb of futurity. Nor does this circumstance at all militate against the idea that this emblem foreshadows the conversion of the Jews. On the contrary, it confirms it. For if the symbolization of the two preceding chapters be carefully examined and compared with the present condition of the world, it will be perceived that the state of things there described still subsists—a conclusion resting on grounds which have been already specified. This conclusion, united to the probability that the emblem of the Lamb and his followers standing on Mount Zion foreshadows a future event, raises a presumption so high, that to overturn it would require on the part of the historical investigator evidence of the very strongest kind, proving that some of the emblems which follow it correspond to events already past. The historical inquirer will therefore have to be particularly on his guard at this point of his investigations, for the love of his pursuit will naturally tend to beget in him a desire to embrace as much as possible of the symbolization within the sphere of his researches—a desire which might betray him into the mistake of proceeding on insufficient grounds, to apply to past events emblems which really refer to the future.

If the emblem now under consideration do foreshadow the conversion to Christianity of the Jewish people, and their again becoming a centre of Christian missionary enterprise, then this is the first future event in the *religious* history of the world to which we have now to look forward as introducing a new epoch in the moral development of mankind. It may strike

some minds with surprise to find such strong reasons for concluding that we are yet so far back in the train of events foreshadowed in the Apocalyptic visions, and that so much of the religious history of mankind remains to be evolved from the womb of futurity. But a little sober reflection will serve to mitigate, if not to remove, this feeling of astonishment. When the philosophic mind calmly surveys the present state of the moral and intellectual development of mankind compared with the capabilities of the race, as evidenced by the progress of a few, the conviction will arise that the human family, viewed as a whole, is yet in its infancy, and that a vast period of time must be allowed for the operation of moral causes, in order to bring the whole race under the dominion of civilization. Still more profound will this conviction become when the state of the world, as regards its Christianization is contemplated, when it is considered through how small a portion of the habitable globe even nominal Christianity extends, and yet more, when we reflect how small a part of the nominally Christian world is under the influence of that pure and genuine Christianity which is symbolized by the woman clothed with the sun. When these things are duly considered, the probability will be strengthened that many ages have yet to elapse before the complete fulfilment of the promise that all the kingdoms of this world are to become those of our Lord and his Christ.

When, moreover, it is borne in mind that the multitude which, in the vision of St. John symbolized the ingathered throng of the redeemed, was so great that no man could number it, and when it is considered at how slow a rate this ingathering proceeds, we shall have still stronger grounds for concluding that very many centuries have yet to elapse before the ingathering of the appointed number of the redeemed can be completed by the gradual operation of moral causes, or of the laws which at present regulate the multiplication of the species.

When all these considerations are deliberately weighed, they will banish from the mind any feeling of surprise that the development of events corresponding to the symbolization of the Apocalypse is so far in arrear, and that a series is yet to emerge from the future, so long as the succession of symbols in the remainder of the visions indicates on the supposition that the emblem of the Lamb and his followers standing upon Mount Zion foreshadows an event not yet realized.

If this emblem represents the conversion of the Jewish people, and the re-establishment of Mount Zion as a centre of Christian missionary enterprise, we have no strong or reasonable grounds for regarding that consummation as even now near at hand. For, when this event shall happen, then the 2,300 days

mentioned in the prophecy of Daniel will have been completed. Now, the most probable starting point for this cycle is the destruction of Jerusalem, which our Saviour expressly declares to be foreshadowed in Daniel's prophecy; and if this period is to be estimated on the principle of assigning a year to each day it will be perceived that a very considerable portion of the predicted period has yet to elapse.* It is quite possible, however, that these 2,300 days are to be estimated on a totally different principle, some principle involved in the operation of purely moral causes, and unconnected with the planetary revolutions, so that it will be impossible, till after the event, to perceive in what particular manner the prediction as to the length of the period is to be realized.

The view that the emblem of the Lamb and his followers standing on Mount Zion, or rather that the Apostle's perception of their standing there, foreshadows an event which is to introduce a new era in the history of the Christian religion is greatly strengthened by the next scene in the vision which the Apostle thus describes, "And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them, that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come, and worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters." This is a beautiful emblem of the spirit of missionary enterprise pervading the sphere of influence and power, and going forth to Christianize the whole earth.

It is not probably to a misunderstanding of this statement of John with respect to his seeing an angel *fly* in mid-heaven that we are to trace that monstrous misconception of painters and poets which leads them to attach to the shoulders of angels huge and unseemly feathered appendages in the form of wings. Had John said that he saw a cloud flying across the heavens, would it justify our imagining the cloud to have been furnished with wings? No more are we justified in fancying from this description that the angel whom John saw fly in mid-heaven was furnished with such appliances. The reading of the Greek is somewhat doubtful as respects this word "fly." In the editions of Griesbach, Lachmann, and Bloomfield, the verb is decidedly "fly," though it by no means implies the employment

* It has already been pointed out that this mode of estimating the 2,300 days as so many years, starting from the fall of Jerusalem, is rendered probable by the circumstance that if we suppose the vision of Daniel to have occurred B.C. 551, and the fall of Jerusalem A.D. 69, then these two numbers, added to the 2,300, make together 2,920 years, which is exactly two cynic cycles. This coincidence may, however, be more apparent than real.

of wings as a means of flight; but in the received edition the verb used signifies rather "expanding himself," "stretching himself out in mid-heaven," as if the angel appeared to John, at first, of a small size by reason of distance, and then to increase in magnitude till he filled the whole mid-heaven. This is, perhaps, the more sublime idea of the two; and, viewing the angel as an emblem of a spirit of missionary enterprise pervading the influential classes of society, it is the more appropriate. This spirit does not make a mere transitory migration through the sphere of influence and power, but expands itself until it completely fills it with its presence.

The angel is said to have been "charged with the everlasting Gospel." This expression indicates the eternal and unchangeable nature of the doctrine with which the angel was fraught. It is a message of good, and the angel's commission was by means of it to benefit every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, inhabiting the earth. Griesbach, Lachmann, and Bloomfield have here "settled in the earth." By this phrase may be designated those who were not as yet converted to true Christianity—the earthly minded, who cared only for the things of this life, and viewed the earth in its present transitory state as their abiding home.

P.

ON THE DIVINE NATURE.

CHAPTER 1.—*Do we know what we worship?*

"We know what we worship."—John iv. 22.

WHEN the inquirer after sacred truth has become satisfied that the Scriptures truly are the substance of a revelation from God, the next question which naturally occurs to his mind as a fit subject for investigation is, What do the Scriptures reveal concerning the divine nature? This subject is of primary importance, and it is of great moment that our ideas in regard to it should be clear and precise, so that we may be able to say, "We know what we worship," and that it may not be said of us, as of the Samaritans, "Ye worship ye know not what," or that the altar reared in our heart is inscribed, like that of the Athenians, "To the unknown God."

Under this head, the doctrine which is of the chiefest moment, and at the same time beset with the greatest amount of difficulty, is that of the Trinity. So great, indeed, are the difficulties which surround this subject, that they have given rise to

much diversity of opinion. On the one hand, some have adopted what have been improperly called "Unitarian" opinions. These deny the plurality of persons in the Godhead; consequently the divinity of our Lord, and the distinct personality of the Holy Ghost. There are various modifications of these opinions: some hold Christ to have been the highest of created intelligences, and also the first of created beings. Others deny that he was more than a man, endowed with mere extraordinary powers, and sustained in spotless purity and integrity by a peculiar exercise of the divine energy continually maintained upon him. On the other hand, some have taken up what are called "Tritheistic" opinions. These believe in the existence of three distinct "living intelligent agents," or essences, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, each divine, infinite, eternal, perfect, their unity consisting in a complete oneness of sentiment and purpose, their diversity in a difference in the mode of manifesting their perfections, and in the part assumed by each in carrying out their common designs. Midway between these two lies the doctrine of the Trinity, viz., that there is one God in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which three are one in *being*, as well as in sentiment and purpose. Even among those who hold the Trinitarian doctrine, however, there is considerable variety of opinion, and it is to be feared some confusion of ideas is engendered, to no small extent, by the terms which have been employed in its enunciation and discussion. It is obvious that were the word "*person*" to be here taken in its *ordinary* acceptation, as denoting "a separate individual being," the proposition would amount simply to a contradiction—namely, that there are three beings which are one being. But the word "*person*," as shall afterwards be more fully shewn, is here used in a *peculiar* sense, to denote "the utmost amount of distinctness compatible with oneness of being." The most strictly accurate form into which the Trinitarian proposition can be thrown is the following:—"There is but one God—one Eternal Mind—the Creator and Preserver of all other beings, and this one God has revealed himself as the Father, in his Son, and by his Sanctifying Spirit."

The advocates of the Unitarian doctrines take their stand on abstract reasoning, maintaining that their view, being the most rational and easily comprehensible, must be the right one; and that the language of Scripture must be interpreted in accordance with that view, which is most consonant to reason. The Tritheists uphold their doctrine, as more rational, and easy of comprehension, than that of the Trinitarians, contending also that Scripture must be interpreted so as to square with their notions of sound logic. The Trinitarians intrench themselves behind

the stronghold of Scripture, and maintain that reason must bend to the authority of the Word of God, where the matter treated of is one so far beyond the grasp of human intellect—nay, even where the statements of Scripture may appear, in our weak judgment, to involve a contradiction. In following this course, however, they do injustice to their cause; for it is, in a manner, admitting their doctrine to be incapable of logical demonstration. This is dangerous ground, and the very ground on which Luther intrenched himself while defending the doctrine of the real presence in his famous disputation with Zwingli, when to every argument urged by the clear-headed Swiss, he replied—"Christ says, 'This is my body;' therefore, in spite of sense and reason, I believe that his body it must really and physically be." In like manner, the Trinitarians often say, "The Word of God declares that these three are one; therefore, in spite of *reason*—nay, of *intuition*, too—I believe these three are one." To this sentiment the opponents of the doctrine at once reply, that if it be contrary to reason to suppose these three to be one, then the passages of Scripture which *seem* to declare them to be so, must be taken in a different sense, seeing it is impossible to imagine the Word of God to assert that to be true, which reasons shews us to be of necessity false. Now, it is evident that this argument is not answered by merely reiterating the dogma, "The Word of God says, 'These three are one,' therefore they must be one;" it can be fairly and honestly met only by shewing that it is not contrary to reason.

That this is the correct course is further evidenced by the following considerations. God is a *necessary* and *unchangeable* Being; it is impossible that he should, at any time, be other than he is; consequently, every truth which can be affirmed of God must be a *necessary* truth. But every necessary truth is either intuitively apprehended by the mind, or is capable of satisfactory demonstration. If the doctrine of the Trinity be true at all, then it must be necessarily and demonstrably true, and it is accordingly our duty to investigate the grounds upon which the demonstration of its necessity primarily rests. This important consideration is not eluded by calling the doctrine concerning the divine nature a *mystery* above our comprehension, and which must, therefore, be believed in. Such an averment is a begging of the whole question, which is simply whether the teaching of Scripture on this subject be really a mystery or not. It must be borne in mind that the Scriptures claim to be a revelation, and that one of the most important truths which they profess to reveal is the nature of that one

Being whom men ought to worship. To allege, then, that what the Scriptures aver on the subject of the divine nature is a *mystery*, is to deny to them the character, which they claim, of being a *revelation*, not only *from* God, but *of* God. For if their statements serve only to wrap the divine nature in mystery, they are, as regards that important subject, no revelation at all.

As to believing in a mystery, this is a mere empty phrase. Belief is the assent of the understanding, and nothing else. But a mystery is what cannot be comprehended by the understanding, which cannot therefore give it a reasonable assent. No mystery, as such, can be the subject of belief. We may believe in the existence of that, whose nature we do not understand, or in a fact, whose causes we do not comprehend; but in either case, it is the simple *existence* of the thing or fact, in which we believe—not the *nature* of the thing, or the *cause* of the fact, which remain mysteries beyond our understanding. These lie not within the sphere of our knowledge, and cannot therefore be the subject of belief. But it may be urged that, although we cannot understand a truth, we may yet accept it, by putting faith in another who does. There is here, however, a lurking fallacy. Suppose a mathematician to state, to one quite ignorant of science, that it is possible to draw two lines, one curved, the other straight, so related to each other, that, however far they may be produced, they will always approach nearer, yet never actually touch; the unlearned, unable to understand the demonstration of the fact, cannot believe in it as a truth. He may not dispute the point, nor may he regard it as an impossibility; but he does not give the statement that *rational assent*, which he would do, were he able to understand the demonstration; and such rational assent is alone entitled to the name of belief. If he be candid, he will say, “it *may* be true, but I do not understand it;” if he accept the statement without inquiry, on the faith of the mathematician’s word, what he believes in is not the scientific truth itself, but merely the truthfulness of his informant; the abstract truth will remain to him a mystery, which cannot, in his mind, obtain the assent of his understanding. Now with respect to any religious question, no greater injury can be done to it than to call it a *mystery*; for that is at once to proclaim it incomprehensible, and so far incapable of belief. Were there any individual to whom the subject was no mystery—who understood it perfectly, and could give us an assurance of its truth, we might not dispute the proposition; but then our belief would be—not in that which constitutes the mystery, but simply in the superior understanding and truthfulness of him who makes the statement. But where the subject is

alleged to be a mystery to *every* human understanding, it cannot be the subject of even this modified assent.

If the word of God contained only this averment—"the divine nature is a mystery, far above human understanding, and into which it is vain for man to inquire," every Christian would be bound to accept such a statement. But his belief would then be confined to the fact, and would not extend to anything farther. Such, however, is not the case which is presented before us. The Scriptures do make very special statements and explanations in regard to the divine nature, and call these a revelation to man; consequently, it must be the divine *intention* that these averments should be comprehended by man, and believed in when so understood. These statements cannot be both a mystery and a revelation; and the question is thus resolved into this:—Do the Holy Scriptures contain a comprehensible revelation respecting the divine nature, such as man may understand and believe; or do they wrap the subject in darkness inscrutable, and yet require us to believe in what our understandings cannot grasp? This, be it remembered, is a totally different question from that which is more frequently treated of, namely—whether the subject of the divine nature has been involved in incomprehensible mystery by certain dogmatic propositions, pretending to be based on Scripture; and whether men are bound to accept these incomprehensible propositions, simply on the authority of those who framed them. This latter is a question apart, and one into which it is needless to enter; for any belief, accorded in such a case, cannot extend to the subject, which is confessedly a mystery; it goes not beyond a mere deference to the authority of the individual who framed the unintelligible proposition. Let no man, therefore, deceive himself, by imagining that he believes in any proposition concerning the divine nature which he does not clearly understand. His belief is not in the proposition, for that is to him inscrutable; he merely believes that the author of the proposition must have had some authority, either conferred or assumed, in virtue of which he claims to be believed. Let it be clearly understood, then, that the subject of our inquiry is not any proposition of mere human construction, but simply—what is really revealed respecting the divine nature in the divine word itself.

As this subject is one both of extreme difficulty and importance, it must be approached with caution. Much of the obscurity in which it has been involved has its origin in the loose, vague, and unguarded language which has been employed in discussing it; and it is therefore necessary to begin, by strictly defining the sense in which certain words and phrases used in

the demonstration are to be understood. At the risk, then, of being charged with preciseness, we must crave attention to the following definitions:—*Space* is that in which every being exists; it is of one kind, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable. *A being* is that which exists in space. Beings may be of more than one kind, and either infinite or not, unchangeable or not, eternal or not. *An idea* again does not exist in space, but is a mere conception of the mind. *A mode of being* is any particular manner in which a being exists. Every human soul is a separate being, and all human souls have, in this life at least, the same mode of being. On the other hand, a human soul, and a piece of gold, are not only separate beings, but they have also distinct modes of being. The phrase “mode of being” has been employed in a different sense; by the older logicians, as signifying any quality whatever of a being; but the word *mode*, in ordinary discourse, is somewhat changed in signification, and has now a more limited meaning than the words *quality* and *property*; so that its application in the sense, given in this definition, has become quite legitimate. Beings are *present* in the space in which they exist—whether it be throughout all space, or only in a finite portion thereof.* *A mode of presence* is any particular manner in which a being is present. *Omnipresence* is continual universal presence. *Ubiquity*, again, is merely the capacity of being present in any number of places, however distant or diverse, at the same instant of time. *Manifestation* is that by which the presence, or existence of a being, or mode of being, becomes known; but there may be both existence and presence without manifestation. *A mode of manifestation* is any particular manner in which the presence or existence of a being or mode of being becomes known. *A body* is a being of such a nature that more than one body cannot be present in the same portion of space at the same instant of time. Hence bodies limit one another in space. This property is called *impenetrability*. *A mind* is a being of such a nature that more than one mind can be present, in the same portion of space, at the same instant of time. Also a body may be present, in the same portion of space, at the same instant of time, with one or more minds. Hence minds do not limit each other in space as do bodies; but bodies may limit minds in space. Hence also minds cannot of themselves have form, because form implies impenetrability; but a body may so limit a mind as to impart to it form. *Substance* is that of which any being consists; it is

* Every being must be present *somewhere*, but it is said to be absent, when it is present *elsewhere*, or *otherwise*, than in the space or manner spoken of.

the unknown cause of the powers and properties which the being exhibits. The substance of every *body*, so far as we know, is *matter*—the unknown cause of the various modifications of the opposing forces of attraction and repulsion which all bodies exhibit. The substance of every *mind*, so far as we know, is *spirit*—the unknown cause of the intellectual and moral powers. There may, however, for aught we know, be other beings in the universe than bodies and minds, and other substances than matter and spirit. There are beings of whose substance we are totally ignorant; for example, of the substance of the living principle in animals and vegetables, we know nothing whatever. We do not even know whether the living principle be a being, or a mere mode of being; or whether that which constitutes life in a vegetable be the same as that which constitutes life in an animal, or something altogether different; and it is for these reasons that we designate both by the abstract term “principle.”^a

In connexion with these definitions we may take the following axioms:—1st. Every being must have at least one mode of being. 2nd. Every being, and also every mode of being, must have at least one mode of presence. 3rd. A being, a mode of being, and a mode of presence, may each have one or more modes of manifestation, or may be without any manifestation. 4th. That which exhibits more than one mode of manifestation cannot be itself a mere mode of manifestation, and that which exhibits more than one mode of presence cannot be itself a mere mode of presence.

In deciding upon the method of procedure to be adopted in our investigation, it must be kept in view that we have to reason respecting an infinite mind, in regard to which all our conceptions must be of necessity weak. It is farther evident that we shall have to deal with modes of manifestation, of presence, and of being; and we must therefore have clear and precise notions in regard to such modes and all their relations. Prudence dictates that we ought to commence by endeavouring to strengthen our conceptions, and to acquire greater precision of thought in regard to these by means of analogy.

^a If we could rely upon some recent observations of M. Kützing, from which he infers, that certain organisms are, at one period of their existence, animal, and at another vegetable, we should be forced to conclude, that the principle of life is the same in both kingdoms.

CHAPTER 2.—*Natural Analogies.*

“Whereunto shall we liken the kingdom of God, or with what comparison shall we compare it?”—Mark iv. 30.

THESE words of our Saviour, united to his own constant habit and example, sufficiently justify a resort to the analogies of nature, in order to form to ourselves, or to convey to others clearer and more precise ideas of things pertaining to the kingdom of God, and to spiritual truths in general—availing ourselves of the physical, in order to illustrate or comprehend the metaphysical. We are so much better acquainted with bodies than with minds, that the analogies furnished by the former help us to grapple more easily with the difficulties of the latter. Let us, then, consider some of the modes of manifestation, of presence, and of being, to be found among bodies, that we may be the better able to form a clear conception of those, which may possibly be found among minds. Of different modes of manifestation of one and the same being, we have the most striking examples in organic bodies; indeed, the greater proportion of these assume different modes of manifestation in passing from the embryo to the mature state, whether in the animal or vegetable kingdom. But the most marked example is presented by the insect tribes. The same being is first manifested as a caterpillar, second as a pupa, third as a perfect insect. Among inorganic beings, one of the simplest cases of a body having more than one mode of manifestation, is that furnished by carbon, which has two such, viz., charcoal and the diamond. In this case, the modes of presence and of being are the same; diamond and charcoal are simply different modes of manifestation of the one being, carbon. The same may be affirmed of oxygen and ozone. One of the most simple cases of a change in the mode of presence of a body is the following:—if a piece of freshly prepared charcoal be placed in a jar of oxygen gas, inverted over a mercurial trough, it will be found that a large proportion of the gas will disappear, being absorbed by the charcoal, from which it may be again expelled by heat. Here, then, the oxygen gas passes from its usual mode of presence—that of a diffused æriform fluid, into the pores of the charcoal, where it remains in a highly concentrated state, without undergoing any other change. If a fragment of the chemical element iodine be placed in a glass tube hermetically sealed, and a gentle heat be applied, it will pass into a violet-coloured vapour, and fill the tube. In this case, the body changes its mode both of manifestation and presence. At first it is a solid, occupying only a small corner of

the tube, and, on the application of heat, it becomes an aëriform fluid occupying the whole tube. Again, let a sealed glass tube be filled with chlorine gas, under a strong pressure, and then be submitted to a very low temperature. It will first condense into a fluid, and then freeze into a solid. This elementary substance is thus capable of assuming three distinct modes of presence, accompanied by three distinct modes of manifestation. The larger proportion of bodies can assume these three conditions—the aëri-form, the liquid, and the solid, which may accordingly be viewed as distinct modes both of presence and of manifestation of such bodies.

To proceed a step further, let a mixture be made of the two elementary gases, oxygen and hydrogen, in the proportion of one of the former to two of the latter, and designate this compound being by its chemical symbol HO . With this mixture fill two stout glass tubes, having pieces of metallic wire inserted at both ends, and hermetically sealed. Let both tubes be raised to a temperature exceeding that of boiling water, and let an electric spark be transmitted through *one* of them. The following effects will ensue :—So long as the temperature of both tubes is kept above that of boiling water, there will be no indication of the contents of the tube through which the electric spark has passed having undergone any change. There is no alteration in the mode of manifestation, nor in the mode of presence, and yet a change has taken place ; for if the temperature of both tubes be now gradually lowered, it will be found that while the contents of the one through which the spark has not passed continue unaltered under the greatest degree of cold to which they can be subjected, those of the other pass through new modes both of manifestation and of presence, becoming first liquid and then solid. The being HO has thus passed into a new mode of being ; it has ceased to be a mixture of two permanent gases, and become first steam, then water, and then ice. Thus we see that a being may undergo a change in its *mode of being*, without of necessity undergoing any change in its mode of *presence*, or of *manifestation* ; although it is only by changes of manifestation that such alterations in the mode of being or of presence become known. Those bodies styled, in chemical nomenclature, *Isomeric*, that is, bodies composed of the *same elements* united in the *same proportions*, are also examples of the same being assuming different modes of being. This identity of composition is possessed, for instance, by the three vegetable bodies, starch, gum, and dextrine, which consist each of twenty-four equivalents of carbon, twenty of hydrogen, and twenty of oxygen, represented by the chemical symbol $\text{C}_{34} \text{H}_{20} \text{O}_{20}$. This symbol may, accordingly, be held as representing a compound being, of which the

three bodies, starch, gum, and dextine are three distinct modes of being. Such examples might be multiplied; but it will be more useful to adduce one of another kind. Man himself offers an example of different modes of being, viz., 1st. That of a spiritual being united to a mortal body. 2nd. After death, that of a disembodied spirit, having, so far as we are aware, no corresponding mode of manifestation. 3rd. After the resurrection, that of a spiritual being united to an immortal body. No doubt this is a truth disclosed to us, not by reason, but by revelation. Nevertheless it is one to which reason hesitates not to yield a ready assent, because it involves nothing contrary to her dictates. All these analogies are of necessity imperfect, more particularly in this respect, that the modes, whether of being, of presence, or of manifestation, possessed or assumed by any one being, are not *simultaneous*, but *successive*. We shall now adduce one which brings us a stage further.

Matter, viewed as one great whole, may be regarded as one being, having several modes of being, of presence, and of manifestation, which are not assumed successively, but possessed simultaneously. Thus the one being, which we call matter, exists in one of its modes of being diffused throughout all space, constituting the illimitable luminiferous ether. In this condition the material particles are in a state of mutual repulsion, and destitute of the force of gravity. But that these particles possess that property of impenetrability which distinguishes body from spirit, is evidenced by the fact that, wherever ponderable bodies are present in the ether, they compress it, and cause its individual particles to pass into a state of greater mutual approximation than that in which they exist in the free ethereal expanse. This shews that no individual ethereal particle can occupy the same point of space with any individual ponderable molecule, at the same instant of time, but that these two sorts of particles mutually displace each other. Again, in another of its modes of being, this one being, matter, exists, not uniformly and universally diffused, but aggregated into separate masses. In this condition its particles exert upon each other a mutual attraction. Now, nothing can be more distinct than these two modes of existence in space, simultaneously possessed by the one being matter, the first universal, and accompanied by a repulsive force, exerted by each constituent particle, the other partial and limited, accompanied by an attractive force, exerted by each constituent particle. That these two conditions are different modes of being, and not different modes of presence only, is evidenced by the fact that, in its ethereal condition, matter has two distinct modes of presence—one dissociated from ponderable matter, in which

case it is of uniform elasticity, the other in the pores of ponderable bodies, in which case its elasticity varies according to the compressive force exerted on it by the ponderable molecules. Again, in its ponderable condition, matter has several modes of presence, as we have already pointed out—the gaseous, the liquid, and the solid, each of which involves different relations to space. Moreover matter, which enters into the composition of organic bodies, becomes subject to a new set of laws, differing considerably from those by which it is governed in inorganic bodies, so that the one being, matter, may be regarded as in a third mode of being, distinct from the other two, when it temporally enters into the composition of a living organism. Leaving out of view this last, however, and confining attention to the other two better defined modes of being of matter, namely, the ponderable and the imponderable, it will be perceived that, while each of these exhibits more than one mode of presence, these latter are distinguished by several modes of manifestation. As respects the universal mode of presence of the ether, its modes of manifestation may be regarded as three, namely, 1st, its exciting, in our visual organs, the perception of light and colour; 2nd, its producing, in ponderable bodies, the phenomena of heat; and 3rd, its originating all those remarkable phenomena on which depends the art of photography. Viewed again in that mode of presence which it has in the pores of ponderable bodies, matter, in its ethereal mode of being, also presents several modes of manifestation, inasmuch as it is to its action, within these pores, that we attribute the phenomena of electricity, magnetism, and diamagnetism. Of the various modes of manifestation, of the different modes of presence, affected by matter in its ponderable mode of being, it is almost superfluous to speak, for every different species of solid, of liquid, or of gas, may be regarded as a separate mode of manifestation of those several modes of presence.

Now, we have no reason to regard matter, viewed in the abstract, and as one great whole, in any other light than as *one* being; and this, notwithstanding we may, in another point of view, regard any particular portion of it, or any distinct species of body, or even each material particle, or molecule, as a separate being. The difference here lies merely in our ideas, or modes of thought, not in the reality; and the mind feels no difficulty in forming to itself the conception that matter, viewed as a whole, is one being, having at least two distinct modes of being, each characterized by more than one mode of presence, each exhibiting more than one mode of manifestation. Moreover, the mind can with little difficulty grasp the idea that

these different modes of being, of presence, and of manifestation, may be inherent in matter, and may have always been so, and may continue to be so for ever; as also that they subsist continuously and simultaneously. This is the utmost limit to which we can push the analogy of nature in this difficult inquiry, but it is quite far enough for our purpose, as it brings us to the very threshold of the investigation that lies before us. The foregoing analogies, imperfect as they are, may tend at least to give greater precision to our conceptions regarding modes of being, of presence, and of manifestation, and to aid us in grappling with those more recondite ideas with which we shall have to deal in passing from the material to the spiritual—from the observation of the thing created to the contemplation of the great Creator.

CHAPTER 3.—*The Divine Complexity.*

"The Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God."—1 Cor. ii. 10.

Before proceeding to inquire into the complexity of the divine nature, we may consider what method of investigation will be the best. As whatever can be truly affirmed of the Deity must be a *necessary* truth, it might be supposed that by starting from first principles, the inquiry could be prosecuted synthetically. This method, however, would be applicable only if the truths were necessary, as respects God's own nature, viewed abstractedly, and apart from his relation to his creatures. But their necessity may appear more or less to depend upon that relation, and may therefore have to be sought for in that quarter. It is, therefore, the better and safer plan to proceed by analysis in order to find out what is the true basis on which these truths rest, and what it is that renders them necessary elements in an accurate conception of the divine nature.

Proceeding according to the analytical method, then, let it be assumed that the Deity is one being having three persons, and further that these persons are three distinct *modes of being* of the divine unity, that being the highest degree of diversity compatible with oneness of being. If this be true, then must these three modes of being have been distinctly and separately manifested; because it is only by such separate manifestations that their subsistence could be known. Hence our first business is to investigate, as matters of fact, whether there be, or have been, separate modes of manifestation, and separate and incompatible modes of presence of these three, such as will prove that they really are distinct modes of being. This investigation will of course be by induction; but we must of necessity, and very properly too, avail ourselves in that induction of such facts

as we may find in the Scriptures, and hold this testimony as sufficient evidence. If these facts establish the subsistence of those three modes of being it will remain to be proved that they belong to one and the same being, and farther that their subsistence is necessary by reason of some peculiarity in the nature of that being, or of his relation to other beings or both. It will only be farther requisite to shew that the conclusions thus attained are identical with those which flow from a right interpretation of the various doctrinal passages of Scripture bearing on this subject.

To avoid circumlocution it will be advantageous to give names to the three modes of being whose subsistence has been assumed; and as it is part of the assumption that these are identical with the three components of the Trinity, they may, in the meantime, be called the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; the fitness of these names, however, being also a mere assumption. Let us first turn our attention to that mode of being which we have called the Father, the author and sustainer of all being subordinate to the Deity. Of this mode of being there are four manifestations known to us, chiefly by observation and testimony. These are, first, the creating and upholding of all material bodies throughout the universe; second, the giving and sustaining of organic life; third, the creating and sustaining of spiritual being; fourth, the superintending and governing of both the physical and moral universe. These various modes of manifestation necessarily involve *universality* of presence. With regard to the first, we do not stop to prove that God is the creator of material bodies. Reason and Scripture unite in demonstrating that truth. Now, we know of no limits to the material universe. Indeed, according to the view of the nature of light now most generally received, the material cause of that beautiful phenomenon is diffused throughout all space, an idea which seems to be involved in that fine expression in the one hundred and fourth Psalm—"Thou coverest thyself with light as with a garment." Wherever this medium exists, then, it is a manifestation of the presence of its author and upholder; and the universality of the former is a demonstration of that of the latter. The giving and supporting of organic life is obviously a distinct and separate manifestation. Life does not *consist* in material organization alone; for that may subsist in full perfection after the extinction of life; while in the embryo condition of animals and vegetables, life may exist with scarcely any organization at all. Whatever view, then, may be entertained of the nature of life, whether it be a mere condition of matter, or a property of some other substratum, its creation

and conservation are obviously a manifestation of divine agency distinct from that presented by inorganic matter, and of subsequent development. The third mode of manifestation—that of creating and upholding spiritual being—differs from the preceding chiefly in respect of the higher order of the creature through which it is made. It is doubtless possible that life in animals and vegetables may be due to the presence in their organisms of a being having a species of spirit for its substratum or substance, only more limited in its powers and duration than that spirit which constitutes the substratum of mind. The truth may accordingly be that the second and third modes of manifestation are ultimately identical. Ignorant, however, as we are of the nature of mere animal and vegetable life, and regarding spirit as simply the substratum of mind—that species of being which thinks and reasons—it appears safer to consider the creating and upholding of spiritual being as a distinct manifestation of the Creator's power. Of spiritual beings we learn from the Scriptures that there are two kinds, angels and men; the former being represented to us as prior in their creation, higher in their intelligence, and more continuous in their active existence, not being subject to the change involved in the idea of death. As both the angelic and human minds, however, agree in the essential point of possessing the power of thought and reason, the creating and upholding of their being may very properly be considered as the same manifestation of divine power. The fourth mode of manifestation, that of the government of the physical and moral universe, is made known to us by observation as well as by Scripture; and it is plainly distinct from all the others. The idea of a superintending Providence lies at the root of all religion, and is so deeply impressed upon the mind of man as to render it unnecessary to prove it. Now, while all these four modes of manifestation imply a universal mode of presence, such presence is not perceived by the senses, neither is it apprehended by the consciousness, but it is inferred by the understanding, and the inference is supported by the testimony of the sacred volume.

Let us now investigate the modes of manifestation of that mode of being which we have called "the Word." The evidence in regard to these rests entirely on the testimony of Scripture; for since apostolic times these manifestations have altogether ceased. From that source, however, we learn that on many different occasions there was a peculiar manifestation of the Deity by an audible voice, and to which more especially the appellation "the Word" was given. This manifestation appears to have consisted in the formation of articulate sounds in the


air without the intervention of any material agency. It differs from any of the others already mentioned, in this important particular, that it was addressed to the senses, and involves the idea of a perceptible presence, partial and apprehended, not by mere consciousness, nor by inference of the understanding, but directly and immediately by man's material organs. It was chiefly by this mode of manifestation that the Deity held communication with the patriarchs and prophets of old. The Scriptures indicate, moreover, that before the creation of the human race, there was some mode of intercommunication between God and the angels resembling this mode of communication with man. There is no reason to suppose that the angels have other than a limited presence; that notion seems of necessity involved in the very name of angel or messenger, which further implies that God in some manner communicates to them intelligible ideas. Indeed, it would be irrational to suppose that no such intercommunication between God and the angels could take place. Now, the existence of this intercommunication involves the notion of a manifestation to the angels by the expression of intelligible ideas in a limited space; so that God must have some means of rendering his presence cognizable by them within the limited sphere of their own presence. It may here be remarked, that although there be, in this mode of presence, a limitation as regards space, there is a species of universality in another sense; for there seems no reason to doubt that the Word may be perceptibly present to any number of minds at the same instant, conveying to them separate trains of ideas; while each has the distinct impression that it is one and the same Being who is in communication with all. It would be irrational, moreover, to suppose that when the perceptible presence was manifested to man, it was withdrawn from the angels; so that, while as respects this species of presence there may be limitation in space, there is yet a capability of manifestation in any portion of space, or in any number of such portions simultaneously. There is another mode of manifestation recorded in the Scripture in which there was also involved a mode of presence in limited space, and externally cognizable. This was the *shechinah*, or visible glory, which appeared to Moses, and was subsequently displayed first in the ark, and then in the inner sanctuary of the temple, between the cherubim. This manifestation addressed itself to the sight, in the same manner, as the audible voice addressed itself to the hearing; and the two were strictly analagous. The audible voice was the exciting of articulate vibrations in the ærial medium, without any material agent. The visible glory was the exciting of luminous vibra-

tions in the ethereal medium in like manner without any material agent. They were both intimations of the divine presence, the one by intellectual signs, the other by a characteristic symbol. Moreover, these two were frequently concomitant; the visible glory which appeared to Moses in the bush was accompanied by the audible voice; and the impression on his mind must have been that the voice issued from the glory, in other words, that it was the glory which spoke. In like manner, when the oracle in the ark of the tabernacle, and in the inner sanctuary of the temple, was consulted, the response was given by the visible glory; so that the manifestations by the audible voice, and the visible glory, were intimately associated. There is another species of manifestation which is analagous to these two—viz., the communications which were made to the prophets by dreams and visions. We know too little of the nature of this mode of communication to speak with any degree of certainty in regard to the mode of presence which it involves. The effect was evidently produced by an impression made upon the imagination of the prophet; but how we know not. It agrees with the manifestation by audible voice, inasmuch as it was a mode of communicating intelligible ideas; while the apparent absence of a material medium of communication establishes a link between the mental impression thus conveyed and that produced by the direct action of the divine spirit on the mind. There is another class of phenomena about which a still greater degree of obscurity hangs—viz., various instances of the appearance of some superior being or beings in human form. Some commentators have considered several of these appearances as manifestations of the Word; while others view them all as temporary bodies assumed by angels in order to render their presence perceptible. There is no reason to doubt that at least some of them were of the latter description; but there seems to be as little reason for doubting that there was one series of these appearances in human form which ought to be classed along with the audible voice and the visible glory as manifestations of the same Being. These appearances are called in the Scripture narrative sometimes "the Jehovah Angel," sometimes "Jehovah God," and sometimes simply "God." The chief difficulty in regard to them arises out of the adjunct or appellation "angel." This difficulty, however, is greatly lessened by the fact that the audible voice and visible glory are, in like manner, called "angels." The reason appears to be this, God being essentially a Spirit, and imperceptible to created senses, his presence could become perceptible to mankind only through the medium of matter; i.e., the material medium of manifestation could alone

be perceptible. It is to this medium, then, that the term "angel" is applied, whether it be a voice, a luminous glory, or a human form; but that it was the same Being who was manifested in these three different modes we have abundant evidence, both from the manner in which he is spoken of, and that in which he speaks of himself. For the person who is stated to have been thus seen or heard, is expressly said to have been "Jehovah, the God of Israel;" while he himself assumes that title, and speaks of himself as "the one true God, the Creator of all things," claiming worship as such. The human form, therefore, which occasionally appeared to the patriarchs, and was styled "the Jehovah Angel," seems to have been a medium of the divine presence of the same kind with the audible voice and the luminous glory; and it appears impossible to hold with any degree of consistency, that it was a different being who was manifested by the two last, from him who was manifested in the first. As it is not necessary to our induction, however, to take into account this manifestation in human form—the voice and the glory being sufficient for our purpose—it shall be left out of view in the argument. Neither shall we at present speak of the manifestation in human flesh in the person of Jesus Christ; because that involves a doctrinal point which may be discussed with greater advantage at a future stage.

Passing on to the consideration of the third mode of being of the Deity—that which we have denominated the spirit, it will be remembered that our Saviour winds up a beautiful example of the *argumentum ad hominem* with these words—"If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him." If any earnest inquirer carefully observes the characters of those around him; if he diligently investigates the cause of those differences which these characters present; if he inquires into the sources of those excellencies which distinguish some above others; and if, above all, he avails himself of the invitation involved in the above declaration of our Lord, and in a humble reliance on the truth of the assurance it contains, shall apply to our Heavenly Father for the promised gift of the Holy Spirit; and if his application be crowned with success, he will ere long have obtained incontrovertible evidence, from observation, testimony and experience, that the divine spirit has a mode of presence in the human mind which is apprehended by the consciousness of its effects. Farther, observation and testimony render it evident, as do also the Scriptures, that there is a state of the human mind in which it becomes reprobate or cast off. The presence of the sanctifying spirit is wholly withdrawn from

it, and it is left entirely to its own evil tendencies. From this fact the conclusion is inevitable, that that peculiar mode of presence in the human mind, which is apprehended by the consciousness of its effects, is *partial*, not universal. It is characterized moreover by this peculiarity, that, while it may thus subsist in the human mind or not, it may subsist in any number of minds in the most distant localities at the same instant; so although subsisting only in some minds, it is capable of subsisting in all. With regard to modes of manifestation of the spirit, again, the inquirer, who has pursued the course above indicated, will have become aware of at least two—namely, as an instructor of the intellect, and as a purifier of the affections. By extending his observations, he will learn that these are truly distinct, and may be separately exhibited. A minute study of human character will satisfy him, that the spirit is sometimes manifested in one of these modes, and not in the other. He will observe minds in which he cannot fail to discern the effects of the presence of this spirit as a purifier of the affections; while there is hardly a trace of his operations as an illuminator of the intellect, and *vice versd*. There is, however, a still more distinctly separate manifestation of the spirit, the evidence of which rests on the testimony of Scripture alone. It is the manifestation by miraculous powers conferred on certain individuals. The existence of these powers shall here be held as an admitted fact. They were exhibited long before the Christian epoch, as exemplified in the case of Moses and his successor Joshua, the prophets Elijah, Elisha, and others. This manifestation was also exhibited in the persons of the disciples of our Lord, during the period of his own ministry, long before the day of Pentecost, when the first general manifestation of the spirit was displayed. There can be no doubt that these miraculous powers were the strongest possible proof of the presence of the divine spirit in the person of the individual who exercised them; and also that they were a totally distinct manifestation of this spirit from that which is evidenced by the enlightenment of the understanding, or by the purification and elevation of the affections. Our Lord himself intimates, that the manifestation by miraculous powers may be exhibited where those by enlightenment and sanctification are absent, (Matt. vii. 22, 23). Indeed, there seems reason to think that as the traitor Judas was sent out to preach along with the other disciples, even he was endowed with these miraculous powers. The case of Balaam is similar. On the other hand it is not to be denied, that the manifestation by enlightenment and sanctification may subsist independently of that by miraculous powers. These facts then go to establish that the



Spirit has more than one mode of manifestation, and that its mode of presence is *partial*, and primarily apprehended by the consciousness of its effects.

Let us now examine at what point we have arrived in our investigation. We have ascertained that there are, and have been, different manifestations of the agency, or presence of a power, superior to the human mind, yet like it spiritual and intelligent. Of the existence of these no believer in the sacred Scriptures can doubt. We have thus completed our analysis, having arrived at a basis of facts, on which the conclusion sought may be made to rest. It is now necessary to retrace our steps, and by synthesis proceed to shew that the various assumptions which have been made in the course of our analysis flow as necessary consequences from these facts.

CHAPTER 4.—*The Divine Unity.*

“To us there is but one God—the Father.”—1 Cor. viii. 6.

IN treating of the divine complexity, its several manifestations have been regarded as distributed into three groups. In proceeding to consider the divine unity, this assumption is the first which falls to be proved. Reviewing what has been said of these manifestations, it will be observed that they have certain marked relations of difference and resemblance. Their distribution into three groups arises from the three different modes of presence which they involve—one universal, but not cognisable either by the senses or the consciousness, being known merely by an inference of the understanding, fortified by the testimony of Scripture—the others partial and cognizable—the one by the external senses, the other by the internal consciousness of its effects. These modes of presence are plainly distinct and incompatible; that which is partially absent cannot be that which is universally present. They differ also as respects their fields of manifestation. The field of that which is apprehended by the consciousness of its effects is the human mind; the field of both the others is, in so far as the mind is concerned, external; in the one case, it is the whole of space; in the other, it is the more limited sphere of the presence of those intelligent beings, to whom its manifestations were exhibited. If we look to the modes of manifestation themselves, it will be observed that those which involve universal presence also involve the ideas of creation and conservation of being; that those which involve the idea of perceptible presence involve also the notions of the communication of ideas, either in words or by symbols; while those which involve the idea of a presence cognizable by the consciousness of

its effects involve also the notions of moral renovation, enlightenment by internal impression, and occasionally the bestowal of miraculous powers. Hence the distribution into three groups is clearly based on the differential relations of these various modes of manifestation and presence. It will not be difficult to shew that they are also rightly distributed in reference to their relations of resemblance. Those which involve universal presence, and which we shall now call "the first group," are linked together, not only by the sameness of their mode of presence, but also by clearly defined features of resemblance among themselves. The mind plainly perceives that what creates and sustains spiritual being must be the same as that which sustains and maintains material being and organic life, and that what conserves the laws of nature, and governs the entire moral and physical universe, can be no other than that which brought the whole into existence. In like manner, with respect to those manifestations which involve the notion of perceptible presence, which we shall call "the second group," it will be observed that there is a similar marked resemblance among them. There is this peculiarity attending this group, however, that the modes of presence which they involve, while possessing the common characteristics of perceptibility and limitation in space, yet vary specifically with the modes of manifestation. The audible voice and visible glory are analagous as regards their physical medium—both being by vibrations excited in an elastic fluid, without any material agency; the medium in the one case being the atmosphere, in the other the lumeniferous ether. But the oneness of the cause of both manifestations is not left to be inferred from this analogy. It is proved by their frequent concomitancy, and the impression which must have been produced, that the cause of the light and the cause of the voice were one. The mode of manifestation to the angels, by the communication of intelligible ideas, seems in like manner to be analagous to that by an audible voice; for although of its exact nature we can form no adequate conception, still we know enough to satisfy us that its true position is in this group. The same remark also applies to the manifestations by dreams and visions, of which we know only enough to indicate that they properly belong to this group, as being modes of intercommunication between the divine and the human minds. The remaining modes of manifestation, which we shall call "the third group," are also intimately connected together by mutual relations, besides having a common mode of presence. Thus we at once perceive that the indwelling power, which purifies our affections, is the same with that which enlightens our understandings, to enable them

to comprehend divine things; and a little consideration will satisfy us that it must have been that same indwelling power which conferred miraculous gifts. Some of these gifts, indeed, were only an extraordinary extension of the spirit's influence on the understanding. Such were the gifts of prophecy, of tongues, of the perception of other men's thoughts, etc.; and as it can never be maintained, that other miraculous gifts, such as those of healing, and the command over material forces, were manifestations of a different power from that which conferred the gift of prophecy, it follows, that the manifestation, by the bestowal of miraculous powers, is accurately associated in the same group with those exhibited by intellectual enlightenment and the purifying of the heart. From this comparison of the relations of these various modes of manifestation and presence, it results, that their distribution into three groups has its origin in these relations, and must therefore have its foundation in fact. These three groups must be modes of manifestation and presence of three distinct *somewhats*, either of three Beings, or of three modes of being of one and the same Being; for their distinctness is such as to preclude us from holding them to be simply and immediately modes of manifestation and presence of one Being, without the intervention of three media as the basis of their grouping.

This then is the point in the progress of our investigation, at which it is necessary to prove what we formerly assumed, that these three groups are truly modes of manifestation and presence not of three distinct Beings, but of three modes of being of one and the same Being. This must be done by generalizing. It must be shewn that notwithstanding this distinctness, upon which their grouping is founded, there are more general relations by which they are linked together in such a manner as to indicate that they have one common ultimate origin. A brief comparison will be sufficient for this purpose. Let us compare those of the second with those of the first group. Take the visible glory. Here was the manifestation of a power causing vibrations in the ethereal medium without the intervention of any material agent. Such a power could evidently be exercised only by that same Being, who at first said, "Let there be light." Take the audible voice, and we not only observe a similar exercise of power over matter, but we find that voice itself declaring that he actually is the great Creator—the one God, the giver and supporter of all being. There can therefore be no doubt of the ultimate identity of the origin of the first and second groups. If the third group be now compared with these two, and the manifestation by the conferring of miraculous powers be minutely examined, their identity of ultimate origin will become at once

apparent. It will be remembered that, in some instances, these miraculous powers extended to the restoration of life; and it is obvious that such a power could be conferred only by the same Being who originally gave life. They also extended in other instances to a control over some of the elements,—a power which could be given only by that same Being who governs the elements. The gift of prophecy, in like manner, could be conferred only by that Being, who has the control over all events, and who can secure the accomplishment of that which is prophesied. The other manifestations in this group equally indicate the exercise of almighty power. It is only that same power which created the mind of man that can renew it from its state of corruption, alter the current and intensity of its affections and desires, and enlighten its intellectual powers to comprehend the truths revealed in the divine word; for “what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man save the spirit of God.” It is therefore clear that all the three groups have a common ultimate origin—that all belong to the same Being, whatever may be the nature of the basis on which their distinctness is founded. We are thus hemmed in, as it were, to the conclusion that the three *somewhats*, which constitute that basis, are modes of being of that one Being.

For the sake of perspicuity, it will be well to give names to these modes of being. We shall accordingly call that which is the basis of the first group “the universal,” of the second “the perceptible,” and of the third “the indwelling.” It is yet to be proved that these modes of being are *necessary* elements in our conceptions of the Deity. The most abstract ideas which we can form respecting the divine nature are eternity and universal presence, and these attributes are independent of all manifestation. Since all being has emanated from God, there must have been an indefinite period in the past eternity, during which no other being existed but God himself, filling all immensity. The mind perceives no necessity, during the subsistence of that primæval epoch, for any but one mode of being of the Deity—the universal. When God created intelligent beings, however, the sphere of whose presence is limited, the mind perceives it to be necessary, in order to his holding communication with them, that there should be some mode of manifestation of the divine presence within their limited sphere which should be cognizable by them, and some mode of expressing ideas which they could understand. In like manner, when man came to be created, having a mind enclosed in a material encasement, and receiving all its ideas through the medium of that

organism, we perceive it to be necessary, in order to intercommunication between the Creator and a being so constituted that the former should render his presence perceptible in limited space, through the intervention of a material medium, and also that, in expressing and conveying ideas to man, a material vehicle should be employed. Now this perceptible manifestation to man having been not continuous, but occasional, and so limited in regard to time as well as space, the mind cannot conceive of that which is universally present, being thus present only partially and occasionally, without the intervention of some basis of distinctness, and is thus driven to the necessity of concluding that the Deity has a different manner of existence in limited space, from that which he has in universal space—in other words, that these are two distinct necessary modes of being of the Deity.

With regard to the indwelling mode of being, so far as we have any means of knowing, its necessity does not appear to the mind to have emerged till after the fall of man; for although this necessity may have existed before that event, yet we have no certain knowledge of this point, and it is only since the fall that it has been manifested in the manner in which we are acquainted with it. But we perceive that, in order to man's renovation from the consequences of his fall, the manifestation of God's indwelling mode of being was absolutely necessary; for the human mind, having been once overcome by the wiles of the tempter, and so brought under the influence of evil, could not, of itself, recover its former purity of thought and desire, nor be more successful than before in resisting temptation. The exercise of an extraneous and infinite power was as necessary for its renovation as for its creation. True, we see no necessity in the nature of things why man should have been renovated, but we do see a necessity why, if he were to be renovated, there should be brought to bear on his mind a power equal to that by which it was originally called into existence. If this be admitted, it is plain that the mind, looking to the fact of man's regeneration, cannot conceive otherwise of the Deity than as possessing an indwelling mode of presence. But this mode is so different from both the universal and the perceptible, that the mind cannot attribute it to the same being without the intervention of some basis of distinctness. We at once perceive that this presence in the human mind, and only in some minds, and at certain seasons, involves a different manner of existence in space from that which is diffused throughout all space, or that which was stationed between the cherubim in the temple; and of this difference the only notion which we can form is, that it is a distinct mode of being.

From what has been said it follows, that the necessity for these three modes of being of the One universally present Being arises out of our conceptions of the Deity, not as we view him abstractly in his own nature, but as we view him in relation to his creatures ; and it is a remarkable fact in connexion with these ideas, that in the Hebrew Scriptures that name of the Deity which expresses his abstract nature, as the self-existent—the name *Jehovah*—is uniformly in the singular number ; while the other name, *Elohim*, which, from being constantly associated with the possessive pronouns “my, thy, your,” etc., evidently implies relation, is almost always in the plural number. While it is only by the relations between the Creator and his creatures, however, which were evolved in the course of time, that these three modes of being of the divine nature have become known, we must not view the development of the relations as the origin or ‘cause of the modes of being. The only evidence we have of any of the properties of the Deity is derived from the relations subsisting between him and his creatures ; but we cannot hence infer that the existence of the properties has any dependence whatever upon the relations ; on the contrary, we must hold the latter to have been adapted to the previously existing properties—seeing the Deity is unchangeable in his attributes. These three modes of being of the divine unity, then, must have existed from all eternity as inherent properties, though they may not have been called into exercise ; just as the divine creative power must have existed for an indefinite period before God began to create. We must carefully guard against supposing these three modes of being to be merely ideas, or abstract notions in the human mind—three different lights, as it were, or aspects, in which we regard the Deity, with no real existence or foundation in the divine nature ; nor may we imagine that the Deity changes or shifts from one of these modes of being to another. They must be regarded as an inherent complexity in the divine nature itself, and as subsisting simultaneously and co-eternally.

In order to form a clearer conception on this subject, let us for a moment place ourselves in the position of one of the patriarchs—of Moses, for instance, who must have had a distinct idea on the subject of the divine omnipresence. When he beheld the glory, and heard a voice informing him that the Creator was present before him, he could not suppose that God’s presence was withdrawn from all the rest of space, but he would conclude that the Deity was present in a *different manner* in this limited space from that in which he exists throughout all space. Again, when the voice informed him that God would be with him to enable him to work miracles ; and when he after-

wards found himself endowed with this power, he must have been conscious of the Deity's presence with him, in a manner different from either that which he had seen and heard, or that in which the Creator exists throughout all space. His mind would thus become impressed with the conviction that God has three distinct modes of presence; and that these were not three distinct beings, not three Gods; for the voice had expressly informed him that the God who was perceptibly present was the same as he who was to be present in him, to give him miraculous powers; and that both were the same as he who is universally present. The prophet must have farther perceived that these modes of presence were not mere ideas in his own mind, but that they had their foundation in some complexity in the divine nature itself. The subsequent steps in the reasoning would not be difficult, for he must have almost intuitively perceived that a Being who is thus always present throughout all space, and could yet be in different manners temporarily present in a limited space, must have more than one mode of existence in space; in other words, more than one mode of being; consequently that his nature must be complex in a degree, of which, while the prophet was thus cognizant as a matter of fact, he could form no distinct conception whatever.

We have now completed this investigation; and if all the steps of the process which has been followed be correct, the conclusion is inevitable that, looking to the facts and phenomena which have been brought under review the mind cannot conceive otherwise of the Deity than as one Being having three distinct modes of being, characterized by differences in their modes of presence and manifestation, and that thus the divine nature, so far from being perfectly simple, as some philosophers suppose, is in the highest degree complex. We cannot, however, go beyond this point, beyond the mere ascertaining the existence of this complexity as an ultimate fact. We cannot comprehend *how* the divine unity should thus have three distinct modes of being, nor in what manner these subsist, or are connected together, any more than we can understand *how* we ourselves should have both a spiritual and material nature. Both must be received as ultimate facts, of which a due regard to the phenomena cannot leave a doubt upon the mind.

CORRESPONDENCE.

. The Editors beg the reader will bear in mind that they do not hold themselves responsible for the opinions of their Correspondents.

ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—A late writer in this Journal on the subject of the authorship of the Acts of the Apostles, endeavours to shew that Silas, not Luke, was the author of the third gospel and the Acts; my own enquiries have led me to the opposite conclusion, and to satisfy me that they were written by St. Luke. I have stated my reasons at considerable length in "a dissertation on the life and writings of St. Luke," prefixed to the second edition of my work on *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*. In it I have noticed and answered such arguments as had been adduced in support of what German critics call "the Silas hypothesis." I could not anticipate those of the paper "On the Authorship of the Acts of the Apostles," which appeared in the number of the Journal for July last (1860). They certainly do not satisfy me, but it is due to the author to examine them in detail. He gets quit of the external evidence of ancient authors, by stating that Irenæus *appears* to have been the first to have ascribed the composition of these works to Luke, and that succeeding writers have copied him. He does not tell us what the "appearance" is that has led him to this conclusion; but if Irenæus was the first to name Luke as the author of these important and well-known works, we must suppose that they had previously been anonymous, or had borne the name of Silas: in either case, some reason must have been given by Irenæus for claiming them as the work of St. Luke; but instead of doing so, he names the authors of the gospels as we now have them without doubt or hesitation, and the reasons he assigns why there should be neither more nor fewer than four evangelists, prove, at all events, that he was dealing with matters settled long before his time. The next assumption is, that succeeding writers copied the error of Irenæus; this is a point which can only be ascertained by comparison with their works. Now when we examine the work of Clement of Alexandria,—the next writer who names Luke as the author of the Acts, it will be seen not only that he could not have copied Irenæus, but that he has derived his information respecting the evangelists from much earlier authorities,—from "the earliest Presbyters," for so I translate his expression, "*ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβύτερων*," which in the time of Clement could only apply to the contemporaries of the sacred historians, certainly to writers anterior to the times of Irenæus. The theory therefore that Irenæus was the first who ascribed the authorship of the third gospel and Acts to St. Luke, and that

succeeding authors copied his errors, fails in both terms. But we have no occasion to rest our conclusions on inferences. Irenæus, early as he is, is not the earliest authority which has come down to us; we have in the fragment preserved by Muratori express authority, probably a quarter of a century earlier, that Luke was the author of the works in question. This fragment is invaluable not only from its undoubted authenticity, but from its containing a date which shews within very narrow limits when it was written. The author tells us that he lived during the episcopate of Pius, bishop of Rome,^a the predecessor of Anicetus, bishop when Polycarp visited Rome; indeed, we have ancient evidence to shew that Polycarp himself stated that Luke was the author of the works in question. Victor of Capua, a writer of the fifth century, ascribes the work entitled *Responsiones*, in which Luke is said to be the author, to him. It is true that Archbishop Wakely has advanced reasons which have been adopted by Lardner against this supposition, drawn from the character of the work; but these reasons are like those founded on the millenarianism of Papias or the heresy of Marcion,—no reasons at all: the true answer to such objections is, “*Nihil est cur in hac ne mentiretur.*”

The author next endeavours to shew that the termination of the general history of the Church coincides with the departure of Silas from Jerusalem, but this is by no means the case; it terminates long before this time, at a well-marked epoch,—the death of Herod, and consequent cessation of the Herodian persecutions, when “the word of God grew and multiplied” (Acts xii. 24); the transition to a new subject being clearly indicated by the last quoted general remark, and everything related subsequent to that event refers exclusively to the transactions of St. Paul.

The next argument rests partly on the construction of a sentence, and partly on the author’s silence respecting the proceedings of Silas himself in a portion of the account of a journey in which we know he accompanied Paul. The construction is this, “Paul chose Silas, and he departed, and *he* went through,” not “*they* departed, and *they* went through.” It seems to me that the change of the number of the verb from the singular to the plural was uncalled for, and not in the style of the author; for immediately preceding we have, “Barnabas took Mark, and he sailed for Cyprus, and Paul chose Silas, and he departed,” etc.; not *they* sailed, and *they* departed. The author was relating the transactions of Paul, and not of Silas, except in so far as they were connected with Paul. The silence of the narrative on the first part of the journey is attributed to the modesty and self-abnegation of the writer; but these characteristics are surely not those of a writer who, according to the author of the paper in question, “had recently spoken” (of himself) “with such high encomium” (p. 304); who introduces himself to the reader as one of the “chief men among the brethren;” who copies the praises upon himself in the introductory

^a The date of the episcopate is variously given, A.D. 127—142, and 142—157 (Westcott on the Canon, p. 236).

and conservation are obviously a manifestation of divine agency distinct from that presented by inorganic matter, and of subsequent development. The third mode of manifestation—that of creating and upholding spiritual being—differs from the preceding chiefly in respect of the higher order of the creature through which it is made. It is doubtless possible that life in animals and vegetables may be due to the presence in their organisms of a being having a species of spirit for its substratum or substance, only more limited in its powers and duration than that spirit which constitutes the substratum of mind. The truth may accordingly be that the second and third modes of manifestation are ultimately identical. Ignorant, however, as we are of the nature of mere animal and vegetable life, and regarding spirit as simply the substratum of mind—that species of being which thinks and reasons—it appears safer to consider the creating and upholding of spiritual being as a distinct manifestation of the Creator's power. Of spiritual beings we learn from the Scriptures that there are two kinds, angels and men; the former being represented to us as prior in their creation, higher in their intelligence, and more continuous in their active existence, not being subject to the change involved in the idea of death. As both the angelic and human minds, however, agree in the essential point of possessing the power of thought and reason, the creating and upholding of their being may very properly be considered as the same manifestation of divine power. The fourth mode of manifestation, that of the government of the physical and moral universe, is made known to us by observation as well as by Scripture; and it is plainly distinct from all the others. The idea of a superintending Providence lies at the root of all religion, and is so deeply impressed upon the mind of man as to render it unnecessary to prove it. Now, while all these four modes of manifestation imply a universal mode of presence, such presence is not perceived by the senses, neither is it apprehended by the consciousness, but it is inferred by the understanding, and the inference is supported by the testimony of the sacred volume.

Let us now investigate the modes of manifestation of that mode of being which we have called "the Word." The evidence in regard to these rests entirely on the testimony of Scripture; for since apostolic times these manifestations have altogether ceased. From that source, however, we learn that on many different occasions there was a peculiar manifestation of the Deity by an audible voice, and to which more especially the appellation "the Word" was given. This manifestation appears to have consisted in the formation of articulate sounds in the

air without the intervention of any material agency. It differs from any of the others already mentioned, in this important particular, that it was addressed to the senses, and involves the idea of a perceptible presence, partial and apprehended, not by mere consciousness, nor by inference of the understanding, but directly and immediately by man's material organs. It was chiefly by this mode of manifestation that the Deity held communication with the patriarchs and prophets of old. The Scriptures indicate, moreover, that before the creation of the human race, there was some mode of intercommunication between God and the angels resembling this mode of communication with man. There is no reason to suppose that the angels have other than a limited presence; that notion seems of necessity involved in the very name of angel or messenger, which further implies that God in some manner communicates to them intelligible ideas. Indeed, it would be irrational to suppose that no such intercommunication between God and the angels could take place. Now, the existence of this intercommunication involves the notion of a manifestation to the angels by the expression of intelligible ideas in a limited space; so that God must have some means of rendering his presence cognizable by them within the limited sphere of their own presence. It may here be remarked, that although there be, in this mode of presence, a limitation as regards space, there is a species of universality in another sense; for there seems no reason to doubt that the Word may be perceptibly present to any number of minds at the same instant, conveying to them separate trains of ideas; while each has the distinct impression that it is one and the same Being who is in communication with all. It would be irrational, moreover, to suppose that when the perceptible presence was manifested to man, it was withdrawn from the angels; so that, while as respects this species of presence there may be limitation in space, there is yet a capability of manifestation in any portion of space, or in any number of such portions simultaneously. There is another mode of manifestation recorded in the Scripture in which there was also involved a mode of presence in limited space, and externally cognizable. This was the *shechinah*, or visible glory, which appeared to Moses, and was subsequently displayed first in the ark, and then in the inner sanctuary of the temple, between the cherubim. This manifestation addressed itself to the sight, in the same manner, as the audible voice addressed itself to the hearing; and the two were strictly analagous. The audible voice was the exciting of articulate vibrations in the ærial medium, without any material agent. The visible glory was the exciting of luminous vibra-

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THE EUCHARISTIC BLESSING.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—The subject of the Eucharist is one of the highest interest to all denominations of the Christian Church; and as the letter of the Rev. William Tait, in your number for January, professes to throw new light on this much debated subject, it may be useful to call his attention to some objections, to which (as it seems to me) his argument is liable.

I. After alluding to the peculiar opinions entertained by the Roman Catholics and Lutherans, and by the Episcopal Church of Scotland, respecting the Eucharist (all of which he appears to consider as fraught with that fatal superstition, which is *death to the soul*),^a he attributes the heretical tendencies of their views to erroneous interpretations of the evangelical text (Matt. xxvi. 26): "The insertion of the pronoun *it* after *and blessed* (he observes) has done the whole mischief."

To induce us to assent to this remark, it should appear that the churches which differ from us in opinion as to the *real presence*, have the same insertion of the obnoxious pronoun, in the translations which they respectively use, as is to be found in our own national version, and that they found their peculiar opinions upon these translations. Nothing of this sort appears to be the case. The Vulgate translation (*that* which is especially patronized by the Roman Catholic Church) renders the text (Matt. xxvi. 26) in these terms: "Cœnantibus autem eis, accepit Jesus panem, et *benedixit*, ac fregit, deditque discipulis suis, et ait, Accipite at comedite: HOC EST CORPUS MEUM. Et accipiens calicem, *gratias egit*, et dedit illis dicens, Bibite ex hoc omnes; HIC EST ENIM SANGUIS MEUS novi Testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum." This is as close to the Greek original as the Latin idiom admits of, without a periphrasis. The Vulgate therefore does not make the insertion of which Mr. Tait complains: the pronoun is not expressed; whether it is to be understood or not, is a different question. The translation (such as it is) has the authority of the Syriac, with which it agrees: "And while they were eating, Jesus took bread, and *blessed* (ܒܪܝܟܐ), and broke, and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and *gave thanks* (ܬܝܠܐܝܬ), and gave to them," etc.

It is worth remark that, in rendering the text (Mark xiv. 23), the Syriac translator makes an addition to the Greek text, "And he took the cup, and gave thanks, [*and blessed*,] and gave to them." Though

^a "But suppose this interpretation established, what advantage shall we reap from it? 'Much every way.' The meaning attached to the words, 'Jesus took bread and blessed *it*' is the occasion of superstition; and superstition is death to the soul" (Tait's *Letter*). Such language appears inconsiderate and imprudent; especially, it appears very harsh doctrine to impute superstition of a damnable nature to a man so illustrious as Luther,—the very person to whom Protestant Europe owes its deliverance from the bonds of superstition.

this insertion cannot be defended, it proves that, in the judgment of the translator, the Greek verbs *εὐλογέω* and *εὐχαριστέω*, have different and distinct meanings with the evangelical writers, though some versions render them as synonymous in signification; and Mr. Tait seems to contend that this is the proper rendering. "St. Matthew's and St. Mark's *blessed* is evidently synonymous," says this writer, "with St. Luke's *gave thanks*." But if the Syriac translator had not discerned an important difference between them, as used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, he would have avoided what would have been a tautology in his version.

Still any question which can be raised upon these words is totally immaterial with respect to the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. According to the divines of the Roman Church, the effectual words of consecration are for the bread, *Hoc est corpus meum*; and for the wine, *Hic est calix sanguinis mei*; or *Hic est sanguis meus*. No additional form of consecration, no set prayers, no conventional terms are required. The moment the words declaring the bread to be the body of Christ are pronounced, the miraculous transubstantiation (as the Romanists aver) takes place as to the bread; no sooner has the officiating priest uttered the words, "This is my blood," than the wine is also transubstantiated. On this account the Roman Catholics object to the tenets of the Greek Church, the latter affirming that the consecration of the elements is not complete until a certain form of prayer has been pronounced.^b

^b The Eucharist is celebrated by the Greek Church with a profusion of long, tedious, and superstitious ceremonies. The ceremony of *consecration* is described by Paul Ricaut as follows: "The creed, or *Symbolum Apostolicum* is next repeated, and then the cover or veil is taken off, called *Aepas*, and then over the bread the air is moved with a fan, signifying the wind and breath of the spirit, which illuminated and inspired the Apostles when they composed the articles of this holy faith. Then are read the same words, which we use at the consecration of the holy communion, viz., 'In the same night when he was betrayed, he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it,' etc. Then follows this prayer with some soliloquies,—

Lord who in the third hour didst send thy holy spirit, graciously take it not away from us, but grant it unto us, praying: Lord, make clean our hearts within us.

Which prayer is repeated three times, with the head bowed down; and then the priest, raising himself again, with an humble voice, saith, *Lord, hear my prayer*, and lifting up his hand by way of blessing, adds, *Make this bread the holy body of Christ. Amen.* And here all the order of consecration being finished, he thus proceeds, (addressing the consecrated elements,) "THOU ART MY GOD; thou art my King; I adore thee piously and faithfully. And so covering again the chalice, which contains both *species*, he elevates it, and the people worship" (*Present State of the Greek Church*, pp. 197, 198).

It is observable that before the consecration, and while the miraculous transubstantiation, or *Μετουσίωσις* is (as the Greeks themselves admit) still incomplete, the bread and wine are carried in procession through the church, and worshipped by the people. This precipitancy of the Greeks is treated with great severity and contempt by Tournefort. "Through *inexcusable ignorance*" (says the traveller) "the Greeks adore the bread and wine in this passage though they are not yet consecrated. It is certain *these poor wretches*, for want of being better taught, shew much more devotion and respect before than after the consecration" (*Travels in the Levant*, vol. i., p. 129, Eng. trans.) A Protestant might say that the difference of superstition, between the Greeks and Tour-

Nor does the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation appear to be in any degree founded upon that peculiar form of translation to which Mr. Tait objects. On the contrary, Luther's German translation of Matt. xxvi. 26—28, seems to agree substantially with that which Mr. Tait would himself prefer, "Da sie aber assen, nahm Jesus das Brodt, *dankte* und brach es, und gab es den Jüngern und sprach: Nehmet, esset; das est mein Leib. Und er nahm den Kelch, und *dankte*, gab ihnen den, und sprach; Trinket alle daraus; das ist mein Blut des neuen Testaments."

The pronoun "*it*" would therefore appear to be clearly exonerated from the heretical tendencies imputed to it by Mr. Tait. So far as I can perceive it has done no "mischief" at all. It is used by that Church to which Mr. Tait will certainly not impute superstition; while of the two, from whose doctrine of the real presence he dissents, one absolutely rejects it, and the other does not expressly insert it, and certainly attaches no importance to it. But—

II. I feel bound to contend that so far from our English translation being in fault, it is the best and most accurate translation which has been or can be suggested of the text of St. Matthew. In all countries where any sense of religion prevails, it is usual to perform some devotional observance on sitting down to the principal meal of the day. Among Christians this observance consists in what we term "*saying grace*," a phrase equivalent to the Latin, "*agere gratias*." We have the strongest reason to believe that this ceremony was used, if not expressly introduced, by our Saviour, since we find him on three several occasions carefully observing it.

Now with respect to this act of devotion, it must be observed, that, though we apply the general term of *saying grace* or *giving thanks* to our devotions at meals, we make an important distinction between the *grace* said at the *beginning*, and that at the *conclusion* of a repast. In the former, we implore a blessing on the meat (from which it is termed in Latin, *mensam consecrare*; in Italian, *benedire la tavola*; and in Spanish, *bendecir la mesa*); in the latter, we return thanks,—an act which we should express in Latin by the customary phrase, *agere gratias*, in Italian by *rendere grazie*, and in Spanish by *dar gracias*. Yet though this distinction is clearly observed, the two rites (the initial and conclusive) are both expressed in common parlance by the words "*to say grace*, or return thanks." Precisely the same appears to be the case with the Greek idiom used on these occasions by the Apostles, and early Christians; in that, *εὐλογέω* signifies not to bless God (as Mr. Tait contends), but to implore the blessing of God on the meat; *εὐχαριστέω* is used for the final thanksgiving; but in Greek, as in English, it is in a secondary sense applied to *both* acts of devotion. Thus when St. Matthew (xiv. 19) relates the miracle by which the *five* thousand were fed, he used the verb *εὐλογέω* for the grace at the com-

nefort, resembled one of the infinitesimally minute atoms of Lucretius. Yet this inappreciable difference, entitled Tournefort, in his own opinion, to pour out upon the Greeks some of the choicest flowers of his abusive vocabulary.

mencement of the repast; "And he took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he implored a blessing (εὐλόγησε) and brake and gave the loaves to his disciples, and the disciples to the multitude." He did not *bless* the bread in the sense of granting or bestowing a blessing; because all blessings proceed from God; and while on earth, our Saviour habitually acted in his human capacity, referring all things to the Father, and permitting his own divinity to remain for the time obscured, until he should return to his Father in heaven. He therefore looked up to heaven, and prayed that it would bless the repast which it had munificently provided.

The miraculous feeding of the *four* thousand is related by St. Matthew as follows; "And taking the seven loaves and the fishes, having given thanks [or said grace] (εὐχαριστήσας) he brake," etc. (Matt. xv. 36). Here εὐχαριστήσας is used in the *general* sense of *saying grace*.

It may tend to corroborate the preceding explanations if we examine the various meanings of the English word *BLESS*, and its Hebrew and Greek equivalents בָּרַךְ, and Εὐλογέω.

The verb *BLESS* (derived from the noun *bliss*, happiness or prosperity) signifies, 1. *To give bliss, or make blessed,—to grant present blessings or prosperity.* In this sense it applies properly to God alone as its subject; for no one can bless perfectly except the omnipotent. 2. (As applied to the Deity) *to promise future blessings, prosperity, or increase* to mankind, or even to the inanimate creation. 3. *To implore or pray for blessings:* when so used man is the subject of the verb, and God the being to whom the prayers are addressed. 4. *To foretel or prophecy future blessings;* as when Moses, in the fatidic spirit, foretold the future prosperity of Israel (Deut. xxxiii.) 5. *To celebrate the present bliss, prosperity, or power of another.* In this sense it is sometimes used in Scripture when human beings are said to bless God; and here it seems equivalent to the verb *to praise*. 6. It may possibly be sometimes used as equivalent to the verb *to thank*. But in the last two senses it is very improperly used, as it confounds language by usurping the place of other verbs by which the same meaning is properly and more correctly expressed. Its use in these senses being uncertain, it necessarily leads to doubt and obscurity. It is forsaking the clear and obvious path of intelligible expression, to wander deviously among the mists of ambiguity. Translations, especially from the Hebrew, have introduced the last two improper significations.

It should be observed that the word *bless* can never be properly used in the sense of *wishing or praying for blessing upon God*; because to wish for additional bliss or happiness to an all-perfect being, would be the grossest impiety as it would necessarily attribute imperfection to him.

The Hebrew בָּרַךְ is derived from the noun בָּרָךְ.^c 1. Its original sig-

^c In the same manner בָּרַךְ (of which בָּרַךְ he gave thanks, or praised) is the Hiphil form is derived from the noun בָּרָךְ (a hand); and the verb in Hiphil is used in the above sense, because the hands were extended or lifted up in giving thanks.

nification, therefore, is simply *to bend the knee*. Its derivative significations are, 2. *To bend the knee in supplication, or to pray*. 3. As bliss or happiness is the chief object of prayer, it signifies *to implore or pray for blessings*. 4. It afterwards became applied (with the laxity of ideas customary to the Chamo-Semetic languages) to the sense of predicting future blessings; and 5. Still more improperly (regard being had to its primary signification) to the *granting or promising present or future blessings by God* to man, or the inanimate creation.^d

The Greek *Εὐλογέω*, signifies 1. In its primary sense *to speak well* (as to plead a cause well.) 2. *To speak well or or praise* a person or thing. 3. *To speak well* to or promise good things to a person or thing. Hence it was applied in the sense of *to bless*, and used by the authors of the so-called Septuagint translation, as equivalent to the Hebrew *ברך*. In this signification it was adopted afterwards by the writers of the New Testament. This may, therefore, be considered as the theological sense of *Εὐλογέω*; and when thus used, it admits of the various shades of meaning before attributed to the English word *bless*.

These appear to me, on a cursory consideration, to be the most important meanings of the English *bless*, and of its Hebrew and Greek equivalents. If my explanations should be found to be erroneous, or incomplete (as they very possibly may) I trust they will at least be useful in leading some one else to a more careful and critical investigation of the subject.

Now, selecting from among these meanings, I cannot think that when St. Matthew (xiv. 19) informs us "Christ took the loaves, looked up to heaven, and *εὐλόγησε*," he meant that our Lord *blessed* God, either in the sense of wishing blessings to him, an act which (useless even when Christ was the agent) would when copied by his disciples have been impious; or of *praising or thanking God*; because such praise and thanks would naturally come at the conclusion of the repast. On the contrary, I prefer to take the common practice of Christians (which I believe to have been derived from Christ himself) as evidence that on taking up the loaves, Christ implored a blessing upon the repast for the edification of all present. On all these occasions we find that our Saviour *took up the food* at the time of the blessing; an evident proof that this was really the object upon which the blessing was imprecated.

It only remains to pursue the preceding argument to its natural conclusion, and to express my opinion that the two verbs *Εὐλογέω* and *Εὐχαριστέω*, when used in the narrative of the Paschal supper, have reference merely to the act of *saying grace*; and that, when Mr. Tait imagines that Christ "gave thanks for the things which were to come upon him—the betrayal, and agony of a lingering death," he greatly mistakes the meaning of the passage. It is sufficient for us to know that our blessed Saviour, with unspeakable goodness, voluntarily sub-

^d I have not deemed it of importance to trace the various shades of signification peculiar to the different *forms* of the verb *ברך*, as these distinctions are of little consequence to our present enquiry.

mitted to all these sufferings for our sake; but I think Mr. Tait, on more mature consideration, will perceive the impropriety of supposing that Christ gave thanks for these things at the Paschal supper, and, a few hours afterwards prayed that, if possible, *that* cup might pass from him. This would be apt to encourage scoffers in instituting a profane comparison between the actions of our Saviour and the weakness of St. Peter, who after vehemently protesting to his Lord, "If I should die with thee, I will not deny thee in any wise;" the same night denied him thrice; the last time, exclaiming with oaths and curses, "I know not the man of whom ye speak."

The preceding observations I offer as my present impression of the general soundness of the arguments in Mr. Tait's letter; but subject, of course, to any future explanation, which he may offer in corroboration of his views. If he should find leisure again to write upon the subject, and his second reasonings should be more convincing than the first, I shall be happy to become a convert to his theory. In the meantime he will of course perceive that the only mode of testing the truth of novel illustrations of Biblical subjects, is by the fair and free discussion of adverse opinions.

January, 1861.

HENRY CROSSLEY.

THE EUCHARISTIC BLESSING.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—The importance of the subject and Mr. Tait's courtesy and candour alike require that I should, with your permission, express my apprehension, that there still exists a material difference between our views on the *effect* of the blessing on the Eucharistic elements. Mr. Tait now admits that *they are blessed*, but hardly, as I believe, comes up to the teaching of the Church's formularies, and that of her martyrs and leading divines, regarding the *objective effect of consecration*. He seems to me to regard the consecrated elements as "bare figures of an absent body," and to hold that they owe their influence on the mind of the communicant merely to the scenes and sufferings which are historically or otherwise suggested by them, or, as Mr. Tait expresses it, to "the witness they bear to a dying Saviour."

In this case I hardly conceive how the elements can in any objective or proper sense at all be termed "the body and blood of Christ." And yet they are so, though neither by transubstantiation, consubstantiation, nor the peculiar theory of the real presence, which has recently found advocates both in England and Scotland. But still they are so by being the "sacraments of so great thing," and as Christ himself expressly calls them. This is the effect which the blessing or consecration has upon the bread and wine. That the whole rite does powerfully suggest the love and sufferings of a dying Saviour, and the connexion of his death with the spiritual and eternal life of man, is indeed most true. But all this might also be done by a mere pictorial or dramatic

representation of it, or even by an image, or a crucifix. And, surely, we cannot believe that a devout mind in contemplating such "bare signs," or representations, whether historical or pictorial, of an "absent body," should, under ordinary circumstances at least, be as effectually receiving the body and blood of Christ as when we are partaking the consecrated elements of bread and wine. And this, I presume, Mr. Tait would hardly be disposed to affirm nakedly, however plainly it may seem to follow from the merely subjective view which he appears to take of the nature and effect of the Eucharistic blessing. What is intended in these remarks is thus expressed by the pious Bishop Wilson, of Sodor and Man, in his sermon entitled, *The Lord's Supper the medicine of the soul*: "He therefore ordained this sacrament to be for ever observed by all Christians, *not only as a testimony of his great love,*" (the italics are mine,) "but as a way by which he would communicate to them all the blessings he had by his death obtained for them;" and again, "It is thus that the two sacraments become means of salvation to all such as with faith receive them. The water in baptism, with the blessing and grace of God, *has power in it*" (again, I have italicized the bishop's words,) "to cleanse us from our sins; and the bread in the Lord's supper, *being set apart and blessed, becomes the bread that nourisheth to eternal life.*" I leave the other point undiscussed, as I do not consider that it has any direct or special bearing on the doctrine of the Eucharist. But at the same time I do not doubt that our blessed Redeemer rejoiced in the very face of his approaching sufferings, and perhaps even meant to express his joy and *thankfulness* to the Father when he sat down on that solemn evening, and instituted for our unspeakable benefit the great legacy of his Last Supper.

WILLIAM FARQUHAR.

Pitscandly, Forfar, August 6th, 1861.

THE EUCHARISTIC BLESSING.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—The subject to which Mr. Tait has called our attention in your number for January last, is one of great interest, and, notwithstanding the objections which have been taken to it, I think his view very likely to be correct.

That *εὐλογήσας*, in Matt. xxvi. 26, does not refer to any blessing of the bread, but should be translated "having given thanks," will be, I think, pretty evident from placing in juxtaposition the four passages where the transaction is recorded.

Matt. xxvi. 26.
Λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
τὸν ἄρτον καὶ εὐλο-
γήσας ἔκλασε.

Mark xiv. 22.
Λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
ἄρτον εὐλογήσας
ἔκλασε.

Luke xxii. 19.
Καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον
εὐχαριστήσας ἔκ-
λασε.

1 Cor. xi. 23.
Ἰησοῦς ἔλαβεν
ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαρισ-
τήσας ἔκλασε.

I do not see how we can avoid the conclusion that *εὐχαριστέω* in

Luke and 1 Cor. is equivalent to εὐλογέω in Matt. and Mark: but if it is, the whole matter is decided, for εὐχαριστέω can have no other sense than that of giving thanks.

It appears to me also that Mr. Tait's reference to Matt. xiv. 19, in confirmation of his view, is not so unfortunate as your correspondent W. F., in your April number, supposes. Here, too, the comparison of the parallel passages indicates that εὐλογέω is equivalent to εὐχαριστέω.

Matt. xiv. 19.

Καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους καὶ τοὺς
δύο ἰχθύας ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν
εὐλόγησε.

John vi. 11.

Ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς ἄρτους ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ
εὐχαριστήσας.

But here it is objected that the parallel passage in St. Luke places beyond doubt the correctness of the opinion that εὐλογέω in Matt. xiv. 19 refers to a blessing of the bread, because Luke expressly says, that Christ did bless the bread (Luke ix. 16). If our received text is correct, there can certainly be no question that it does. That text says that our Lord εὐλόγησε αὐτοὺς, and αὐτοὺς can only refer to the food. I cannot, however, help thinking that αὐτοὺς here is an interpolation. The reading of the passage is not uniform. The word is omitted altogether in some MSS. and versions, and in others the reading is ἐπ' αὐτοὺς. A very similar passage in Luke xxiv. 30, "λαβὼν τὸν ἄρτον εὐλόγησεν," confirms us in the idea that αὐτοὺς now found in Luke ix. 16 was not in the original MS. The custom of giving thanks at meals was established among the Jews, and was commonly expressed by the term εὐλογέω or εὐχαριστέω without any addition. We cannot, therefore, receive the present text of Luke ix. 16 as setting aside John's evident view that εὐλογέω is to be taken as equivalent to εὐχαριστέω in Matt. xiv. 19.

This derives strong confirmation from the narrative of the second feeding of the multitudes narrated by St. Matthew and Mark. Here we find both evangelists putting εὐχαριστέω in the very same place, and evidently, as equivalent to εὐλογέω, used by them in their former narrative. Thus Matt. xv. 36 has it, "Καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἄρτους εὐχαριστήσας, ἔκλεισε." Surely if we compare this passage with Matt. xiv. 19, we will see that he uses εὐλογέω by itself as equivalent to εὐχαριστέω, and therefore as signifying the giving of thanks, not the blessing of the food.

I think too that it will be found that wherever εὐλογέω is intended to signify the blessing of any person or thing, it invariably has the object expressed either by a noun or its pronoun. When Christ blessed the children it is "ἡυλόγει αὐτά:" when Zacharias blessed God for restoring his speech, and Simeon for giving him the sight of Jesus, it is "εὐλογῶν τὸν Θεόν," "εὐλόγησε τὸν Θεόν" (Mark x. 16; Luke i. 64; ii. 34). Luke xxiv. 50, 51 affords us a very striking instance of this. In the fiftieth verse we are told that Christ blessed the disciples, "εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς." In the fifty-first verse this blessing is again referred to in such a way that there can be no doubt that it is the very blessing just spoken of; and yet even here it was judged necessary to

repeat the pronoun, "Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς." The same will, I believe, be found to be the usage elsewhere, shewing us that whenever we find εὐλογέω by itself it has the force of εὐχαριστέω, and is used of such a familiar and well-established custom as the thanksgiving at meals (see Acts iii. 26; Eph. i. 3; Heb. vii. 1).

There is, however, a parallel passage from St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, which is much relied on as shewing that at the celebration of the Eucharist it was the apostolic habit to bless the elements. Our version gives it thus, "the cup of blessing which we bless," "τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν." There can be little question, however, that our version is here incorrect, and the most eminent commentators would translate it differently. "The cup of *the* blessing" here is evidently an allusion to the thanksgiving cup at the Paschal feast, so called because then the Jews gave thanks for the meal. In agreement with this, we find our Lord, immediately after taking the cup, "giving thanks," "εὐχαριστήσας" (Matt. xxvi. 27). Again, the phrase "ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν" may well be translated, "for which we give thanks." The accusative singular neuter ὃ is very often, Liddell tells us, put for δι' ὃ. And thus the entire passage should be translated, "the cup of the thanksgiving, for which we give thanks." As Bengel has it, "cui benedicimus."

Every consideration then appears to lead us to acquiesce in the correctness of Mr. Tait's view, that our Lord, at the institution of the Eucharist, is not said to have blessed the elements, but to have given thanks. Whether so much as he supposes follows from this is another question; but there seems to be little doubt but that the passage in Matt. xxvi. 26 should be translated as Mr. Tait translates it, "and as they were eating, Jesus having taken the bread, and having given thanks, brake and gave."

I am, etc.,
D. E.

JEWISH ORTHODOXY.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—On the question of Jewish orthodoxy, one of the two points in controversy between Mr. Constable and myself, I beg now to offer my final reply.

In his last letter,^a Mr. Constable appears to have tacitly abandoned the high ground which he originally assumed. His first letter on the Pharisees was headed with the following positive and peremptory announcement. "*The Pharisees were the orthodox party among the Jews.*" In reply to this, I pointed out that the Pharisees were spoken of by our Saviour in terms which could not possibly have been applied to any but a heterodox sect. And that they were really heterodox, Mr. Constable now virtually admits. "*It was not my intention in my*

^a *J. S. L.*, April, 1861, p. 186.

first letter to hold up the Pharisees as parties who could be safely followed as religious guides." There is an obvious inconsistency between this admission and the original proposition that the Pharisees were *the* orthodox party; an inconsistency, which, I presume, escaped Mr. Constable's attention in the hurry of writing. It is plain that, if the Pharisees could not be safely followed as religious guides, their opinions were heterodox; for it is the peculiar characteristic of orthodoxy, that it *may* be safely followed as a guide in religion.

The question is therefore now narrowed. Pharisaic orthodoxy is admitted to be a vision;^b and to anything else which may be urged in favour of this sect, I am not called upon to reply. Still I may be allowed to renew my protest against the opinions that St. Paul remained a Pharisee in the proper sense of the word, *after* his conversion to Christianity; that he held the Pharisaic opinion as to a future state; in other words, that he believed in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; and that the Pharisees (whose instructions made St. Paul one of the most zealous enemies of Christianity, the blasphemer of Christ, and the untiring persecutor, incarcerator, and murderer of the saints), could claim any merit among Christians by *THIS* mode of "*giving to Christ his great apostle.*"

On one point Mr. Constable, inadvertently misconstruing a passage in my reply to his first letter, has represented me (to use the words which Plato attributes to Socrates) as πολλήν φλυαρίαν φλυαροῦντα. "According to Mr. Crossley, the text (Matt. xxiii. 2) should run somewhat thus, 'The Scribes and Pharisees sit where they ought not, in Moses' seat, therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, be careful not to observe and do.'" A more careful reference to the passage in my letter of the 26th July,^c will convince Mr. Constable, that my meaning, which was certainly expressed with different clearness, was *exactly the reverse* of that which he here attributes to me! *I have cited Bishop Latimer as holding precisely the same opinion with myself*; and between the two, I might (without being too sanguine) have reasonably hoped that any misconception was not much to be misapprehended. A regard to the peace of society often creates a necessity for paying some respect to established dignities, even when we know that they have been illegally acquired, and unjustly maintained. For this reason, and to pre-

^b Among Mr. Constable's arguments to prove that "the Sadducees certainly cannot be called an orthodox Jewish sect," is the following; "In the first place, they are mentioned in several places in the Gospels and Acts (see Cruden's *Concordance*). Invariably they are branded by some term of condemnation for wickedness of life, or crafty opposition to Christ, or falsehood of doctrine." But as the terms in which the *Pharisees* are spoken of are admitted by Mr. Constable himself to be *more frequent and sterner* in their denunciations "*than those against the Sadducees,*" it is evident that he himself, *on his own shewing*, now proves out of court the proposition, with which he commenced this controversy, that "the Pharisees were the orthodox party among the Jews!" As for Cruden's *Concordance*, let those who are inclined refer to it. I assert from the *original documents* that the reference to it will only terminate in the signal dis-appointment of those who participate in Mr. Constable's opinions.

^c *J. S. L.*, No. XXIII., p. 161.

vent any unnecessary shock to the prejudices of the vulgar, the disciples were instructed to pay a certain regard to the teaching of the Pharisees; but so far only as they could conscientiously agree with them, that is (to use the words of Latimer), "so far as their doctrine was taken from Moses' law." That this condescension could not be carried very far, is evident from the words of our Lord, who describes the Pharisees as *blind guides* and the *children of hell*. Surely all this is sufficiently plain; and no part of it is susceptible of the hastily misconceived meaning which Mr. Constable attributes to it.

Quitting, with pleasure, this detestable sect, whom Mr. Constable candidly admits to have "*especially hated, opposed, and maligned Christ*," let us now (having gained the admission that the Pharisees were not orthodox) consider *who were really the orthodox Jews*. If the Sadducees were not orthodox, where shall we find an orthodox party? Jewish orthodoxy must have been as fabulous as the Phœnix.

In the face of all opposition, I should deem it to be an inexcusable dereliction of duty, if I did not express, in the strongest terms, my firm, undoubting, unhesitating conviction that *the Sadducees were really the orthodox party among the Jews*. To form a correct judgment on this point, we ought to take a preliminary view of the pain and objects of the Mosaic dispensation. Under the law of Moses, the Israelites were taught that the Deity (who took the government of their republic under his own especial care) was constantly present among them, inhabiting the sanctuary,—"*the sinner between the cherubim*;" and that all their good and bad actions would receive their appropriate rewards in the *present* life, or as visited upon their posterity, by the infallible judgment of superhuman wisdom. Under such a dispensation, which appears to have been necessary to a people newly liberated from idolatry, and always inclined to return to it, the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments in another and spiritual world was judged to be unnecessary by a power to whose decisions we should do well to bow with implicit reverence. If Moses,—the religious, as well as civil legislator of the Jews,—in no one passage makes any direct, clear, and indisputable reference to a future state of existence,—why should *we* idly pretend to be wiser than the prophet, and tacitly accuse his doctrine of imperfection, when in fact, for all the purposes for which it was required, it was essentially adequate to all its objects—the true and only test of perfection.

It unfortunately happens that all the objections to Sadducean orthodoxy are tacit censures against the system of religion revealed through Moses; and it is for this reason that I am anxious, not to defend the Sadducees, who really need no defence; because, while the law subsisted, they adhered to the law, in its pure and genuine spirit; but to shew that objections, which (tinkling harmless from the Sadducean shield, *recoil* against the institutions of Moses,) are inconsiderate and futile.

Under the law, the present world was everything; the system of rewards and punishments was temporal; the clear and positive enunciation of the great doctrine of a future life was reserved for the Gospel.

But it is said that the prophets both understood, and revealed in their writings, the immortality of the soul, and the judgment, in a future life, of the actions of the children of men in the present. I have re-read, with some care, all the passages usually cited in support of this opinion, and can discern in them nothing from which an Israelite could have derived that *certain* knowledge of a future world, *which is so clearly taught as the most essential doctrines of CHRISTIAN faith.*^d The teaching of this was reserved for the Messiah and his precursor; and so certain is this, that at the time, and on the occasion, when the teaching of this great truth was most important, it was withheld from the murderers, whose idle cavilling against the dispensations of providence it would at once have confuted.

We learn from Malachi, that the Jews, under the second temple, had fallen into a state of mind approaching nearly, if not entirely reaching, the stupidity of Atheism. As we have shewn in the "Essay on the Parables of the New Testament,"^e they questioned the moral government of the world, and represented Jehovah as a sort of Ahriman, who delighted in evil, and rewarded only the wicked. These atrocious opinions (false, under the Mosaic dispensation, as regards even the present world) might have been satisfactorily confuted by the revelation, from an inspired source, of the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments. But did Malachi, who makes the accusation against them, offer this antidote to the poisonous opinions then prevalent in Judæa? Nothing of the sort. Malachi proclaims, not the immortality of the soul, but the *coming of the Messiah*. With the Messiah it rested to introduce a new and more perfect dispensation, based on the doctrine of a future judgment; and *by* the Messiah, accordingly, the decisive answer to the complaints of the Jews in the time of Malachi is given in the parable of the "*tares and the wheat*." "As therefore the tares are gathered and burnt in the fire, so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. *Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.*" Do we meet with anything like this in the prophets? Had the Pharisees any doctrine resembling it?

^d The book of Ecclesiastes is one of those which are usually cited to shew that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was familiar to the Jews before the Babylonian captivity. But the despondent tone which pervades this book is not that of a writer who wished to inculcate the *certain* hope of a future state of rewards for the virtuous. He declares (chap. iii. 19, 20) that "man has no pre-eminence above a beast;" that "as one dieth so dieth the other; and all go to one place." I, of course, do not overlook the well-known text in the last chapter (ver. 7), "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." But this verse would scarcely be cited by an intelligent Christian, for its strict conformity to the New Testament doctrine of the future destiny of the soul; while the Pythagoreans and Platonists could not but have acknowledged that it exactly coincided with those erroneous ideas respecting the *soul of the universe*, which they had borrowed from the East.

^e *J. S. L.*, No. XXIII., p. 113.

The disciples themselves had the certain knowledge of a future state only from the teaching of our Lord; and it was apparently to enlighten them on this point that the parable was communicated.

The mysterious allusions to a future life, to be found in the books of the Old Testament, were merely dim foreshadowings of a great truth, not even intended to be clearly understood till the coming of the Messiah. "When the Messiah comes" (said the woman of Samaria) "he will tell us all things." But until the revelation of the Gospel, an orthodox Jew was no more required to understand the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, than he would have been expected to interpret the prophecies before their completion. There appears to me a sort of ingratitude in blaming the orthodox Jews, for not comprehending that which we ourselves should never have comprehended, except from the light of the Gospel.

But *when the law terminated*, the Sadducees, adhering to an abrogated system, *lost* their pretensions to be considered orthodox in the proper sense of the word. Orthodoxy under the law of course ceased with the law, which was its foundation. And it can be clearly shewn that the law terminated from the moment when John the Baptist began to announce in the Peræa the doctrine of the *remission of sins* (of which *baptism* was the type), based upon a sincere and unfeigned *repentance*. These were the elements of a *new* religion, totally distinct from, and independent of, the law of Moses; and John, a prophet in no respect less illustrious than Moses (for a greater than John never arose among the children of men) received his mission as directly from the divinity, as Moses himself. *His teaching and his baptism were equally from HEAVEN.* It was God, he tells us, who sent him to baptize (John i. 33). BAPTISM was no institution of Moses,—no rite adopted from the execrable Pharisees,—it was grounded on a divine sanction,—it was a corner-stone of Christianity.^f It is clear, therefore, that the old

^f In a paper entitled, *Exegesis of Difficult Texts* (J. S. L., No. XXIII., p. 54) the writer asserts, "The baptism of John was *not* announced as a divine institution, and was so *indirectly*, inasmuch as John acted under inspiration." Assuredly the words used by John, *ὁ πῦψας με βαπτίσειν ἐν ὕδατι*, indicate that he was expressly *sent* by God himself *to baptize* with water. Baptism being thus a divine institution, the submission to it became an important *duty* under the NEW RELIGION, of which John was the herald. In this sense, the due observance of this rite is termed *δικαιοσύνη* by our Lord. We see Christ fulfilling, in his own person, the *duties* not only of the GOSPEL then in operation, but of the LAW which was extinct. The *former* were observed by him, because they were absolutely essential to all Christians whom he was to conduct as their great example in the path of duty. The *latter* were complied with; because, though the ceremonial part of the law was now vain and unprofitable, its immediate abandonment would have shocked the prejudices of the Jews, and thus impeded the progress of Christianity. The ritual law was therefore allowed to fall gradually into disuse. But the law and the Gospel could not both have been in actual operation at the same time, as being both vital and essential institutions. It is necessary to draw the line when the one terminated and the other commenced; and this great epoch was undoubtedly that in which the Baptist introduced a new law and a new ceremonial, by the express commands of the Deity himself.

things had passed away, that a new religion was now in operation. Any observance of the Mosaic law by Christ and his disciples, after the period, was merely a matter of expediency, because the law was useless when the Gospel commenced.

This will enable us to explain a passage of great importance, which Mr. Constable uses as a formidable weapon against the Sadducees. "The doctrine of a resurrection" (says Mr. Constable) "was *taught by Moses*. So our Lord tells us, 'As touching the dead, that they rise: have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spake unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living: ye therefore do greatly err'" (Mark xii. 26). Here it should be observed the person speaking is *not Moses*, but Jehovah. Moses is merely the relater of the divine communication. Now, Christ, as one of the persons of the Trinity, and probably *that* person who, in the character of Jehovah, spoke to Moses on Mount Sinai, had that *perfect knowledge* of the true meaning of the words uttered, which it was impossible for mere humanity to attain to. He knew that when these words were spoken by Jehovah, the immortal spirits of Abraham and his two descendants were present to the divine idea, not as things past but as actual existences. This esoteric meaning of the words our Saviour might justly use to confute the Sadducees of his day, who adhered to doctrines *then obsolete, and which had ceased to be orthodox*.

But to suppose that the wisest and most learned of the children of men would have drawn that deduction, from the words of Jehovah, which was *legitimately* drawn by our Saviour, would be a most fallacious opinion. Our Lord told the Sadducees that they "did greatly err;" and assuredly they did so, for they held up the law (when the law was extinct) against the light of the Gospel which had succeeded to it. Mr. Constable observes on this, "The Sadducees could not answer our Saviour's charge." Assuredly they *attempted* no answer; but what then? I draw, for my own part, from this fact a deduction very different from that which it suggests to Mr. Constable. The Sadducees retreated in silence, not clamouring like the Pharisees; and accusing their conqueror of being a sinner, the associate of sinners, and an agent of Beelzebub; they withdrew modestly and without further contest; and in doing so, gave up no trifling or immaterial tenet of their sect,—no collateral question, like that of the propriety or impropriety of paying tribute to Cæsar,—but one of the great fundamental points of faith, which distinguished them from their opponents. They knew that their submission would be related to their enemies, the Pharisees (as it actually was the very same day), yet they *admitted their conviction by their silence*.

Now it seems impossible to contend in fair and candid discussion, that the argument by which they were subdued would (*as between man and man*) have been deemed a legitimate and conclusive argument. Infidelity has invariably treated this argument of our Saviour as a contemptible quibble, and such to mere ignorant humanity it would have appeared. Yet the Sadducees were the aristocracy of the Jewish nation,

the most highly educated portion of the people. When therefore *they* yielded to an argument which, *humanly speaking*, was far from logical or convincing, I should infer that, in consideration of their modesty and propriety of department, a *special grace* of conviction was vouchsafed to them; that they saw in the speaker something more than a mere human instructor; that they bowed before the divinity latent in his person, and became, like Nicodemus, zealous, though unavowed converts to Christianity. Upon any other supposition their conduct appears to me unintelligible. I cannot therefore agree with Mr. Constable, that *the Sadducees did not afford one solitary believer to Christ*.

As for the opinion of Neander (quoted by Mr. Constable) that "Sadduceeism presents in its irreligious (!), atheistic (!!), and sensual (!!!) system, no point of contact with the Gospel," I can only lament that writers, whose intentions are unquestionably excellent, should not perceive, that in these rash opinions they are merely assisting the leaders of infidelity in barbing their shafts against the Mosaic dispensation.

As all controversies must have a termination, I now beg to terminate the present so far as I am myself concerned. I willingly resign the privilege of the last word to Mr. Constable; and, if I do not reply to any further remarks which he may offer, your readers, I dare say, will do me the justice to believe that it is only because I am unwilling to trespass too far upon their patience.

With respect to the other questions in discussion, *that* respecting the *last journey of our Saviour to Jerusalem*, I propose, in a future number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, to reply to the remarks of Mr. Constable, contained in his letter on "The Sisters of Bethany," in the number for October last. The subject appears to me to merit further discussion; as Mr. Constable's opinion (if correct) would deprive the Gospel of St. John—the authenticity of which has been the subject of much modern cavil—of an important confirmation from the Gospel of St. Luke.

HENRY CROSSLEY.

29th April, 1861.

DEMONISM.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—I suppose there is no one who has listened to this proper lesson on the Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, without wondering what the "pillows for all armholes," and the "kerchiefs on the head of every stature to hunt souls," can mean. I met with a passage in Dr. Frankl's *Jews in the East*, himself a Jew, which seemed to me to point out the true meaning. Dr. Frankl was supping with Mr. Brunswick, the Director of a Jewish School, at Chasköi, a village near Galata, on the Golden Horn. At supper, the wife of the porter told her master the following story:—

"'You know, sir, the young newly-married couple,' (she gave their

names and address,) 'both were young and beautiful. God himself must have been pleased with them; but all at once the young wife ceased to please her husband. He signified to the parents of both his desire to be separated from her, but, as he could assign no reason for his repugnance, their relations agreed that they must remain three months together. One day, before the expiry of this period, the day before yesterday in fact, the sorrowful young wife betook herself with a female friend to the bath. While the latter, after the bath, was winding the *chalebi* [head-dress of a Jewish woman], something fell from it to the ground. Your friend, you know her, sir, (she repeated her name,) saw at once that a *shet*, an evil spirit, who had become enamoured of the young wife, had a hand in the matter, and, by some magic spell, had turned away the heart of her husband. She gave the wife a little salutary advice, and burned the piece of parchment. When the wife returned home, her husband addressed her in the most endearing terms, and could not understand why his wife appeared to him all of a sudden so beautiful and graceful. To-morrow they express their joy by a great feast, and you, sir, as I have already learned, will one of the guests.' "—Vol. i., p. 179.

These demons, we are further informed, 'are propagated in the same way as men; they delight in forming alliances with the women of this earth, and it is not an unusual thing for a young man to marry a female spirit. The celebrated cabalist, Jehuda Bivas, of Corfu, explained that the *shedim*, the evil-spirits, have no power in the West, especially in towns where a king dwells. In the East they have power only over those that summon them.'—*Ibid.*, p. 161.

There is another story of a *shet*, but it is too long for insertion. If we suppose, then, that the "pillows for the wrist," and the "kerchiefs on the head of the youth" (LXX.) were these spells, we understand the meaning of the passage, and the woe denounced against the sorceresses who thus hunted and circumvented souls.

I am, of course, well aware that the above explanation will cause only a smile of contempt, and a sigh of pity that a belief in such legends can for a moment be entertained seriously by a clergyman of the nineteenth century.^s I have, however, too strong a belief in Scripture to mind sneers and laughter. I claim Gen. vi. 2 and Tobit vii. as Scripture proofs; nor do I see any difficulty in the fact that angelic beings, holy or fallen, are spirits; angels have assumed the forms of men, and in that form have performed offices peculiar to earthly beings: they ate and drank; what should hinder them from having also sexual intercourse? In the two stories told of these *shedim* in Dr. Frankl's book, and in that of Sara in the book of Tobit, there is nothing said of sexual intercourse, though it is clear that the Oriental Jews believe that such intercourse is possible.

^s We quite think the writer of this letter is serious, and we hope his views, which we regard as very mistaken, will be corrected by some of our correspondents.—*Eds. J. S. L.*

The truth, I believe is this ; we are far too sceptical with regard to the spiritual world, we do not realize the truth of what St. John says, "The whole world lieth in wickedness;" and that Satan is the "prince of this world," i. e., of the heathen world, as well as the "prince of the powers of the air;" and that as such he exercises his power in his dominion. I need hardly refer to the magicians of Pharaoh, the witch of Endor, nor ask what is the use of those laws against wizards and witches in the Pentateuch, unless such were realities? I will pass over the accounts of demoniacal possession, though surely they are very much to the point, and rely only on one or two facts too plain to be passed over. Was not Simon Magus a real sorcerer? Were not the magical books that some of the converts burned really what they professed to be? Lastly, was not the young woman at Philippi possessed by a spirit of Python, and did she not really disclose things beyond human ken? and was not such a demon? That such may not be found in Christian lands is easy to understand, because there is the kingdom of Christ; but that they have ceased in heathen lands, or in lands once Christian, but now overrun with heathenism, as Turkey and North Africa, I cannot see reason to suppose. It seems that the Jews of Constantinople themselves confessed this, when Rabbi Jehuda Bivas declared that the *shedim* had no power in the West.

Moreover, the Jews in the East are in the same state morally, intellectually, and in religion, as they were in the times of the apostles; why then should we suppose that those manifestations of demoniacal power, which were common in those days, have ceased in these? Supposing the stories of the *shedim* related by Dr. Frankl are true, may it not be that the possessions are of the like kind, viz., that male spirits possessed women, and female spirits possessed men? I think no one can witness heathen rites or devil worship without feeling that there is a reality about them, a real spiritual power, real demoniacal manifestations. Mr. Blakesley, a traveller of most acute observation, and one of the last to depart from plain matter-of-fact to mere assertion, gives the following account of what he saw in Algeria:—

"There is a singular fraternity in all the towns of North Africa, . . . the members of it are called Aïssaoua,—the guild or company of Aïssa, which is the Arabic form of the name Jesus. The traditionary account of their origin is obviously a perversion of the miraculous feeling of the multitude recorded in Scripture. Their founder (so runs the legend) was a marabout, whose preaching attracted a large crowd of followers. On one occasion they found themselves in the desert without any means of subsistence, and were on the point of abandoning him, when he bade them not be disheartened, but eat whatever they could find. Immediately they fell to devouring earth and weeds, the leaves of the prickly pear, and the snakes and scorpions which had taken refuge among the roots of the last. From that time forward the affiliated members of the society acquired the power of devouring substances the most ill adapted for food. They are really, I have little doubt, the genuine descendents of the Psylli, a tribe of serpent charmers

and jugglers, which Herodotus was informed had perished in an expedition into the Sahara (Herod. iv., 173), but which existed with the reputation of being insect and reptile proof, in the neighbourhood of the Cyrenaicæ five hundred years afterwards (Strabo, *Gogr.*, xvii. 1), and in the time of the Antonines were in repute all over Greece for their skill in curing snake bites (*Pausenia*, ix., 28, 1)."

These men go about as exorcists into families where any one is sick, and supposed to be under the influence of evil spirits:—

"The proceedings which I witnessed commenced by six or seven Aïssaoua sitting round a charcoal fire, and singing a low monotonous chant, accompanying it with sounds produced by the palm of the hand and knuckles on a musical instrument, exactly resembling the ancient tympanum or tamborine without the jangling metallic apparatus. This was continued a long time, the chief of the party taking no part in the incantation except by throwing occasionally a pinch of some substance which caused a slight smoke into the chafingdish, [this substance was incense.] The chant became gradually more energetic and quicker, and at last a young man laid down his tamborine and got up. He stood over the fire, swaying his body about in time to the music, assuming every minute more and more the appearance of a person possessed, alternately bowing his head almost into the chafingdish, and throwing it backwards, as if without power to restrain himself. Presently he became ecstatic, and commenced jumping violently, always, however, coming down in the same spot near the fire, and from time to time setting up a hideous howl. The old chief now advanced towards him, and seemed to soothe him by gestures like those which animal magnetizers are wont to employ to tranquillize their patients."—Blakesley's *Four Months in Algeria*, pp. 56—58.

Then he proceeded to play with red-hot iron, eat the leaves of the cactus, drive a sword into his eye and stomach. I witnessed the same twice myself two years ago at Algiers; the exhibition was varied by some of the possessed taking burning charcoal, red-hot iron bars into their mouths, without apparently being burnt. I saw the sword thrust into the eye, and into the stomach; these two latter, I believe with Mr. Blakesley, to be mere juggling tricks; the charcoal, and iron, and cactus leaf were realities; above all, I saw one eat a live scorpion. One of the possessed exclaimed in the midst of his ecstasy, "He has swallowed me up!" I should mention that some incantations were going on in an inner room to which I was not admitted. There are also many other heathen rites carried on in North Africa, among a population calling itself Mohammedan; it must be borne in mind that a great part, I think I may say the greater part of the population is not Arab, but Chamitic, being composed of Berber, Mauritanian, Numidian tribes, and Carthaginians or Phœnician colonists, which were never, while under Roman, Vandal, or Byzantine dominion, really Christianized; the towns perhaps were, but the country, especially the tribes on Mount Atlas, were not converted; and now, after a Mohammedan rule of 1200 years, are not wholly Mohammedanized. Besides there

is a large negro population, descended from slaves, or who actually were such before the French conquest; these are nominally Mohammedan, but retain heathen rites and sacrifices. There are some wells near Algiers, where nearly every week some of these rites are practised; one well heals diseases, another cures barrenness, etc., etc. I have often seen these rites going on. I think invariably negro women were the priestesses, but Mohammedans and Jews came to be cured. The rites consisted in sacrificing cocks, burning incense in a chafingdish of live charcoal, certain washings, and anointing with the blood; all this joined with many incantations. On enquiring among the Arabs, I was told that these last rites were sacrifices to Sheitan (Satan); of the Aïssoua, that the votaries were possessed, not with the Sheitan, but with the spirit of the marabout Aïssa. Compare these accounts with Acts xix. 13, "Then certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them that had evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus," etc. Again (ver. 19), "Many of these that used curious arts brought their books together, and burned them." On the word *περιεργα*, Hammond tells us in a note from Hesychius that this word signifies heathen rites of purgation; and Irenæus explains them as "*Amatoria quoque et agogima, et quæcunque sunt perierga apud eos, studiose exercentur*," i.e., "love charms and philtres, and all other such curious (i.e., magical) tricks are in great use among them;" and further on, "and accordingly Menander mentions them proverbially of Ephesus here, *Ἐφέσια ἀλεξιφάρμακα*, Ephesian charms or spells, called also *Ἐφέσια γράμματα*, Ephesian words or writings, so often spoken of by writers as charms or spells."

After this I need hardly say that I take literally Gen. vi. 2; I believe as the Jewish Rabbins, and most, if not all, the early fathers, that the history affirms that angels did form connexion with women; there were born unto them "giants." I think so, 1st, because the thing is quite possible, as may be seen from the foregoing observations; 2nd, because no other interpretation is consistent; 3rd, because it explains and is consistent with other passages of Scripture, unintelligible on any other interpretation. It is consistent because it adequately accounts for the terrible judgment of the flood; because on the supposition that the "sons of God" mean the Sethites, and the "daughters of men" the Cainites, there is no reason why the produce of these unions should be more monstrous than that of the pure Cainites, or indeed should be monstrous at all. Again, it explains 2 Pet. ii. 4, and St. Jude 6, passages which speaking of a fall of angels, cannot mean that of Satan and his angels, because the latter are not *ταρταρώσας*, nor *σειραῖς ζόφου παρέδωκεν*, or as in St. Jude, *δεσμοῖς αἰδίου ὑπο ζόφου τετήρηκεν*; on the contrary, Scripture speaks of Satan and his angels being on earth, Satan is "the prince of the powers of the air," "the prince of this world;" nowhere is he spoken of as being in hell, that is reserved for the judgment. This also explains 1 Pet. iii. 19. It was these antediluvians that our Lord went to visit (for what purpose I shall not now stop to enquire); they were "spirits" *πνεύματα*,

not ψύχας, souls of men, who had been rebellious just before the flood. This interpretation will also explain another difficult passage, "For this cause ought the woman to have power (a veil) on her head, because of the angels," i.e., that as angels were present, though invisibly at the assemblies of the Church, and especially at the celebration of the holy Eucharist, so there was a fear lest some might be snared by their beauty, as the angels were by the beauty of the antediluvian women.

E. L. BLENKINSOPP.

OMISSIONS IN THE HEBREW AND CHALDEE LEXICON.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—I forward you a list of omissions of conjugational forms in the Lexicographical part of the *Hebrew and Chaldee Analytical Lexicon*. Bagsters. 1848.

נָפַל Niphal is omitted.	נָפַל Kal	omitted.
נָפַל Hiphil "	נָפַל Hiphil (omit. by <i>Lec.</i> also),	
נָפַל Pual.	נָפַל Pual	"
נָפַל Pual and Hithp.	נָפַל Hiphil	"
נָפַל Hiphil.	נָפַל Hiphil	"
נָפַל Niphal.	נָפַל Hithp.	"
נָפַל Pual.	נָפַל in Ch. נָפַל Dan. v. 16	"
נָפַל Niphal and Hiphil.	נָפַל Niphal	"
נָפַל Niphal.	נָפַל Hiphil	"
נָפַל Niphal, Piel, Hiphil.	נָפַל Hiphil	"
נָפַל Niphal, Piel, Pual, Hith.,	נָפַל Piel	"
Hoth.,	נָפַל Niphal and Piel	"
נָפַל Piel	נָפַל Hiphil	"
נָפַל Hiphil and Hophil	נָפַל Pual	"
נָפַל Piel	נָפַל Pual and Hithp.	"
נָפַל Pual	נָפַל Hiphil	"
נָפַל Hithpapel	נָפַל Pual?	"
נָפַל Niphal	נָפַל Piel	"
נָפַל Pilpel	נָפַל Kal	"
נָפַל Hithpoel		"

No less than FORTY-NINE conjugations omitted. How is this?

AN INQUIRER.

[We rely upon the correctness of the preceding list, which we readily insert, as it may suggest those points in which a confessedly valuable book is capable of improvement. Inquirer will probably remember that "to err is human," and above all in works involving a vast number of details. Even in Bagsters' *Gesenius's Lexicon* there are omissions. Still, these oversights ought to be made known and remedied.—*Eds.*]

THOUGHTS OF A GERMAN UPON A NEW SCHOOL OF ENGLISH DIVINES.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—It has been a matter of surprise to many of my countrymen to notice the working of German infidelity among the English. We Germans are suspected of being the people who mostly indulge in wild and reckless speculations in divinity no less than in philosophy. Our writings have been regarded with profound apprehension, and orthodox England has doubtless trembled, many a time, lest the Reformed Churches on the Continent should suffer shipwreck. Rationalism came in upon our universities, and for a long period seemed to be enthroned in every chair and pulpit. Theological systems were set up against systems, schools against schools. Men, whose names are now a reproach to our nation, set to work, not only to break down the carved work, but to blow up the very foundation. Schools multiplied in proportion as men rose up with sufficient power and individuality to assume the lead. This state of things continued till, amidst confusion, disappointment, and shame, some few at least ventured to retrace their steps to the Scriptures, which, after all, it was felt could not be *broken*, although they might be set aside. Gradually this epidemic subsided, and we are now enabled to offer a few words of advice to those who are threatened with the same in England. From the feeling, I suppose, that anything is better than the stagnation of "godless orthodoxy," much instability of mind has of late been shewn. First, we were astonished at a most unaccountable flirtation with Rome; and now we see men stopping to pick up the fragments of theories and speculations which have proved so dangerous a barrier to the development of German theology. The ark of German rationalism has suffered shipwreck; yet Englishmen combine to reconstruct from its relics a "British leviathan," which it is hoped will defy the storms and tempests of future ages.

Germany, on its recovery from scepticism, with amazement beholds England, not only becoming a speculative adventurer on the vast and misty expanse of theosophical disquisition, but condescending to Anglicise effete continental systems; and this with the humiliating example of Germany staring her in the face!

No one will deny that we, as a nation, delight in bold thought and fearless speculation, and admire any who might open a new track in theology, were it only by presenting old truths in a new light; but what is the case with *this* school of English divines? We ask for their shibboleth, and examine their writings, and to our astonishment we recognize certain German systems and theories finding in England that sympathy and protection which they forfeited at home. It is painful to see leading writers humbling themselves to rake up notions and theories which Germany has long ago weighed in the balance and found wanting. These men stand forth among our Anglo-Saxon kins-

men vowing destruction to "the formulæ of past thinkings," denouncing a "godless orthodoxy," and claiming for themselves the prerogative of embodying the wisdom of that perfect man "*whose life reaches from the day of creation to the day of judgment.*" But they cannot point out one argument, notion, or sentiment in their system which has not been directly borrowed from men among us. English rationalists evidently neither discriminate what is really estimable in our theological literature, nor can strike out a path of their own. Nevertheless they deserve our sympathy in their renewal of the hopeless effort to escape the necessity of *knowing by faith*, instead of *believing by knowledge*. Their reproductions of German thought are all the more objects of interest to those who have passed through the same ordeal. It would be difficult to explain how they came to commit themselves to this plagiarism. Do they imagine they have really discovered truths long hid, or quite unconsciously abandon themselves to exploded German theories? In any case, we feel certain that most of them would shudder at the conclusions to which their premises lead.

German theology is a school in which men are compelled to learn the letter "B" as soon as they have learned the letter "A." We have found that it is folly to commit ourselves to a course, with the ultimate tendencies of which we are unacquainted.

Even taking for granted that there may be some "useless encumbrance—the rubbish of the past"—in English divinity, will the evil be removed by importing into England the *debris* of systems which our philosophico-theological hierophants built and destroyed? Surely, before many years have passed, the rubbish of systems now being framed by these reformers "will be blocking up the road" of others, who will ask, why *they* should not reform the theological systems of England!

The complaints of a "useless encumbrance—the rubbish of the past—blocking up the road," reminds me of Strauss, who dissolves the whole framework of the Gospel into a *myth*. Now between the new English school and that of Strauss there is but little difference.

If it be asked what should influence a foreigner to meddle in matters of a purely domestic character, I reply, that we have a great deal more to do with them than is agreeable. We have furnished the principles which are now leavening the speculations of thoughtful Englishmen; we therefore feel guilty in this matter, and implore a people allied to us by many ties, not to introduce a contemptible rationalism which, like any other plague, will have its day and a certain number of victims. Let others take warning from us.

If it be objected that the *Bibel-Werk* of Bunsen, so lately published, does not indicate a decrease of the evil among ourselves, let it be known that Bunsen himself is not the index of the state of German divinity. Having had the opportunity of appreciating his merits from personal acquaintance, I can fully understand how he became an almost universal favourite in England, and that even among the more religious portion of the community. Bunsen's views have not gone to the

extremes of many. But a professor of divinity, who represents the opinions of at least four-fifths of our theological chairs, told me, on the appearance of the first volumes of the *Bibel-Werk*, that, if the rationalists had thought Bunsen a believer in the Bible in the orthodox sense of the term, they would think so no longer.

* * *

[We have found it needful considerably to abridge the preceding communication, and especially in those portions which are personal.—*Eds. J. S. L.*]

WHICH IS THE TRUE SINAI?

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—The letter of your correspondent G. in the last number of your Journal,* on the question whether the children of Israel ever entered the granitic region of the Sinaitic peninsula, may possibly awaken the minds of such of the clergy as may be inclined to treat this subject with neglect, (for such I am afraid there are,) to a sense of the great importance of a complete and thorough investigation of the countries transversed during the Exodial journeys. To the arguments adduced by your able and learned correspondent, in corroboration of the theory suggested in the "Critical Enquiry into the Course of the Exodus," I would suggest in addition one of too much importance to be overlooked, and at which I have already hinted in the *Enquiry*. It is this, that the monkish Horeb being of all the mountains in the peninsula that which would most certainly have been fixed upon by an impostor for the representation of fictitious miracles, is, for that very reason, unlikely to have been the real Sinai, on account of the suspicion which must necessarily have been attached to it. For obvious reasons, I was unwilling to enlarge upon so delicate a subject in the "Critical Enquiry;" but if any one who has visited the monkish Sinai and the Ras es-Safsâfeh shall profess himself to be of a different opinion, I would then, without further hesitation, enter upon such details as I think will satisfy every one who is not already committed to an opinion in favour of this very objectionable site, of the accuracy of my statement. How much reason then have we to congratulate ourselves that we can shew, by collateral arguments, that no mountain in the neighbourhood of the Raheh plain could possibly have been the Exodial Sinai!

The claims of another mountain in the granitic district have been lately revived on the faith of what are facetiously termed "*inscriptions*." To ascertain beyond all question the real character of the "*Sinaitic inscriptions*," M. Lottin de Laval was despatched by the French government in 1850-51, to procure casts and photographs of these dubious engravings. On a similar mission, the Messrs. Butler were sent out by our own government in 1854. Correct copies of the

* July, 1861, p. 435—440.

"inscriptions" being now supplied, the next important object was to *translate* them. This task (as every knows) had been previously undertaken by the Rev. Charles Forster, who now, with more correct materials, very naturally resumed his studies. The result has been to prove beyond all possibility of question, either that these inscriptions are of comparatively very modern date (which I am satisfied is the real state of the case), or else that Mr. Forster's translations, however ingenious, have very little claim to the merit of accuracy.

On the faith of his *supposed* translations of these inscriptions, Mr. Forster asserts that the Jebel Serbal, near Paran, is the genuine and indisputable Sinai of Moses. Here the topography fortunately disproves the linguistic theories of the Rector of Stisted. Jebel Serbal could not possibly have been Mount Sinai, because it has no encamping ground at its base; and the narrow valley at its foot, instead of being the *desert*, has in all ages, from the days of Abraham to the present time, been the *garden* of the peninsula.^b In this region, water is the only thing necessary to fertilize ground apparently the most barren. The Wady Feiran is the great reservoir or conduit of the winter torrents of the peninsula; and hence, from the earliest period, its city of Paran has been the metropolis of the Sinaitis. One of the most ancient cities in the world, we find Paran mentioned in the time of Abraham as עֵלְיָם (Palm Paran, or Paran of the Palms).^c In the early Chris-

^b Mr. Forster, still relying on the "inscriptions," identifies Kibroth hat-Ta'awah, with the cemetery on the summit of Sarbut el-Khadem. The topographical difficulties in the way of such a march, and such an encampment, seem never to have been taken into the Rev. gentleman's calculations. It is to be regretted that he does not himself visit the peninsula, and, after a careful examination of the sites, inform the world how he would have conducted a nation of three millions, with its cattle and dependants, by a route so impracticable. If the serial journey of Astolphe were requisite to a modern theory, we may almost feel confident that its possibility would be boldly assumed.

^c The Hebrew word עֵלְיָם seems, in its primitive sense, to signify a *tree*. In a secondary sense, it is used to signify that species of trees which, in any particular district, is the largest, *strongest*, or the most valuable. Hence in some parts of Palestine, it was used to signify the terebinth, in others the oak. In the Negeb, the land of palms ("Primus *Idumæas* referam tibi, Mantua, *Palmas*"), it is used, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, to signify the palm. Thus at Eylym (עֵלְיָם) there were seventy palm-trees. Eyloth (עֵלְיָם) was so called from a grove of palm-trees which still points out the site. In the same manner Paran is termed Paran of the Palms, as possessing the richest palm plantation in the peninsula. As to the syntactical construction of the words עֵלְיָם, we find a similar example in Genesis xv. 2, where Eliezer of Damascus is termed עֵלְיָם, or Damascus Eliezer. It is observable that as *Eyl*, a tree, is used in Hebrew to signify the noblest species of trees, so گل a flower, is used in Persian to signify the rose, the noblest of flowers.

I observe that, in a little pamphlet on the *Journeyings of the Israelites*, by the Rev. J. Eastwood (reviewed *J. S. L.*, No. XXIII., p. 216), it is stated that "there are *two* places named Paran mentioned in the Bible; the other was somewhere on the southern border of Palestine." I apprehend the Rev. gentleman would find it exceedingly difficult to produce his authority for this proposition. I believe it to be certain that there was no other Paran than that in the valley

tian period it is noticed as the seat of a bishop, and the birth-place of the Monothelite controversy.⁴ At the present day we still observe the ruins of the city, under the slightly corrupted name of Feiran (the mode in which an Arab must necessarily write and pronounce the word Paran), and here, after the lapse of near forty centuries, are still seen the old palm groves, the richest in the peninsula, and producing, with only one exception, the finest dates in the world.

As to the absence of any encamping ground, we have, among numerous other testimonies, that of Canon Stanley, who in this case is an autoptic witness. This writer, speaking of the Jebel Serbal, observes with felicitous quaintness, "It was impossible not to feel that for the giving of the law to Israel, *and the world* [2], the scene was most truly fitted. I say *for the giving of the law*, because the objections urged from the absence of any *plain* immediately under the mountain, for *receiving* the law, are unanswerable, or could only be answered if no such plain existed elsewhere in the peninsula" (*Sin. and Pal.*, p. 72). So far the Canon, but if no plain, answering to the description of the desert of Sinai, existed in any part of the peninsula, I am afraid the conclusion could be widely different from that which this writer *appears* to anticipate. Our belief in the Bible is based on reason and evidence. Abstract these, and we might as well believe in the religions of Zerdusht, or of the Bhuddists, or of the Brahmins, or in the neo-Christianity of the *Essays and Reviews*.

As the claims of Onim Shamâr (the only other mountain in the

now called Wady Feiran. How the *desert of Paran* (extending from the Tih mountains to the neighbourhood of Beersheba), received its name from a city to which it does not very nearly approach, is a question which may be naturally asked, and which may be easily answered. The great caravan route from Canaan to Paran lay through this desert from north to south; and hence the wilderness obtained its name from the city with the idea of which it was principally associated. In the same manner the desert on the *eastern* side of the Gulf of Suez, *as far south* as the Wady Gharandel, was anciently termed the desert of Shur or Etham, because the route to those cities which were on the *west* of the gulf lay through this wilderness. On exactly the same principles, the Nachal Mitzrayim obtained its appellation, not because it bordered on Egypt, but because it lay on the way to that country from Canaan and Aram (see Jer. ii. 18), where Shichor (another name for the Nachal Mitzrayim) is said to be "*in the way to Egypt*," and the Euphrates "*in the way to Asshur*," or Assyria Proper. The proper boundary of Mitzrayim, on the north east, extended only a little beyond Pelusium; the western border of Assyria Proper was of course the Tigris. Westward of the Tigris lay Aram Naharayim. Asshur, therefore, was certainly on the *east* of that river. In an unpretending compilation, like that of Mr. Eastwood's, we of course do not expect anything more than lies on the surface. But in this way it is that errors accumulate, and are perpetuated.

⁴ Theodorus, who was Bishop of Paran, about A.D. 540, was the originator of the Monothelite heresy; which began to spread extensively about a century later in the times of Heraclius and his successors. The Prefetto of the Franciscans in Egypt, in his journal, remarks that "Paran formerly had the famous Theodorus for its bishop, who wrote *against* the Monothelites." It is curious to observe how many subsequent travellers have implicitly copied the error of the Franciscan. Observing this tendency, we cannot feel surprised that the *mobiles hospites* should still continue to perpetuate the errors of the monks, or the not less mischievous theories of Stanley and Robinson.

granitic region which has attracted attention) to the name of Mount Sinai are ridiculous, we are compelled to emerge from the granitic region, and to seek the Sinai of antiquity to the north of that district. Here I have heard or read of no mountain which can compete with the claims of the Jebel el-'Ojmah,—claims established by so many concurrent criteria, and by *one* especially, which *ought* to be conclusive if it were not of all things in the world the most difficult to withdraw mankind from inveterate error, however extravagant.

Dr. Stanley observes, "*The obscurity*" (we may accept the expression, though a better might be found) "will always exist till some competent traveller has explored the whole peninsula. When this has been fairly done, there is little doubt but some of the most important topographical questions now at issue will be set at rest" (*Sin. and Pal.*, p. 33).

Why should an investigation so important be delayed? And why should not the aid of Government be solicited to ensure its efficacy? There are *political* as well as religious reasons which render the thorough examination of the whole country to the south of Palestine a matter of peculiar importance to England. In matters of much less urgency a sufficient alacrity has been shewn. To supply the world with authentic copies of barbarous and fantastic legends, which we have every reason to believe not older than the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era, two of the principal governments of Europe, those of France and England, have very liberally and properly contributed their aid. I say *properly*, for (genuine or false) it was desirable that the *inscription-question* should be decided. Another continental government has with equal liberality and propriety procured, at a great expense, the Tischendorf codex from the very region of which we are now treating. For Moses *alone* a singular indifference appears to prevail. To establish the truth of his narrative appears a matter of minor importance. Yet on an occasion like this, when religion itself demands our exertions,—

"Can there be wanting, to support its cause,
Lights of the Church or guardians of the laws?"

Among the readers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, assuredly there are many of the *former* class. May we not hope that they will aid us in their representations to Government in a cause so worthy of their zeal and their piety? The length of the various *wadys* of the granitic district would be then ascertained; the average breadth would be carefully measured; the peculiarities of the monkish Horeb and its adaptation for imposture would be satisfactorily determined. A *model* of the Raheh plain and its surrounding mountains and ravines, in exact proportion to the true measure, would be completed, and exhibited to the public in the British Museum.* The region around the Jebel

* A map of the traditional Sinai will be found in Stanley's *Sin. and Pal.*, p. 42, but a *model* alone will convey an accurate idea of the topography; and, in all cases relating to the Exodus, models, where it is practicable to obtain them, are preferable to maps and plans.

el-'Ojmah would be explored; ample descriptions, aided by photographic views, would gratify the public curiosity, and remove the doubts of the learned; the old caravan routes of the desert would be explored; the sites capable of being identified by the old names, still existing in a slightly corrupted form (many of which we might reasonably expect to meet with) would be ascertained; lastly, the entire tract between the Tih mountains and the borders of Palestine (including the country around El-Khalesah, the true Kadesh, and the Jebel 'Araif en-Nakah, the veritable Mount Hor) would be thoroughly scrutinized.

To copy the Sinaitic inscriptions, and to neglect the preceding incalculably more important objects, is to strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel. It should not be forgotten, that the exertions which the *friends* of revelation anxiously solicit, may at any time be compelled by its *enemies*. If a well-written attack on the Mosaic history were to appear in the present temper of the public mind, as evidenced by the success of the *Essays and Reviews*, its influence might spread far and wide the seeds of popular incredulity; which, when it arrives at its height, will stop at no lesser object than the subversion of the National Church. If the clergy are apathetic on the subject of the Exodus, where should we find a champion to repel the attack? If any one should feel himself strong enough to undertake the labour, I will propose an easy means of testing, *to a limited extent*, his efficiency. In the course of my own long and laborious enquiries into the subject, it was impossible not to accumulate a long list of difficulties and apparent inconsistencies. These I will with pleasure submit to the readers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, if any one will kindly undertake to afford them the benefit of his careful consideration, and his endeavours to explain them. The attacks of a sceptical writer would of course be of very different force, from the calm and temperate exposition of difficulties which a strictly orthodox Churchman (as I trust I may venture to term myself) would be likely to propose; but still if my *catena* of difficulties should be considered serious, and of some moderate weight, and the solution should be full, complete, and satisfactory, the Church might rest in the gratifying confidence, that, in case revelation should be attacked on this point, it would meet with a learned and powerful defender.

If queries of this sort were to be more frequently proposed in Biblical journals, and were to lead to the full, careful, and critical discussions of Scriptural questions, it appears to me that the utility of this valuable class of publications would be greatly increased.

26th July, 1861.

HENRY CROSSLEY.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Palestine Lost. Objections to the doctrine of Israel's future restoration to their own land, national pre-eminence, etc. By EDWARD SWAINE. Third Edition. pp. xvi, 164. London : Jackson, Walford, and Hodder. 1861.

WE are glad to see this unpretending and thoroughly excellent little book in a third edition. Reverence towards Scripture is none the less reverent when combined, as here, with the manly common sense so conspicuously absent from the writings of our modern Judaizers. The doctrine which Mr. Swaine endeavours to refute is based on very questionable interpretations of separate passages of Scripture ; on entirely wrong *methods* and *principles* of interpretation ; on a misconception of the nature of the peculiar relation of the Israelites to God and to the Gentiles under the old dispensation ; and on the denial or neglect of the fact, that in Christ every wall of partition is broken down, so that in him there is neither Greek nor Jew. The doctrine of the restoration of the Jews and their superiority to the nations of Christendom (not to mention the subordinate absurdities which are almost invariably added to the doctrine), seems to us to confound all moral distinctions, and to annihilate the proofs of the righteousness and power of God which have been supposed to be furnished by history and conscience. In plain English, it implies that the *bad* are to be rewarded, and the good and innocent to be punished ; and this, not by the perversity of men, but by the direct and, if necessary, *miraculous* intervention of God himself.

For if it be strange that the people of Christendom should be punished by national inferiority for being Christians, it is much more strange that one particular people should be rewarded for being Jews. We should be glad to know what single claim the Jews have to salvation on any ground whatever, excepting indeed that goodness of God which our Lord tells us he manifests to the unthankful and the evil. Are the Jews to be saved for crucifying Christ ? are they to be saved for persecuting the early Christians ? are they to be saved because they have persevered in blasphemy for more than eighteen centuries ? Is a Shylock or an Isaac of York nearer to the kingdom of heaven than Fenelon or Madame Guyon ? And what is it except their bigotry and fanaticism that has preserved the Jews in that sort of separateness which characterizes them ? They have no country, no self-government ; they have, in a word, nothing to keep them what they are but a dogged refusal to intermarry with Christians. Not blasphemy, cheating, and mammon-worship, but, according to our modern Judaizers, the premature acknowledgment of Jesus Christ, robs the Jew of his little freehold in the Holy Land. Shylock in 1867 would stand a far better chance of restoration and reward than the children of any Jew who might have been converted to Chris-

tianity two hundred years ago. It is therefore wise for individual Israelites to postpone their baptism, if possible, till the beginning of the millennium, at which time they will be sure of their freehold.

And are we to be told that the prophecy of the Old Testament requires us to believe this? Are we to be told that we are to invert the moral law, and to sacrifice every principle upon which rewards and punishments can be beneficially administered, for the sake of a few verses in the obscure book Daniel? *Our* answer indeed would be, that the Old Testament does not require this sacrifice, and that our modern Judaizers have done their best to reduce the old prophets to the level of gipsy fortune-tellers, which assuredly they in no degree resemble. But there is another answer which will far more readily occur to a very large number of those who may hear the current opinions about the restoration of the Jews; viz., that if the prophecies of the Old Testament did mean what they are said to mean, they would be utterly worthless. Some considerable portions of the prophecies are to us intelligible only when explained as figurative or symbolical, but the Judaizing school seems in the most perverse way to consider everything literal, which must be nonsense if it is not metaphor. Surely also the New Testament should have some weight with the Christian teacher in his interpretation of the Old. Whatever the old prophets may have meant, it is not wise to *force* them to mean something flatly contradicting the words of St. Paul: "There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, but Christ is all and in all."

Such considerations as these, with many more, are well urged by Mr. Swaine; while it is obvious that his reverence for Scripture, and willingness to abide by its teaching, are, to say the least, as great as theirs whose doctrine about the restoration of the Jews he rightly believes to be "fruitless of *good*, and prolific of *bad* effects, on the public mind in general, and on the minds of the Jews in particular." To the third edition of his book he has added a brief statement of his own views of the future destinies of the world and the Church. He wisely remarks with respect to this statement, "that although his opinions should appear to be erroneous, or even be *demonstrated* to be so, his error in this case does not affect the validity of his objections in the former one." We may, however, venture to suggest that the effect of an argument is nearly always enfeebled by the addition of what is entirely irrelevant, and Mr. Swaine will be prepared to expect that many will content themselves with offering objections to his opinions instead of answering, and, in fact, because they are unable to answer his objections to their own.

Ethnogenie Caucasienne : Recherches sur la formation et le lieu d'Origine des Peuples Ethiopiens, Chaldéens, Syriens, Hindous, Perses, Hebreux, Grecs, Celtes, Arabes, etc. Par A. C. MOREAU DE JONNES. 8vo. Paris : Cherbuliez. 1861.

THE author of this noticeable volume is by no means unacquainted

with facts, but he speculates upon them, and believing himself to be treating them philosophically, but, as we think, interpreting them absurdly, distils out of them theories which we look upon as equally rash and false. He thinks religion was a development, and that "the first motive to worship was fear;" whence in torrid zones, the serpent is the *fetiché* most universally venerated. In Asia the poetic instincts of the mountain shepherds were awakened by contemplation, which elevated the soul of the patriarch towards the stars. The sun, and the mystery of generation, became their objects of adoration. Next, they worshipped heroes, kings, queens renowned for wisdom or beauty, to whom the first idols were erected. The grotto, the tree, the spring, whatever pertained to the deified chief, became an object of worship. "In fine, at a later period, a patriarch of genius, breaking the yoke of traditions and of servitude, attained to the conception of one God, invisible, the creator of men and of the universe, and drew to his belief considerable populations." Our readers will guess from this "intellectual chemistry," as the author terms it, what may be looked for in the course of his work, which may nevertheless prove very useful to such as know how to use it. As we have intimated, it abounds in facts and allusions, and probably very few have turned their attention to what is here called "ethnogeny," who have not also often felt the want of further references and illustrations. The book is, however, one with the spirit and principle of which we have no sympathy, as we certainly decline to accept its conclusions.

The Tabernacle of Testimony in the Wilderness, evangelically explained, and practically improved. By the Rev. WILLIAM MUDGE, Rector of Pertenhall, Beds. Third Edition, carefully revised. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

WE are free to confess that this book rather baffles us. The author reminds us in the introduction, that "the soul of the diligent shall be made fat;" and promises that "to studious care and observation" the beauties of his book will gradually unfold themselves. We are content to take all the blame to ourselves, but we must candidly acknowledge that up to the present moment the value and even meaning of Mr. Mudge's tabernacle are concealed from us by an impenetrable fog. We have not yet been able to discover even according to what rules of syntax the sentences are constructed. As to the tabernacle itself, it seems turned into a modern meeting-house with the old Jewish furniture tumbled about in hopeless confusion and utter uselessness. We can as yet perceive only one good service that this book can render; it may serve as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the method of interpretation which Mr. Mudge and the school to which he belongs have adopted.

There is indeed much more, and we may add, much less, in the tabernacle than we ever expected to find there. "In its entirety it was emblematical of the Incarnation, the Church, the believer, and the millennial kingdom;" while every separate part of it seems to be

symbolical of almost everything in the heaven above, and in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth. The table of shewbread is especially rich in meaning: "Here we discover somewhat of a parallel with the fruit of Eschol; the cluster is so rich that we need as it were additional strength to sustain it. Nevertheless we will endeavour, in simplicity and dependence, to explicate its precious import." With the same spirit and with equally rich results Mr. Mudge "explicates" the altar of burnt-offering. "Viewing the altar in its spiritual appropriation, we observe first, the incorruptibility of our Saviour's human nature being seen in the shittim-wood, the omnipotence of the divine nature is apparent in the *brass* of the altar. . . . The altar of burnt-offering being four square, and having projections or pinnacles at every corner, it is implied thereby that the mediatorial work of Jesus Christ shall one day be efficacious and applicable to the whole world." The fact that the pure oil-olive for the tabernacle light was to be "beaten" is a symbolical assertion of the necessity of Christ's sufferings. The meaning of certain precious stones is much more profound than anybody would have expected. On Mount Sinai the God of Israel was seen, "and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone." "In Rev. iv. 3," says Mr. Mudge, "the figure is changed from the sapphire to the jasper and sardine stone. This is remarkable, and indicative, we conceive, of Deity *before* and *subsequent* to the Incarnation. Previous to the Incarnation the God of glory is seen as the burning sapphire; . . . whereas after the Incarnation he was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone; literally, a stone jasper and a sardine: altogether his aspect resembled the combination of a jasper and a sardine. . . . For be it remarked, the sardine is the colour of flesh or a blood-red colour; but the jasper is clear as crystal (Rev. xxi. 4); the two therefore, blended and united, present unto our faith the aspect of flesh shining in the light of God-head glory,—the body of heaven and its clearness presented in the human face or person of Jesus Christ. Thus we can understand." . . .

We are constrained to confess that in this manner we can understand nothing, not even what Mr. Mudge intends to mean. But to be grave: it is our sober conviction that this irreverent trifling with Scripture is the occasion of no small portion of the scepticism with which the Bible is so often regarded. We are sure Mr. Mudge does not intend to be irreverent, and at the same time we are quite equally sure that no scholar would take such liberties with the poorest fragment of a classical author as this divine takes with the Word of God.

Bunsen als Staatsmann und Schriftsteller. Eine Gedächtnissrede. Dr. H. GELZER. 8vo. Gotha: Perthes. 1861.

Bunsen's Bibelwerk nach seiner Bedeutung für die Gegenwart beleuchtet von B. Bähring. 8vo. Leipsic: Brockhaus. 1861.

THE first of these pamphlets is a memorial discourse delivered by Dr. Gelzer, professor at the University of Berlin, and is a reprint from

the *Protestantische Monatsblätter für innere Zeitgeschichte*. It is written in a friendly spirit, and contains a considerable amount of interesting information. It commences with brief notices of the decease of some of Bunsen's chief friends and opponents during the last decade; it then touches upon the three great ideas which occupied Bunsen's mind,—Rome, the Bible, and Central Europe; next it presents us with an outline of Bunsen's life and works; and concludes with an account of his closing days.

The author of the second pamphlet says it aims to be a token of his personal respect and love for the never-to-be-forgotten noble man who now rests in God. He begins with a retrospect of Bunsen's life and end; and then considers his general standpoint, his attitude towards the Bible, his Biblical criticism, translation, and exposition. He closes with a glance at the opposers of Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, and at its plan, position, and continuation.

Although we are not, and never were, worshippers of Bunsen, and cannot but regard his last work as in no small degree a failure, yet we always honoured and revered him as a noble and true-hearted man, the friend of free and intelligent inquiry into the Bible and Christian literature generally; and we hope his name will long be fragrant among the wise and good in our land, as we are sure it must be in others, and above all in his own.

History of Wesleyan Methodism. Vol. III. Modern Methodism. By GEORGE SMITH, LL.D., etc. pp. xxiv, 769. London: Longmans. 1861.

A LARGE proportion of the subjects suggested by this volume are scarcely suited for discussion in this Journal. The peculiar ecclesiastical polity of the Wesleyans is described and eulogized by Dr. Smith with a truly Methodist fervour. Perhaps through the whole work eulogy bears too large a proportion to description; while, on the other hand, the mere narrative is often smothered by a mass of wearisome details which can be interesting to nobody outside the Methodist 'connexion,' and to a constantly diminishing number within it. In respect to its style, the work resembles a collection of extracts from reports, magazines, and religious newspapers, and is characterized by far too much of that indiscriminating puffing which, in a newspaper, is pardonable only because in a few hours the most brilliant leader and the most flattering eulogium will be forgotten. But in a sober history, meant to be permanent, and really the result of much labour and thought, we do not look for scraps of news which could scarcely be tolerated beyond the limits of a small tea-party. At the opening of the Richmond Institution, for example, which for some inscrutable reason Dr. Bunting "had great objection" to hear called "a college," "Dr. Dixon, Mr. Farmer, and Mr. J. D. Burton successively addressed the assembly; after which Dr. Bunting read the fourth chapter of the Second Epistle to Timothy, when the Rev. P. J. Jobson engaged in prayer, and the

president pronounced the benediction" (p. 490). "The Rev. Thomas Jackson offered up a *fervent* and *powerful* prayer; after which . . . the Rev. John Scott delivered an *impressive and very profitable* discourse," etc. For general readers (and Dr. Smith's book assuredly deserves from such an attentive perusal) these details are absurd; and very many will be puzzled or amused by the technicalities of Methodist theology, and the peculiarities of Methodist experience. For it is the boast of Wesleyan preachers that they, almost alone, have been able to commend the Gospel to the lower classes; from whom, at any rate, their numbers are chiefly recruited. It is of course notorious that among those classes there is an almost entire absence of that *reticence* which among people of any refinement is a necessity of social intercourse. At your very first introduction, a poor woman will tell you all her ailments and the ailments of her children with most embarrassing minuteness, and the most amusing blunders; and for exactly the same reasons, and in exactly the same way, she will edify a visitor or a "class" with the narrative of the ailments of her soul. Hence it happens that the experience of Methodists is at once so genuine and so odd;—genuine, as a fact; odd, in the way in which it is described and accounted for.

It is perhaps, also, because the Methodists belong mainly to the lower classes that the Methodist schisms have generally been (as Dr. Smith admits) so extremely *vulgar*. The history of these schisms is very humiliating; and the schisms themselves have been far too numerous. We do not believe that the Methodist Conference is more nearly infallible than any other equal number of persons similarly educated and chosen; but nothing can exceed the impudence and ignorance of many of their assailants. Even the preachers are not (or at any rate, *were not*) refined enough to avoid the grossest breaches of common propriety. Can anything exceed the *shabbiness* of the Warrenite controversy, apart from the merits of the case? And what religious or ecclesiastical difficulty can be honestly settled by "stopping the supplies?"

The theology of the Methodists seems to us far too *subjective*; indeed, for real objective theology they seem to have little regard. They are far more concerned with *their own experience*,—faith, assurance, and the like. This is one result of the "class-meeting" system. Possibly the "Wesleyan Theological Institution" (which we must not venture to call a "college") may be a useful counterpoise.

Those who form their first acquaintance with Methodism from Dr. Smith's pages, will be startled to discover by how strict a censorship of the press and rigorous a discipline purity of doctrine and life are secured. Yet *for the Methodists* this seems absolutely necessary. To submit the affairs of so large a body to the dictation of its "masses" would be suicidal. At the same time, the uneducated and vulgar are a vast numerical majority, and Methodism may confidently anticipate the repetition of those controversies and schisms which have already been so numerous. If these are not to be fatal, the intelligent laymen must

steadily support their ministers, and deny themselves the enjoyment of that delusive popularity which is the transitory reward of agitators and demagogues. The Methodist connexion is far too noble a structure to be entrusted to ignorant and reckless hands, even for ornament and repair.

Dr. Smith's book, with less than could be desired of literary excellence, is nevertheless a record of much fervent piety and godly, self-denying labour. The half would perhaps have been better than the whole; but the whole is deserving of careful perusal, and may suggest useful lessons even to those who differ most widely from Dr. Smith's opinions.

Philippi Melanthonis Commentarii in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos. Ad optimarum editionum fidem. Dr. M. NICKEL. 8vo. Leipsic: B. G. Teubner. 1861.

As a commentator, Melancthon stands deservedly high, and many of his explanations are worthy of his rare genius and insight. Although the form of his work may seem strange to us who live three hundred and twenty-one years since it first appeared, and although some of his expressions may not be wholly after the taste, or in harmony with the judgment of our age, the work on Romans is calculated to be of real service to those who study that marvellous production. We think Dr. Nickel has done well to issue the present corrected, portable, and cheap edition of Melancthon's Commentary, and we have pleasure in commending it to the reader.

Evangelientafel als eine übersichtliche Darstellung der Synoptischen Evangelien in ihrem Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zu einander, verbunden mit geeigneter Berücksichtigung des Evangeliums Johannes. M. H. SCHULZE. 8vo. Leipsic: Mayer. 1861.

THIS is, as the title intimates, a summary exhibition of the three first gospels in their relations to one another, and with special reference to the gospel of John. The work is accompanied by notes, and is designed for private study, and as a basis for academical lectures, etc. The author regards Mark as the first of all the Evangelists; Luke as his follower, imitator, supplementer, and amplifier; Matthew as the third, and a compiler from the other two; and John as the fourth, following a peculiar plan, and differing in its execution from the rest. It is his intention to bring out another edition, in which the German text shall take the place of the Greek. The work well deserves attention, and we hope will have it.

Eusebii Pamphili Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ libri decem, etc. HUGO LÄMMER. Fasciculus II. 8vo. Schaffhausen: Hurter. 1861.

THIS useful and correct edition of the Church History of Eusebius contains the Greek text collated with the best editions, and the manu-

scripts preserved in Germany and Italy. It is accompanied with the Latin version of Valesius corrected, and with prolegomena and notes. Indexes are to be added, and in this part we have facsimiles of three manuscripts. The notes are mostly brief, and we could have wished more of them, especially such as refer to sources of information; but in other respects we can safely call the execution of the work thus far highly satisfactory, and it will be a valuable edition of a most important aid to our knowledge of early church history.

Sancti Patris nostri Gregorii Nysseni Basilii Magni fratris quæ supersunt omnia. G. H. FORBES. Vol. I., Part II. 8vo. Burntisland: the Pitaligo Press. 1861.

WE regard this as equally creditable to the editor and to the printers. It contains the Greek text and a Latin version and notes. The prospectus states that previous editions are mostly very corrupt, and that "neither expense nor labour have been spared to render the work as complete as possible. In some cases as many as twenty MSS. have been collated, and when it is added that the libraries of Oxford, London, Paris, Munich, Vienna, Turin, Venice, and Rome have all contributed towards it, it is believed that the text will be found satisfactory." One feature of this edition is the endeavour to distinguish the genuine from the spurious works of Gregory. We wish it success; it is cheap and good.

The Study of Sanskrit in relation to Missionary work in India: an inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford, April 19, 1861. By MONIER WILLIAMS, M.A., Boden Professor of Sanskrit, etc. Williams and Norgate. 1861.

It would be difficult to estimate too highly the various works by which Professor Williams has succeeded in rendering the study of Sanskrit comparatively easy and popular. In this inaugural lecture, delivered in consequence of his appointment to the chair of Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, he has endeavoured, in happy accordance with the intentions of the founder of that Professorship, to point out the practical usefulness of a knowledge of Sanskrit to Christian missionaries in India. The discourse, however, supplies, partly in the text and partly in the numerous notes, a mass of valuable information which cannot fail to prove interesting to readers of all classes.

The author commences with a rapid historical survey of the various national elements which make up the population of India; and then, selecting the Hindu element—by far the largest—as the special object of his attention, he proceeds to describe, in broad outlines, its social, religious, and intellectual character, and to shew how Hinduism, whilst in many respects a strange conglomerate of varied and apparently incongruous systems, has nevertheless a marked distinctive character, consisting, externally, in its caste observances, and, internally, in its

connexion with the Vedas and the literature to which they gave rise. The first part of the lecture concludes with the statement that this literature (and the Sanskrit language in which it is embodied) "is even more to India than classical and patristic literature was to Europe at the time of the Reformation. It gives a deeper impress to the Hindu mind than the latter ever did to the European; so that a missionary at home in Sanskrit will be at home in every corner of our vast Indian territories." In the second part, the author dwells upon the importance of Sanskrit; 1st, as the root and source of the spoken languages of India; and 2ndly, as a key to the literature, and, through that, to the opinions and usages of the Hindus.

We are not acquainted with any publication which gives, in so small a compass, anything like so large an amount of trustworthy information upon Sanskrit literature and the nature of Hinduism, as may be found in this lecture; and we strongly recommend all persons who take a benevolent interest in India to procure and study it for themselves. It is to be hoped that Indian missionaries stationed at the seats of Hindu learning will be induced by a perusal of it to undertake the study of Sanskrit. Should any of them be sceptical regarding the author's conclusions, we would request them to obtain and examine the *Sanskrit Texts* and other works of J. Muir, esq., LL.D. (late of the Bengal Civil Service), which supply a most convincing, because most successful, practical illustration of the truth here set forth by Professor Williams.

Acta et Scripta quæ de controversiis Ecclesiæ Græcæ et Latine sæculo undecimo composita extant, . . . annotationibus instruxit, Dr. CORNELIUS WILL. 4to. Leipsic: N. G. Elwert. 1861.

DR. WILL truly says, that "since the church of Christ was founded, scarcely anything has occurred the gravity of whose consequences can be compared with that unhappy separation, by which in the eleventh century the Greek and Latin churches were altogether divided." He observes that the causes of this rupture, which was the result of many dissensions and divisions, are to be traced through several centuries; he has therefore, in an elaborate preface, recorded and explained these previous events, in accomplishing which task he has had recourse to the best authorities. The historical survey appears to be very complete, and extends over the entire period from the second century to the eleventh. The controversy respecting the time of keeping Easter, he regards as the first occurrence by which the harmony of the Greek and Latin churches was disturbed. For the narrative of the whole series we may refer to the work itself, which may be profitably consulted, if not invariably followed. This preface is succeeded by the "*Acta and Scripta*," which are very interesting. Some of them are in Greek, and others in Latin, the former being also translated into Latin. They all belong to the eleventh century, and, as authentic documents, form an important aid to the right understanding of the

circumstances by which they were originated. The editor has appended some useful notes, and pointed out frequent various readings, and has evidently endeavoured to give his work the character of completeness. We have pleasure in calling attention to it on various accounts, and especially because it was never really more important than now, that we should know what it was by which the crisis was hastened. As to the merits of the controversy which ended in so deplorable a schism, we pronounce no opinion.

The Gospel by Matthew. The common English Version and the received Greek Text. With a revised version, and critical and philological notes. Prepared for the American Bible Union. 4to. London: Trübner and Co. 1861.

THE American Bible Union is a Society, the object of which is to produce new or revised translations of Holy Scripture, and has already been at work for some years. Without a formal declaration of the fact, it is well known that this Society proceeds on the principle of adult baptism by immersion,—a circumstance which may have impeded its action, and limited its influence. Dr. Conant's work is accompanied by prolegomena, and an appendix. The Greek text is given, along with the authorized version and the new translation: copious notes are also added throughout the volume. The title-page intimates that it is the "received Greek text" which is here printed, but this statement needs some modification, inasmuch as the text has been frequently altered or amended on critical grounds, in which cases the readings of the received text are to be looked for in the margin. One feature of the revised translation is the absence of "italicised or supplemental words." Their omission is justified by the dilemma, "If such words are not necessary to express the sense of the original, then they have no business in the version, and should be expunged. If they are necessary, and the full sense of the original is not given without them, then they belong to the expression of the inspired thought; and to intimate the contrary, by italicizing them, is to make a false representation to the reader." This may be all very well as far as other books are concerned, but we are not prepared to admit it in the case of the Bible. We think there is a fallacy upon the face of it, because italics are not inserted to intimate that they do not belong to the expression of the inspired thought. They are inserted for two reasons; (1) to shew that in the judgment of the translator something must be added to complete the sense in the English idiom; and (2) to shew what the translator has deemed most appropriate for that purpose. Italics or words added to make up the sense of a translation, are often critical notes, and there may be considerable diversity of opinion as to what is actually required, and therefore such words ought to be indicated. Their being all put in the same type as the rest, may lead the common reader to base an interpretation on a mere gloss of the translator. On these grounds we demur altogether to Dr. Conant's rule.

We are equally opposed to the rule to translate all translatable words, because certain words have passed into ecclesiastical use, and require, not to be translated, but transferred. Take, for instance, the words, baptize, baptism, etc., about the *use* of which there is no dispute in the Churches, but about the English equivalents of which there is a decided difference of opinion. Dr. Conant cuts the knot at once, by rendering them "immerse," "immersion," etc., which we regard as a most unfair way of proceeding: it is both dogmatical and sectarian, as well as an innovation. If any rite in our religion has a proper name, it is baptism, and to call it immersion, is to give it a name which is new to our language. The etymology of the word has nothing to do with the question which a translator has to ask; his duty is to ascertain the use of words, and wherever a common term is adopted by Churches who yet differ as to its interpretation, that is the term which he ought to adopt. To be consistent, Dr. Conant should have said, "John the immerser," whereas he says, "John the Baptist;" he should ignore the term "baptist" as applied to his sect, and call them "immersers," or still better, "dippers," because "immerse" is not an English word, any more than "baptize." He ought to translate all such words as presbyter, deacon, eucharist, etc., and to expunge them from his vocabulary. But in truth, all this dogmatism is despicable, and savours more of quackery than good practice. If the Baptists have no better arguments for immersion than etymology supplies, why to etymology let them go, and let them be the slaves of the letter, while they cannot realize the spirit which giveth life. That Dr. Conant is inclined to view etymology, and the etymology of a word, as the stronghold of his system, may be fairly inferred from this volume, to which he has appended more than a hundred pages of extracts, etc., to prove that "baptism" is "immersion." We shall discuss no such question here, but intimate our conviction, that if the point were demonstrated with mathematical certainty, the mere threshold of the baptismal controversy would not be crossed. The dispute lies far beneath the primitive sense of the word "baptize," or the possibility of always translating it "immerse." However, even in his attempt to do this with his extracts, Dr. Conant strangely distorts not a few of them, as the reader who is curious to consult the book may soon see.

With regard to the translation, it is of unequal merit. The absence of italics is a real defect, and in not a few instances the renderings fall below the noble simplicity and force of the English version. In the teeth of his own law he retains some Greek words which might have been translated, as, *e. g.*, denary. Many other things we have to say about this version, but cannot now find space for them. We may, however, notice that some useful matter will be found in the notes, although they, like the translation, need to be read with caution. So far as the type and printing are concerned, the volume is all that can be desired, but we do not like its fundamental principles, and therefore cannot be expected to give unqualified assent to their exemplification. No words of ours can express too strongly our conviction that the

general public ought not to be appealed to as they have been in this case, to provide funds for a revised version which turns out to be an insidious and unlooked-for mode of sectarian propagandism.

Der biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Composition und Diaskeue des Pentateuch. Von Dr. J. POPPER. Leipsic : Hunger.

IN this work Dr. Popper has undertaken to oppose, and, if possible, instruct, two very different schools; first, the blind and rigid adherents of traditional views, who contradict and resist all modern free scientific criticism and investigation; and secondly, those of the new school, who have been rash or perverse in their conclusions. We have not had an opportunity of carefully examining this volume, but we have seen enough to convince us that its plan is comprehensive, and that the author has been at pains to arrive at true results. Whether we receive or whether we reject his opinions, the work is another proof that there are many questions respecting the Pentateuch which must be honestly and fearlessly investigated,—the book which Dr. Popper calls “this most venerable and yet most enigmatical of all the books of antiquity.”

Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus. Von Dr. MORITZ RAHMER. Part I. *Quæstiones in Genesin.* Breslau : Schletter.

THIS is a learned, curious, and interesting investigation, and one which cannot fail to attract some attention from those who wish to know the influence of Jewish literature upon the writings of Jerome. So far as we know, this is the first attempt to solve the problem, although the readers of Jerome must be aware that it often suggests itself, Who were the Jewish teachers of this father? were they still followers of Moses, or were they converts to the faith of Christ? Dr. Rahmer prefaces his examination of the “*Quæstiones in Genesin*,” with the enquiry who the Jewish teachers of Jerome were. There is much that is well deserving of attention in the pages before us.

Creation in Plan and in Progress : being an Essay on the First Chapter of Genesis. By the Rev. JAMES CHALLIS, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. Cambridge and London : Macmillan and Co. 1861.

PROFESSOR CHALLIS intimates that “this work was begun with the intention of answering the essay entitled ‘Mosaic Cosmogony’ in the volume of *Essays and Reviews*.” The author set out with a leading idea, viz., “that the creation, being a work, must have been, like every other work, designed as well as executed, and that this twofold view of it is in the Scriptures.” As it comes to us, the essay is in no proper sense a reply to Mr. Goodwin, but chiefly a development of the idea just referred to. It also serves two other purposes : first, to illus-

trate the author's views of the Septuagint, which he everywhere follows; and, secondly, to exhibit his peculiar principles of interpretation, which he designates "scriptural science." A few words only upon each of these points is all we can say.

The author divides the record of creation in Genesis into two parts; in the first of which he finds laid down the *plan*, and in the second, a record of the *execution* of that plan. The former of these comprehends the six days' work, which are viewed as a sketch or outline of what God designed to do; in other words, as the plan which existed in His mind prior to the actual creation. The latter consists of what is usually regarded as a summary or recapitulation of the foregoing narrative, but which our author believes to be the only proper history of the creation. This view is not wholly original. It was in principle started, if we mistake not, by a German scholar, and it has been propounded among ourselves by Hugh Miller, and more recently by Mr. Hughes, in No. 1 of *Tracts for Priests and People*. We shall not enter upon a formal refutation of it, but we will say that we reject it in common with all unhistorical theories of the first of Genesis. It owes its origin unmistakeably to the difficulty of reconciling this chapter with modern geology, but it seems to be rather an evasion than a solution of that difficulty. We abide by the historical character of the whole, and believe that on critical grounds no other view is possible.

With reference to the second characteristic of this work,—the use of the Septuagint, let us say that, while we honour and venerate that version, we wholly object to the view taken of it by our author, who says, "Probably because the language of the ancient Hebrew text became obscure by the lapse of time, it was provided, in the wisdom of God, that a *new form* of the Scriptures should be published in the Greek language, which appears to be peculiarly adapted for such a purpose. The Septuagint, the use of which was sanctioned by apostolic authority, cannot be regarded as a mere translation of the Hebrew, as is evident from the number and character of its deviations from the original. As far as I am able to judge, these deviations are made *scientifically*, and much scriptural science might be gathered from comparisons of the Hebrew with the Septuagint." This is going too far, for while we admit the value of this version as a version, we can never accept it as a revision of or substitute for the Hebrew text, and therefore of more than equal authority. To allow this, would be to predicate inspiration of its authors, and to exalt them practically above the Hebrew scribes. We also think Professor Challis has erred in making the Septuagint the basis of his criticisms, even where it deviates from the Hebrew.

As to the third point,—the scriptural science or principles of interpretation, we are equally far from accepting the author's views. He claims a double sense for all Scripture, as we understand him; a literal or exoteric sense, and a spiritual, figurative, mystical, or esoteric sense. This will never do; it is flat Swedenborgianism, and

would open the door to vagaries innumerable and perilous. The examples which are given are inconclusive and unsatisfactory; so much so, that we scarcely know which most to wonder at, the ingenuity or the error which they exemplify.

We have thus discharged our conscience in regard to a book which is by no means without merit and originality. It is written in an excellent spirit, and by one who is eminently endowed, and excellent in his vocation. The language is generally pure, and the argument, although sometimes involved and obscure, is on the whole well sustained. The endeavour to clear up a dark passage of Holy Writ is always commendable, especially when undertaken with reverence and zeal for God's truth. We have found in these pages much that is interesting, and some things which are suggestive and instructive, although, we admit, that in some places close attention is required. Professor Challis must not take it amiss if we do not endorse his theories, and go no further than earnestly recommending critical and discerning readers to investigate them.

Quatre Sermons Prêchés à Nîmes par T. COLANI. 12mo. 1861.
Paris: Treuttel and Wurtz.

THE author of these four sermons is well known in France as the advocate of what is termed the free theology, and he is characterized by learning, earnestness, and ability. He stands very high as a preacher in a country which has scarcely a Protestant orator of any note at the present time. The subjects of these sermons are,—Cornelius; David; Lost Sheep (Matt. ix. 37); and the Letter and the Spirit. Now, while we by no means agree with many of the author's opinions, we cannot close our eyes to the literary merits of these discourses, nor be blind to their many other excellencies. Those who cannot accept M. Colani's doctrinal creed, may yet profit not a little by a candid and careful perusal of these pages.

Jahrbücher der Biblischer wissenschaft. Von HEINRICH EWALD. 8vo.
Eleventh year, 1860-1861. Göttingen: Dieterich.

THIS work of the veteran Ewald deserves to be mentioned. It contains articles of interest on Hebrew philology and Biblical criticism, as well as a survey of many of the principal recent works on Biblical science, and some others. The author is so well known for his great critical and philological skill, that it is needless for us to mention them as a recommendation of the book before us. Nor need we say anything of the peculiar religious views of Dr. Ewald, as the book may be profitably consulted by those who do not agree with them.

Lectures on the Book of Revelation. By WILLIAM KELLY. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

THIS work consists of a series of lectures, and is characterized by

much care and reverence, and a desire to profit by all the warnings that the Apocalypse contains. In a brief notice like this it will be impossible to do justice to Mr. Kelly's exposition, and it will be better perhaps to examine carefully some small portions of it than to offer any judgment upon the whole. At the same time the principles of interpretation adopted by the author are plainly discoverable in separate portions of his work, and principles of interpretation are always of far greater importance than any particular application of them.

The Revelation seems just now to possess greater power of fascination than ever. This arises probably from the many and important changes that are taking place among the nations of Europe, and especially in Italy. All critical periods, all times of revolution, whether in Church or State, seem prefigured, if not even predicted, in the Revelation. Moreover the mere difficulty of the book is to many persons an attraction, and especially its allegorical character. With so many symbols and mystic numbers and names, those who love mystery are altogether at home; and in such a region an interpretation will often be regarded as probably the true one exactly, because it is unobvious, requiring very great ingenuity, and, in plain English, the very last a simple reader would have thought of.

Mr. Kelly considers that in the Revelation "the Lord Jesus is viewed not in his place of intimacy, as the only-begotten Son in the bosom of the Father, but in one of comparative distance. It is his revelation, but yet it is the revelation which *God gave* him. Something similar is that remarkable expression which has perplexed so many in the Gospel of Mark (chap. xiii. 32), 'But of that day and that hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.' He is the servant-Son of God all through that Gospel; and it is the perfection of a servant not to know what his lord doeth—to know, if we may so say, only what he is told. Here Christ receives a revelation from God; for, however exalted, it is the position he took as man which comes out conspicuously in the Revelation."

Mr. Kelly remarks that in like manner the Revelation is addressed to the *servants* of God, not to those who are no longer called servants, but friends. "The reason, I presume, is partly because God is there in making known a certain course of earthly events with which the lower position is most in harmony—the higher one of sons being more suitable to communion with the Father and with his Son—and partly because God seems to be here preparing the way for dealing with his people in the latter day, when their position as his *servants* will be more or less manifested, but not the enjoyment of nearness as *sons*. I allude to the interval after the removal of the Church."

Apart from any objections to the theory implied in the words "after the removal of the Church," we would compare the passages just quoted from Mr. Kelly with one or two of the articles of the Athanasian Creed: "The right faith is that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and man; who,

although he be God and man, yet he is not two, but one Christ; one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ." We are free to confess, in spite of all the hostile criticism to which this creed has been subjected, that it seems to us one of the very strongest bulwarks against heresy. Nor was there ever a time when the Christian Church was more in danger of those very heresies which are the denials of the truth affirmed in the Athanasian Creed than it is now. It seems to us, for instance, that the kind of distinction that Mr. Kelly makes between the humanity and the divinity in Christ is precisely equivalent to a denial that God and man are one Christ. The Incarnation has really no value for us if God and man are to be as separate afterwards as they seem to be before. If, for example, it be the humanity that suffers, what affirmation can that be of the sympathy of God? If, on the other hand, in Christ's temptations the endurance and triumph belong to the divinity, what comfort can that bring to us who have not this divinity wherewith to endure and conquer? To be really valuable to us the "humiliation" of Christ must be a revelation of God, and the "glorification" of Christ must be a revelation of man. In a single word, there is one Christ, there are not two Christs, one divine and the other human. The mystery of the Incarnation is far too deep for verbal expression, but it lies at the foundation of Christianity, both doctrinal and practical, and it is the one hope of the world.

We would also ask how far it is possible, without departing from the obvious method of the Scriptures, for a complete revelation of God to be followed by one that is very narrow and incomplete; how far it is possible to go back from Christ to the law, from Christianity to Judaism? When men have once been told that they are the sons of God, it never can be right for them to forget this, and voluntarily to assume the position of mere servants. So also when God has once been revealed to us as our Father, it is highly improbable, to say the least of it, that this revelation should be retracted or ignored. But in truth, to *separate* the Fatherhood of God from his Kingship or Judgeship is only one way of "dividing the substance of God;" and in like manner to separate the child and the servant in a man is to divide the substance of the man. Nor are these distinctions merely verbal. A man can do his duty in the world, not by regarding himself only as servant, but by entering into the full blessedness and liberty into which God has called him. Whether we be reading the Gospel according to St. John, or the Apocalypse, "we have received not the spirit of bondage again to fear, but the spirit of adoption, crying, Abba, Father." It seems to us then that Mr. Kelly's exposition begins with and depends upon a mutilation of the true doctrine of God, and of Christ, and of man. It is very probable that we may be, as we hope we are, mistaken. We by no means always understand what Mr. Kelly means, and we may say as a general rule that commentaries on the Apocalypse are immeasurably more difficult than the Apocalypse itself. So far,

however, as we understand Mr. Kelly, he represents the Apocalypse as a step backwards in divine revelations, as a return to an incomplete and indeed false view of God, which had already for a considerable time been superseded.

It is of course impossible that an interpretation of the Apocalypse should be unaffected by the opinion of the interpreter as to the functions and value of prophecy. We are very far from denying that the prophecies of holy Scripture contain simple predictions, but these predictions constitute neither the larger nor the more valuable part of the prophecies. They were meant far more for the people of the age in which they were uttered than for the people of any other age. Those prophecies suit other ages because history is continually repeating itself, because men are in all times tempted to forget God, to prefer power to righteousness. Indeed a great part of the books of the prophets is simply historical, and it is precisely because the history is so truthfully written, and with so clear an insight into the spiritual sources of national prosperity, and the true causes of national decay, that it has foretold the fate of so many modern peoples, and revealed the secret of their decline and fall. It might indeed be of service, though we cannot in the least see how, for those to whom the revelation was first sent, to be simply told that after many hundreds of years a despotism which had not yet arisen would fall. We do not see how this would have comforted them in their troubles arising from a totally different source. But to be told the fate of some cruel despotism with which they were themselves perfectly familiar, and from whose tyranny they themselves were suffering; to be warned of the different forms which this despotism might assume, and of the spiritual powers by which it would be supported, and to be comforted with the assurance that this despotism would be destroyed, and to be made to understand why it would be destroyed, this seems a benefit well worthy of the Spirit of God to bestow. This seems also in harmony with the method of the old prophecies, for they exhibit the future most commonly in the present or the past. That the dogs should lick the blood of Jezebel was a simple prediction of secondary and comparatively trifling value to us, but it is of the highest importance for everybody to know that cruelty and treachery are suicidal, and that every Jezebel, through the whole course of human history, is surrounding herself with enemies who, as soon as they dare, will be only too glad to fling her out to those who most bitterly hate her. It is the interpretation of history, not the bare foretelling of what will hereafter come to pass, which is the most valuable part of prophecy.

Mr. Kelly attaches very small importance to such considerations as these. He thinks it a form of egoism and unbelief to "suppose all blessing to depend upon the measure in which a subject bears immediately upon oneself or one's circumstances." Again he says, "It is the plainest evidence of the selfishness of our hearts which wants every word of God to be directly about ourselves, and not about Christ." This is unquestionably true, but does it follow that what is partly about

ourselves may not be also about Christ? The redemption of the world is the fullest manifestation to us of what God is, and it is at the same time the fact in which we are ourselves more deeply interested than in any other. It is worth noticing, also, that the Revelation is commended to its readers for those very reasons which seem to Mr. Kelly to be insignificant: "Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book, for the time is at hand." "Behold, I come quickly." "He which testifieth these things saith, Behold, I come quickly." "These sayings are faithful and true: and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly be done." Mr. Kelly, in common with many other interpreters of the Revelation, seems to forget that these words were written nearly two thousand years ago. Our author, as might be expected, adopts that view of the future relation of Israel to the Gentiles which we can scarcely help regarding as subversive of no small portion of the work of Christ. Explaining the words, "The seven spirits which are before his throne," he says, "The Holy Ghost is spoken of as the 'One Spirit' where it is a question of the one body, the Church, as in Eph. iv. 4. But here it is the 'seven spirits,' because when God has finished his great work in the Church, he will infallibly cut off the faithless Gentile, and will no longer gather Jews and Gentiles into one body upon the earth. On the contrary, Israel is to be put above the Gentiles." Surely, then, we are to understand that the passage referred to in Ephesians, "There is one body," is simply not true, yet it is obvious that St. Paul connects this fact, "There is one body," with certain other facts which must stand or fall along with it—the fact, for instance, that "There is one Spirit, and one Lord, and one God and Father of all." In a word, there is one body, because there is one head; there is one building, because there is only one foundation. The future supremacy of the Jews seems to us in the highest degree improbable; but any how, we should have thought that, apart from their national position, they must have formed with the other disciples of Christ one body—unless, indeed, St. Paul's question is to be answered in a very unexpected manner, and we are to learn that "Christ" is "divided." It does not, to the mind of Mr. Kelly, admit of a doubt that the "seven churches" were selected with the further and larger design of presenting successive pictures of the Church in general from the apostolic days to the close of its existence on earth. "On the other hand, it is clear that to have made this bearing so marked as to have been apparent from the first, to have given a distinct and chronological history, if one may so say, would have falsified the true posture of the Church in habitually waiting for ages upon the earth. The Lord knew that it would be so, of course, but he revealed nothing that would interfere with the full enjoyment of the blessed hope of the Lord's return as an immediate thing." We entirely believe, and amid the temptations to dogmatism and uncharitableness which are the bitter fruits of controversy, we ought very carefully to notice, that such a mode of dealing with the Church as this commends itself to the conscience of a really good man like

Mr. Kelly as both truthful and kind. Yet, without affecting any superiority of moral sensitiveness, it seems to us revolting. We cannot believe that Christ, knowing well for how many hundreds of years his second advent would be deferred, should have led his people to believe that he was coming quickly, and carefully avoided giving them any sort of information which might have helped them to escape this delusion. What seems to Mr. Kelly two thousand years of hope, seems to us two thousand years of disappointment. In a word, either Christ did come quickly, came, therefore, long ago, or the writer of the Apocalypse was mistaken; and it has been well remarked, that if the Apostles were mistaken on a matter which occupied so large a share of their attention, and which occurs so conspicuously in almost all their writings, it is hard to say in what they can be trusted.

The semi-prophetic interpretation of the epistles to the seven churches is every way too artificial. What Mr. Kelly says about Protestantism, namely, *that it is negative*, is unquestionably true. It prides itself upon its *denials*. So also, in far too gross a way, it transfers ecclesiastical power to the State. But though this, and much else, is well put by Mr. Kelly, it does not seem to us to have anything to do with the epistle to the church at Sardis, which he considers emblematical of the Church after the Reformation. "Remember, therefore," says Christ, "how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent." How would a Roman Catholic divine interpret this exhortation addressed by Christ to Protestantism? We are conscious of doing very scanty justice to this elaborate work, and even to that very small portion of it from which our quotations and illustrations have been taken. "In Philadelphia," says our author, "the first thing that strikes us is not what the Lord does or has, but what the Lord *is himself*. If there is anything that delivers from mere dogma, with all its chilling influences, it is, I apprehend, the person of the Lord." This is very true indeed, and a truth which we have great need to remember. A religion of mere dogmas would be scarcely better than idolatry, and would, indeed, be likely enough to lead to idolatry.

But we must conclude. We are very far from accepting Mr. Kelly's conclusions, but his exposition is undoubtedly careful and reverent, and full of suggestions, which do not lose their value because they have nothing whatever to do with the real meaning of the Apocalypse.

S. Bonaventuræ Opuscula duo, Breviloquium, et Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum. Edidit C. J. HEFELE. 16mo. Tübingen: Laupp. 1861.

JOHN DE FIDENZA, or, as he is commonly called, Saint Bonaventure, was born in Tuscany in 1221, according to one account, but according to another he was a native of the papal states. Dr. Hefele, in this very neat little edition of two of his works, gives a preface, containing a sketch of his life and character, as might be expected, rather highly coloured. The "*Breviloquium*" and the "*Itinerarium*," are, he says, worthy of all praise; the one, as a very famous example of the scho-

lastic, and the other, of the mystical theology. Gerson says of them, "Tanta sunt arte compendii divinitus composita, ut supra ipsa nihil." Baumgarten Crusius of Jena (ob. 1843) calls the *Breviloquium* "the best dogmatical work of the mediæval period." The editor has, in preparing this edition, had recourse to manuscripts and the best printed editions, and he has added notes and indexes. There is really very much that is pleasant and instructive in these quaint treatises, which represent the advanced views of six hundred years ago. The reader will meet with many things which will look like ingenious trifles, or serious errors, but he will nevertheless find no little that he may profit by. He may occasionally smile at the solutions of some mysteries, and even at the supposed mysteries themselves in some cases. The *Itinerarium* is the appropriate companion of the *Breviloquium*, and we recommend both for the information of all who want to know the better forms of the scholastic and mystical divinity of the thirteenth century.

Cohemoth, commonly called the Book of Ecclesiastes. Translated from the original Hebrew, with a commentary, historical and critical. By CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG. 8vo. London: Longman and Co. 1861.

FOUR years have elapsed since we called the attention of our readers to Mr. Ginsburg's *Song of Songs*, in some respects a similar work to this. The present volume is in every aspect an elaborate production, and the most important which has appeared for many years upon the Book of Ecclesiastes. The author, to habits of careful and patient investigation, adds a superior knowledge of the Hebrew language, and an unusual acquaintance with rabbinical literature. He has taken up, more or less fully, all the great questions arising out of this remarkable book, and if his solution of them all is not perfectly satisfactory, this is no matter for surprise. The introduction alone extends over 256 pages, and yet a fuller discussion of some points might have been undertaken. This introduction treats of the title and its signification, canonicity, design and method, importance, historical sketch of exegesis, author, date, and form of the book, and exegetical helps. The historical sketch occupies about 217 pages, and enumerates nearly all the authors who have written upon it in ancient and modern times, whether Jews or Christians. It constitutes perhaps the most complete outline of the bibliography of a sacred book with which we are acquainted, and very little can be added to it. The translation is accompanied with copious notes, and is followed by an interesting appendix on ancient versions, and versions by the Reformers. This account of ancient and modern translations, however, does not profess to include all; but it must be observed that the Chaldee paraphrase is given at length. Mr. Ginsburg also calls attention specially, and very properly, to the Syriac-Peschito, which he has collated with the Hebrew. He has, moreover, shewn that Coverdale was greatly indebted to the Zurich version.

Mr. Ginsburg does not think Solomon wrote *Coheleth*, but he admits its canonicity, while he ascribes its composition to the middle of the fourth century B.C. His principal argument against the Solomonic authorship, and for the recent date, is, we think, the character of the language in which it is written; but in this particular, as in some others, he has neither done justice to himself nor his subject. The design of the book he thus describes:—

“The design of this book, as has already been intimated, is to gather together the desponding people of God from the various expedencies to which they have resorted, in consequence of the inexplicable difficulties and perplexities in the moral government of God, into the community of the Lord, by shewing them the utter insufficiency of all human efforts to obtain real happiness, which cannot be secured by wisdom, pleasure, industry, wealth, etc., but consists in the calm enjoyment of life, in the resignation to the dealings of Providence, in the service of God, and in the belief in a future state of retribution, when all the mysteries in the present course of the world shall be solved.”

It may be well to give his summary of the contents of the book, which is as follows:—

“The book consists of a prologue, four sections, and an epilogue: the prologue and epilogue are distinguished by their beginning with the same phrase (i. 1; xii. 8), ending with two marked sentences (i. 11; xii. 14), and embodying the grand problem and solution proposed by *Coheleth*; whilst the four sections are indicated by the recurrence of the same formula, giving the result of each experiment or examination of particular efforts to obtain real happiness for the craving soul (ii. 26; v. 19; and viii. 15).

“The prologue (i. 2—11) gives the theme or problem of the disquisition. Assuming that there is no hereafter, that the longing soul is to be satisfied with the things here, *Coheleth* declares that all human efforts to this effect are utterly vain (2) and fruitless (3); that conscious man is more deplorable than unconscious nature: he must speedily quit this life, whilst the earth abides for ever (4); the objects of nature depart and retrace their course again, but man vanishes and is for ever forgotten (5—11).

“The first section (i. 11; ii. 26) records the failure of different experiments to satisfy the cravings of the soul with temporal things, thus corroborating the allegation in the prologue, and also shewing what their disappointment from this point of view led to. *Coheleth*, with all the resources of a monarch at his command (12), applied himself assiduously to discover, by the aid of wisdom, the nature of earthly pursuits (13), and found that they were all fruitless (14), since they could not rectify destinies (15). Reflecting, therefore, upon the large amount of wisdom he had acquired (16), he came to the conclusion that it is all useless (17), as the accumulation of it only increased his sorrow and pain (18). He then resolved to try pleasure, to see whether it would yield the desired happiness, but found that this too was vain (ii. 1), and hence denounced it (2); for, having procured every imaginable pleasure (3—10), he found that it was utterly insufficient to impart lasting good (11). Whereupon he compared wisdom with pleasure (12), and though he saw the former had a decided advantage over the latter (13, 14, a.), yet he also saw that it does not exempt its possessor from death and oblivion, but that the wise and the fool must both alike die and be forgotten (14, b.—16). This made him hate both life and the possessions which, though acquired by industry and wisdom, he must leave to another, who may be a reckless fool (17—21), convincing him that man has nothing from his toil but wearisome days and sleepless nights (22, 23); that there is, therefore, nothing left for man but to enjoy himself (24, a.); yet this, too, he found was not in the power of man, (24, b. 25), God gives this power to the righteous and withholds it from the wicked, and that it is, after all, transitory (26).

“The second section (iii. 1—v. 19).—Having shewn in the preceding section

that neither wisdom nor pleasure can ensure lasting good for man, *Coeleth* now shews that industry is also unable to secure it.

"All the events of life are permanently fixed (iii. 1—8), and hence the fruitlessness of human labour (9). God has indeed prescribed bounds to man's employment, in harmony with this fixed order of things, but man through his ignorance often mistakes it (10, 11), thus again shewing that there is nothing left for man but the enjoyment of the things of this world in his possession, being the gift of God to the righteous (12, 13). The cause of this immutable arrangement in the events of life is, that man may fear God, and feel that it is He who orders all things (14, 15). The apparent success of wickedness (16) does not militate against this conclusion, since there is a fixed day for righteous retribution (17); but even if, as is affirmed, all terminates here, and man and beast have the same destiny (18—21), this shews all the more clearly that there is nothing left for man but to enjoy life, since this is his only portion (22). The state of suffering (iv. 1), however, according to this view, becomes desperate, and death, and not to have been born at all, are preferable to life (2, 3). The exertions made, in spite of the prescribed order of things, either arise from jealousy (4), and fail in their end (5, 6), or are prompted by avarice (7, 8), and defeat themselves (9—16). Since all things are thus under the control of an Omnipotent God, we ought to serve him acceptably (17—v. 6), trust to his protection under oppression (7, 8), remember that the rich oppressor, after all, has not even the comfort of the poor labourer (9—11), and that he often brings misery upon his children and himself (12—16). These considerations, therefore, again shew that there is nothing left for man but to enjoy life the few years of his existence, being the gift of God (17—19).

"The third section (vi. 1—viii. 15).—Riches come now under review, and it, too, is shewn to be utterly unable to secure real happiness (vi. 1—9), since the rich man can neither overrule the order of Providence (10), nor know what will conduce to his well-being (11, 12). And lastly, prudence, or what is generally called common sense, is examined and shewn to be as unsatisfactory as all the preceding experiments. *Coeleth* thought that to live so as to leave a good name (vi. 1—4); to listen to merited rebuke (5—9); not to indulge in a repining spirit, but to submit to God's providence (10—14); to be temperate in religious matters (15—20); not to pry into everybody's opinions (21, 22)—lessons of prudence or common sense, higher wisdom being unattainable (23, 24); to submit to the powers that be, even under oppression, believing that the mightiest tyrant will ultimately be punished (viii. 1—9), and that, though righteous retribution is sometimes withheld (10), which, indeed, is the cause of increased wickedness (11), yet that God will eventually administer rewards and punishments (12, 13), that this would satisfy him during the few years of his life. But as this did not account for the melancholy fact that the fortunes of the righteous and the wicked are often reversed all their lifetime, this common sense view of life too proved vain (14); and *Coeleth* therefore recurs to his repeated conclusion, that there is nothing left for man but to enjoy the things of this life (15).

"The fourth section (viii. 15—xii. 7).—To shew more strikingly the force of his final conclusion, submitted at the end of this section, *Coeleth* gives first a *résumé* of the investigations contained in the preceding sections. Having found that it is impossible to fathom the work of God by wisdom (viii. 16, 17); that even the righteous and the wise are subject to this inscrutable Providence, just as the wicked (ix. 1, 2); that all must alike die and be forgotten (3—5), and that they have no more participation in what takes place here (6); that we are therefore to indulge in pleasures here while we can, since there is no hereafter (7—10); that success does not always attend the strong and the skilful (11, 12); and that wisdom, though decidedly advantageous in many respects, is often despised and counteracted by folly (13—x. 3); that we are to be patient under sufferings from rulers (4), who by virtue of their power frequently pervert the order of things (5—7), since violent opposition may only tend to increase our sufferings (8—11); that the exercise of prudence in the affairs of life will be more advantageous than folly (12—20); that we are to be charitable, though the recipients

of our benevolence appear ungrateful, since they may after all requite us (xi. 1, 2); that we are always to be at our work, and not be deterred by imaginary failures, since we know not which of our efforts may prove successful (3—6), and thus make life as agreeable as we can (7), for we must always bear in mind that this is the only scene of enjoyment; that the future is all vanity (8): but as this too did not satisfy the craving of the soul, Coheleth at last came to the conclusion, that enjoyment of this life, together with a belief in a future judgment, will secure real happiness for man (9, 10), and that we are therefore to live from our early youth in the fear of God and of a final judgment, when all that is perplexing now shall be rectified (xii. 1—7).

"The epilogue (xii. 8—12).—Thus all human efforts to obtain real happiness are vain (xii. 8); this is the experience of the wisest and most painstaking Coheleth (9, 10); the sacred writings alone are the way to it (11, 12); there is a righteous Judge, who marks, and will in the great day of judgment judge, everything we do; we must therefore fear him, and keep his commandments (13, 14)."

The translation is able, and the notes are full, but we have from time to time not felt justified in endorsing them. But we shall hope to return to the subject, and in the meantime strongly recommend this work to all who love free and independent criticism. It is a work which does honour to its author, and which will greatly conduce to a right understanding of this portion of holy writ.

The Works of Thomas Goodwin, D.D., some time President of Magdalen College, Oxford. Vol. II., Exposition of various passages of the Epistle to the Ephesians; and of James i. 1—5. Memoir by ROBERT HALLEY, D.D. 8vo. Edinburgh; James Nichol. 1861.

THIS is the second volume of Nichol's series of standard divines of the Puritan period, and is an extraordinary specimen of cheapness combined with accuracy. The memoir by Dr. Halley is well and carefully written, and is perhaps none the worse for the little "hero-worship" which it exemplifies, for we hold that the best biographies have been produced by the admirers of those whose actions they record. Dr. Halley is moreover a Nonconformist, and as such can thoroughly sympathize with Dr. Goodwin, who appears to have left his place at Oxford two years before the Act of Uniformity. A second memoir is given by Dr. Goodwin's son, and is a very interesting record of filial affection and respect. The expositions which follow upon parts of the Epistle to the Ephesians are in fact sermons, and although somewhat diffuse, and abounding in practical remarks, contain many critical observations. They deserve to be read by those who would know the Puritan theology in its best forms. The remarks upon the commencement of the Epistle of James are designed as a separate treatise upon "Patience and its perfect work." The volume as a whole is very interesting, and deserves to be extensively read.

Theophili Episcopi Antiocheni ad Autolycum Libri tres. Accedunt qui feruntur commentarii in quatuor Evangelia. J. C. T. OTTO. 8vo. Jena: Mauke. 1861.

THIS volume is one of the series of Christian apologists of the second

century, of which Justin, Tatian, and Athenagoras have before appeared, and which will be concluded with Hermias, Melito, etc. Dr. Otto has brought to his work unusual qualifications, and his previous publications have been so well received that any commendation of ours is unnecessary. Some time since, Mr. Flower gave us an English version of Theophilus, but acceptable as that work is, it does not supersede the original. We have that here carefully revised by the best MSS., accompanied by a Latin version and notes, introduced by valuable prolegomena, and followed by useful indexes. The remnants of the commentary upon the gospels are curious and interesting, although unhappily only extant in Latin, and of doubtful authenticity. There is also given a fragment of the Greek text of a commentary upon the Canticles, assigned to Theophilus by Eusebius, by whom it is quoted. No satisfactory account of the works of Theophilus is extant, but it is scarcely to be supposed that he wrote no more than the books to Autolytus. Dr. Otto has done well to include these fragments in his volume, that we may know what now remains under the name of Theophilus. We earnestly recommend the study of this venerable defender of Christianity, whose complete apology is most instructive and interesting, although it will not satisfy some who form their opinions of what such works ought to be, upon the plans and arguments of modern apologists. The author was a man of considerable attainments, and defended the faith when its defence required no small degree of moral courage.

The Seven Words spoken against the Lord Jesus ; or, an investigation of the motives which led his contemporaries to reject him : being the Hulsean Lectures for the year 1860. By JOHN LAMB, M.A. 8vo. Cambridge: Deighton Bell, and Co. 1861.

WE very much admire the honest, independent, and candid spirit of these lectures, which deserve a far more extended notice than we can give them. The work consists of seven separate lectures, and a conclusion, which in fact formed part of the first. It appears, moreover, that the fifth lecture was not actually delivered in public. The design of the author, as stated in the title, is to examine the various accusations which were brought against our Lord by the Jews, and upon which they based their rejection of him. The charges in question are seven, and are treated in the following order:—1st, this man blasphemeth; 2nd, this man is no Jew at heart; 3rd, this man keepeth not the sabbath-day; 4th and 5th, this man is no ascetic, and associates with sinners; 6th, this man is a traitor to Cæsar; 7th, this man's miracles are by the power of Satan. Under each head the occasions on which the several accusations were urged are examined, and the question is put as to who in our own day fall into the same errors. The following passages from the preface call attention to some of the peculiarities of the lectures, and to these only our present observations will be limited.

“ In endeavouring to investigate the motives which induced the opponents

of our Lord to act as they did, I have particularly avoided a method of looking at the subject which is not uncommon,—I mean, the method of regarding those who rejected and crucified the Lord as such monsters of iniquity as to make it unnecessary to suppose that they were influenced by the same motives and methods of reasoning as those which influence us, and are the springs of our daily action now. For if we explain all the wickedness of that period as a mental phenomenon, we not only miss all the lesson which is to be derived from a contemplation of the crime, but also very unnecessarily throw around the perpetrators of it a supernatural halo which prevents us from seeing them clearly.

“With reference to Lecture IV. and the conclusions there drawn about one of the great questions of the day—the Sabbath question—it is with regret that I have arrived at a conclusion from which I know many eminently good and devout men will differ. But the fact, that there have throughout the whole history of the Church always been numbers, also eminent in love to God and in holiness of living, whose views are those which I here advocate, prevents that sentiment of regret from assuming the force of an argument.

“With reference to another question of the day—the evidences of the Christian religion—which is touched upon in Lecture VII., I will merely remark here, that it is those only who think lightly on the subject, that will now, after the turn the discussion on the evidences has taken, repeat as though it were indisputable Paley’s axiom, ‘That we are unable to conceive of a revelation being made except by miracles.’ To others it is clear that this position is not merely untenable, but is one which is terribly convenient for our enemies.”

With regard to the view taken of the motives which influenced our Lord’s opponents, we have little to say; it is probably the true view, inasmuch as there is no reason to imagine the Jews of that day were worse than men who have lived since. The corruption of the heart has always been able to blind men’s eyes to the clearest evidence, and when this has been attended by religious prejudices, it has invariably led to the rejection of the truth. Zeal for traditional views, a dislike of innovation, and sectarian or party preferences, will always prevent men generally from perceiving and accepting what is right and good. What the Jews were in our Lord’s day was hardly an exceptional case, and we can imagine no age nor country in which he would have been universally received and honoured.

As to the second point—the Sabbath question—this is confessedly a difficult one, and we will endeavour to let the author speak for himself. He says that all disputes on the Sabbath question resolve themselves into this,—Whether Sabbath law belongs to the moral law or not; and it is his opinion that the fourth commandment was abolished in form under the Gospel, although the Lord’s day was substituted for it by apostolical authority. The Lord’s day is therefore to all intents and purposes a new institution; that this may be made clear we give his own words:—

“It remains then that we should now examine into the fourth commandment, to see what is really the spirit of it, which is to be observed; or, in other words, to discover what part of it belongs to the natural or moral law. Now I take it to be part of the moral law, that times, no less than places, should be consecrated to the God who made us; that any place, which God has sanctified by his particular presence, or time, which he has marked out by any extraordinary work, should be to men more holy than any other places or times. And if we ask in what sort of way a time thus sanctified to God should be spent, what should be the nature of the religious joy with which such festival times should be hallowed, we shall find no better answer than that supplied by the thoughtful and devout

Hooker, who writes: 'The most natural testimonies of our rejoicing in God, are first his praises set forth with cheerful alacrity of mind, secondly our comfort and delight expressed by a charitable largeness of somewhat more than common bounty, thirdly sequestration from ordinary labours, the toils and cares of which are not meet to be companions of such gladness. Festival solemnity, therefore, is nothing but the due mixture, as it were, of these three elements, Praise, Bounty, and Rest.' One more question upon this part of the subject: 'How often ought these holy days to occur?' 'Does natural law in any way mark out their frequency?' And here we must notice that a week is that natural division of time which is next greater than a day. I call it a natural division of time, because it is probably on account of its being roughly marked by the changes of the moon, that it has been found in existence as a division of time amongst nearly all nations on the face of the earth. If then certain days as they recur are to be kept holy to God, they must be taken weekly, monthly, or less often. Now I think natural law alone might teach us that once a month would not be often enough to turn aside from the busy and distracting hum of this world's business, in order to refresh ourselves by keeping high festival to God. That these festivals should occur at least once a week, seems then to be part of God's moral or natural law.

"If this then was the spirit of the law of the Sabbath which would be binding after the letter was abrogated by the death of Christ, it remained only for some properly constituted Christian authority to settle which day of the week should be the Christian festival. This appears to have been done by the Apostles, who naturally named the first day of the week as having been consecrated by the most marvellous and momentous of all the Lord's acts on earth. Now what I contend for here is, that this must not be looked upon as a changing of the day from the seventh to the first day of the week. It was the establishing of a new Christian festival, not the changing the day on which a carnal Jewish feast was kept. All the passages usually drawn from the New Testament to prove such a change, do really prove only, that the first day of the week was certainly observed as a Christian festival, which is not denied; and one of the passages, upon which much reliance is laid, really shews that the ideas of the Jewish Sabbath were by no means transferred from the seventh to the first day; for it tells us, that on this first day of the week S. Paul commenced a long journey on foot, and travelled certainly much more than a Sabbath day's journey. The testimony too of the whole of the early Church is against this idea of the days having been changed; and when a modern writer, in support of the idea, can find no better authority than a passage in the Homily 'de Semente,' bearing the name of Athanasius, where it is stated that 'the Lord transferred the Sabbath to the Lord's day;' and adds that, although this Homily was not really written by Athanasius, it is a proof of the opinions prevailing at the time it was written; it would really be quite sufficient to match so frail an argument with one of a similar nature on the other side, and appeal to the well-known interpolated passage in our own Cambridge manuscript, as a proof that the opinion of the next age was that the Lord had abrogated the Sabbath altogether. But we have very clear proof indeed that the early Fathers were most careful to distinguish between Sabbatising, and keeping the holy Christian festival of the Lord's day. So far from looking upon the Lord's day as the Jewish Sabbath, they did not look upon the Christian festival as even the perfect antitype of the Old Sabbath. They considered that the Jewish Sabbath obtained its real fulfilment in that perfect rest into which Christians enter in Christ. Thus, Justin Martyr, in the dialogue with Trypho the Jew, whom he has been supposing to reproach the Christians with not observing either holy days, or sabbaths, or circumcision, answers him thus: 'The new law intends you to keep a perpetual sabbath . . . If there is amongst you any perjurer, any thief, let him cease sinning; if there is any adulterer, let him repent, and he will have celebrated God's true and joyful Sabbath.' And Irenæus writes: 'The Sabbaths taught us that we should persevere every day in the service of God.' And Chrysostom: 'So we ought no longer to celebrate one day of the week only, since God commands us now to make but one single holy day of all our life, let us celebrate the feast.'

Jerome also: 'Lest irregular assemblies should diminish faith in Christ, certain days are fixed for meeting together. It is not that the day on which we meet is more worthy to be celebrated, but it is in order that whatever day may be chosen to assemble together, we may rejoice the more from seeing one another. But he who can more perfectly answer the question laid down, affirms that all days are alike.' Augustin, whose views upon some points approached very near to what Calvin afterwards propounded with all the fervour of a discoverer, seems plainly to have been of opinion that among all the ten commandments the fourth alone was to be observed figuratively. And in another place, he has written: 'When you ask why the Christian does not observe the rest of the Sabbath, if Christ came not to destroy the law but to fulfil it, I reply that the Christian observes it not, because Christ fulfilled what this figure announced. We have our Sabbath in him who has said, "Come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."'

"Let these quotations suffice to shew the opinion of the Early Church. And now if we turn to the period of the Reformation, we shall certainly find that, on this Sabbath question, the leading Reformers were most careful to avoid anything like Judaism. They, at least, did not consider the Lord's day to be the Jewish Sabbath in any shape whatever. Thus, Luther says: 'Now it has come to pass that all days are holy days, as Isaiah prophecies (lxvi. 23); and, on the other hand, all days are working days. Yet the rest is necessary, and was established by the Church for the sake of the laity, for the artisans and workmen, in order that they also might meet to hear the Word of God. . . . For the rest now is not necessary nor commanded except in order that the Word of God may be heard and preached:' and again: 'Keep the Sabbath holy, for its use both to body and soul; but if anywhere the day is made holy for the mere day's sake, then I order you,'—I do not quote his command as having any authority with us, but merely to shew his opinion,—'then I order you,' he says, 'to work on it, to ride on it, to dance on it, to feast on it, to do anything that shall remove this encroachment on the Christian spirit and liberty.' And Calvin, in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, when treating on the subject of the Sabbath, writes: "There can be no doubt that, on the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, the ceremonial part of the commandment was abolished. . . . Christians, therefore should have nothing to do with a superstitious observance of days.' It is want of time which compels me to produce the opinions of these two alone as specimens of the opinions of the leading Reformers. Let us turn to our own Church of England. Now on this point, as indeed on all others, her formularies and articles are singularly free from all Judaism. She retains the fourth commandment in her services, as implying that it has in it what is moral as well as what is ceremonial; and in the Catechism, where all the commandments are explained, this commandment is explained in exact accordance with those views of the Early Fathers, and of the Reformers which I have just quoted."

In reference to the third point—that of miracles—after speaking of ancient opposition to them, the author comes to later objections, which he says, "All, except one, have cut at the very root of the miracle itself; in either denying that a miracle is possible; or asserting that the evidence against one ever having been wrought is overwhelming; or explaining away the miraculous element so as to leave nothing but natural facts; or with more recent opponents, giving up the fact of the miracle altogether to accept only its emblematical teaching." He then explains the view of Schleiermacher, and the objections to which it is liable; after which he makes one or two concluding observations. This passage is as follows:—

"Thus the only modern view of the miracles which under this scheme we have to consider is that connected with the name of Schleiermacher. I will endeavour to state that view briefly and I hope fairly. It takes its rise thus.

If we once admit the fact of a miracle, there have been only three ways suggested of accounting for it:—(1) it may arise from a life in God and with God; or (2) it may arise from fellowship with demons; or (3) it may arise from powers acquired or inherent in the mind, and not therefore supernatural and only wonderful, in that they have not yet been discovered by science. The Jews, as we have seen, chose the second solution. The third is the one which we have now to consider, and which was put forth about forty years ago by Schleiermacher, as an answer to the difficulties suggested by those who attempted to prove the impossibility of a miracle. This theory then asserted that the miracles were only relatively miraculous,—that is, that they were only miraculous to those in whose sight they were wrought. It must be evident to every one that the whole force of the miracle is thus entirely done away. For thus every one who has penetrated into the secrets of nature a little deeper than those around him is a worker of miracles. It is plain that thus the miracle itself, and all the worth it has as an evidence, is really destroyed. It has been well said that 'if what is a miracle to-day will not be one to-morrow, it is not one to-day but only seems to be one.' A living writer of our own too has so admirably described the effects of this theory, that I cannot do better than use his own words: admit this explanation, and then, he says, 'the miracle has no longer an eternal significance: it is no longer a halo which is to surround the head of its worker for ever. With each enlargement of man's knowledge of nature a star in his crown of glory is extinguished, till at length it fades altogether into the light of common day; nay, rather declares that it was not more than a deceitful and meteor-fire at the best. For it implies a serious moral charge against the doer of the works, if he vents them as wonders, as acts of a higher power than nature's, or allows others so to receive them, when indeed he entirely knows that they are wrought but according to her ordinary laws. And that the moral character of our blessed Lord should thus in any way be assailed is by far the most important objection to this view of the miracles; for the other objection, that their worth as an evidence of Christianity would be destroyed, is not nearly so convincing to most minds; few, if any, actually holding their faith on the outward evidences, while the belief of thousands is really grounded, as indeed it ought to be, in love towards the personal character of Christ.'

"And this naturally brings us to the few remarks, with which I shall conclude this Lecture, on the real value of the miracle as an evidence.

"What does a miracle in itself signify? Does an undoubted miracle demand our unqualified assent to all the worker of that miracle tells us? The considerations that have gone before would seem to suggest that a miracle has not this indisputable force about it. But more than this. We are told distinctly that Antichrist will come with signs and lying wonders. Now have we any tests by which we may distinguish such false miracles from those that are truly wrought in God's name? I think we have. We may call to mind that our Lord, to shew that his miracles were of the right sort, appealed to two things—(1) the immediate end and object of the miracles themselves, and (2) the doctrine in support of which they were wrought. For we shall find that it is no arguing in a circle, although at first it appears so, to say that the doctrines prove the miracles, and the miracles prove the doctrine.

"1. First then as to the immediate end and aim of the miracle itself. The end and aim of all Christ's miracles was to redeem man from the curse, to rescue him from his bondage to disease and death, the servants of sin. And so his miracles were all directed against the chains which sin and Satan had woven around man. He thus destroyed disease, and baffled death himself, and resumed that hold over the powers of nature which man had forfeited. There was none of the aimlessness about his miracles that strikes us at once as the distinguishing mark of the miracles attributed to the Saints of the Romish Calendar. His miracles had always some good purpose for which they were wrought; and were never worked merely to be a sign or a wonder: these others certainly have not the merit, if they are not true, of having been invented with probability; for they are purposeless, boasting and trifling.

"2. Again, miracles are to be tried by the doctrine in support of which they

are wrought. Our Lord appealed to this proof that his miracles were of God. And this was an argument which the Jews would fully understand, for they had been told to prove the miracles by the doctrine. They had been given a test of this nature to discern true miracles by. They had been told that they were not to regard miracles if they were wrought by one who endeavoured to turn them away from the worship of the true God. And we have a somewhat similar test given us by our Lord himself. He has said 'that no man which shall do a miracle in his name will lightly speak evil of him.' Hence it follows that any one who speaks evil of Christ cannot perform a miracle in his name. So the Jews were to reject a miracle if wrought by one who tried to turn them away from the true God. And we are to reject a miracle if wrought by one who speaks against the Lord Jesus.

"Let us then, in order that we may acquire a frame of mind which will be proof against all the seductions of Antichrist, learn to regard the miracles of our blessed Lord aright. Let us not regard them as hard irresistible evidences of Christianity. The Lord himself never put them forth as such, never appealed to them as such. He appealed to them in connexion with their apparent immediate ends, and the doctrines which he preached; and from these two things we should never separate them. Let us regard them as proofs of his power indeed, but as natural rather than as supernatural proofs. For, on the other hand, could we have conceived it possible for the Lord of Nature, the Conqueror of Death, the Restorer of all things, to be revealed to man in human form, and yet at the same time to shew no sign of the power which was really his? Do we not feel that, in the manifestation of such a one, it was only natural that the deaf should be made to hear, the dumb to speak, the lame to walk; and that even the dead should come to life again in his presence, and that all nature should thus acknowledge him as King of Kings, and Lord of Lords?"

However we might feel disposed to hesitate respecting some of the expressions in this extract, we believe it to be substantially correct. Mr. Lamb does not undervalue miracles, nor does he deny them an evidential character; but he objects to their being separated either from the person or the doctrine, and therein he is to be commended. At the same time we do not yet feel called upon to admit that any real miracle either has been or can be effected by human or Satanic agency. Wonderful things have been done by false priests and false prophets, but we do not accept them as true miracles, we rather regard them as "lying wonders." A true miracle must involve an interference with or a suspension of the regular laws or course of nature; we are not prepared to admit that anything is a miracle which does not involve so much; and we cannot understand how the power this implies can reside in a mere creature. That prophets and apostles wrought miracles is no reply to this, because it was not "by their own power or holiness," but by the divine energy of which they were the vehicles or instruments only. Paley, who merely followed St. Augustine and Pascal, was not in every sense wrong when he said "That we are unable to conceive of a revelation being made except by miracles." That lucid writer surely does not mean to say that every fresh revelation must be accompanied by the miraculous healing of the sick, etc. This would be to place us in an awkward and unnecessary predicament. What he means seems to be that every divine revelation must be made in a miraculous manner. All miracles are not alike; some may be physical and others mental or spiritual. It is as much a miracle to predict future events which cannot be foreseen by human sagacity, as to raise the dead. In

other words, the inspiration of the prophets and apostles was as truly miraculous as any of those facts which we commonly call miracles. Now if Paley meant to say that every divine revelation was a miraculous event, we think he was correct. Of course we allude only to such revelations as were made by human instrumentality; and not to those wider revelations which are made by the divine works. This is equivalent to saying that we cannot conceive of a special divine revelation, or communication to man, which is not miraculous. If Paley meant this, we agree with him, even though the position be one "which is terribly convenient for our enemies." Probably Mr. Lamb will himself agree with us here, as we should agree with him if the question were merely of external physical miracles.

The author writes in an excellent spirit, and we earnestly commend his book as a praiseworthy endeavour to throw light on a series of curious and important problems. To shew that his tone is reverent and becoming, and remove all apprehensions from the minds of those who are afraid of such speculations as here are necessary, we cannot do better than quote the conclusion of the volume:—

"And here lies the application to ourselves of the lesson to be derived from the rejection of the Lord by his contemporaries. The last appeal which Christ's truth still makes is to the hearts and consciences of us all. Oh, doubt not that there is ever still a majesty about the truth, which forcibly demands the homage of those to whom it is addressed. There is still a pleading of his spirit with our spirits. We still feel, when in the presence of his truth, something of what his contemporaries felt, when in his living bodily presence. And it is the faith of the heart grounded on this feeling, which is the only safeguard against those doubts, which will at times assault us all. He whose faith is built upon intellectual conviction alone, must be swayed to and fro by every sceptical objection, which endeavours to shew to the intellect that the great truths of our religion are shadows and not realities; and he who holds his creed solely on the authority of others,—the authority of priests, or parents, or Bible,—must listen in alarm whenever that authority is questioned: but he whose convictions are based upon the striving of Christ's spirit with his own spirit, who holds the great doctrines of his creed, because they satisfy an inward longing, and chime in with the inward experience of his own heart, who feels their truth first, and because he feels it, knows it—he, and he alone, has his faith founded on a rock, which will stand firm amid all the assaults of scepticism.

"Oh, let us all then cultivate a devotion of the heart to Christ. Let us remember, that the road to knowledge lies through obedience, and that obedience is the firstfruit of a loving heart. Let us strive to bring our wills into submission to his will. Let our only object be in singleness of mind to live as he has told us we ought to live; and then we may assuredly hope that he will in his mercy give us, as he has promised, a knowledge of His truth here, and in the world to come life everlasting."

A Treatise of the Virtue of Humility; abridged from the Spanish of Rodriguez; for the use of persons living in the world. In Two Parts. Part I. Edited by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. 12mo. London: Joseph Masters. 1861.

THE editor says in his preliminary notice to this treatise, that the present edition "is printed from an English translation published at Rouen, A.D. 1631. It is considerably abridged, with a view to meet

the case of persons living in the world; and is to some extent modernized in language, to suit present modes of expression, without losing altogether the more forcible quaintness of the original." This curious reprint, albeit not claiming to belong to the domain of criticism, deserves to be mentioned, and is certainly calculated by its eminently practical form to furnish profitable reading amid severer studies. As the title says, it is meant for the use of "persons living in the world," and it is well fitted for the laity and the unlearned, but this is no reason why others should not read it with advantage. Apart from his own personal edification, the clergyman might draw from it a variety of appropriate and instructive suggestions on an important, if neglected, Christian virtue. This treatise, in its form, is strongly marked with some of the features of the Romish literature, as in the use made of the fathers, etc., but it is free from phraseology which would be objected to as pointing to Popish errors. We can therefore safely recommend it for private use, as a book written in a spirit of sound wisdom and piety. This first part is to be followed by a second, similar in form and extent. We sincerely thank Mr. Shipley for this useful reprint, and only wish he had told his readers more about the author and translator. The author we take to be Alfonso Rodriguez, of Valladolid, a famous Jesuit, who died at Seville in 1616. Let us add that this little work is a beautiful specimen of typography and on tinted paper.

Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy. By Rev. K. M. BANERJEA, Second Professor of Bishop's College, Calcutta. 8vo, pp. 550. London: Williams and Norgate.

In his prospectus the learned author of this work intimates that it contains a statement of the doctrines, and a refutation of the errors, of Nyaya Sankhya and Vedant, with allusions to their relation to Buddhism—numerous passages in support of the author's representations being adduced in the original, accompanied by translations from Sanscrit authorities, some of which were never printed before. The following are among the native authorities thus cited:—The Upanishads; the Bhagavad-gita; the Sutras of Gotama, Kanada, Kapila, Patanjali, and Vyasa; the commentaries of Sankaracharya, Vatsayana, Viswanatha, Udyotakara Misra, Vijnana Bhikshu, Sankara Misra, and Ramanuja; Vedanta sara, Sri Bhagavata, Ramayana, and some other Puranas; Vidwanmoda-tarangini, Tattwa muktavali, Bhasha-paricheda, Paribhasha, Tattwachintamani, Yoga vasista, Lalita vistara, etc., etc.

The fact is, that this is an attempt to describe or state the doctrines of the Hindu philosophers in their own words. But this is not all; it aims at setting forth the arguments by which that philosophy may be best confronted. In the accomplishment of these two objects, the author has made ample use of the abundant stores of Hindu literature, which he knows so well. He has endeavoured to write in a kind and impartial spirit, so as to give no needless offence, and yet so as not to compromise or keep back the doctrines of divine revelation. The fact

is, that every refutation of Hindu philosophy strikes at the root of the Hindu religions, and whatever tends to their overthrow, must, if it is to do any good in the world, be favourable to Christianity, and a commendation of it. We have read much of this remarkable work with great satisfaction, and we sincerely hope it may prove a blessing. It is one of those works which an oriental missionary cannot dispense with without culpable neglect, especially if he is only entering upon his work.

The Apocalypse fulfilled in the consummation of the Mosaic Economy and the coming of the Son of Man. An answer to the "Apocalyptic Sketches" and "The End," by Dr. Cumming. Third Edition. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1861.

No one who reads this book can hesitate to admit that it is a fearless, manly, and intelligent example of sacred criticism, by a gentleman as devout and spiritual, as accomplished, and as sincere, as Dr. Cumming or any of his followers. It is admitted that the sentimentalists of the prophetic school have grown unusually violent of late. But this confidence and stir prove them no nearer their goal than they have been for ages. They are the stormy petrels of the Church, who appear in times of unusual agitation and discussion, and disappear again with the return of fine weather. They are the bats and owls of the world, who come out fluttering and whooping whenever a cloud darkens the political horizon, and prospects in any direction are especially gloomy. They are no doubt very pious, good people, but they will remember that those who differ from them are possessors of equal advantages with themselves. It would be a curious work to construct a comparative table of millenarian theories, from the writer of the epistle of Barnabas down to the most recent. Or if this task should be too great for any one person, possibly we might get such a synopsis of the shades of millenarian views advocated from the beginning of this century. "The variations of millenarianism" might be a suitable title, and possibly even the parties most conversant with such things would be startled at their number and extent. We shall not now discuss Mr. Desprez's theory, as we think that will be done in our next number, but we earnestly recommend this well-written volume, if for no other purpose, yet to shew how utterly Dr. Cumming and his congeners have been put to the rout.

Bibliotheca Orientalis. Manuel de Bibliographie Orientale. Par J. M. ZENKER. 8vo. Vol. II. Leipsic: Engelmann. 1861.

DR. ZENKER published his first volume a few years since, and some of our readers will remember that for Arabic, Persian, and Turkish it was especially commended. This second volume contains (1) A Supplement to Vol. I; (2) The Literature of the Christian East; (3) Literature of India; (4) Literature of the Parsees; (5) Literature of Indo-China and Malasia; (6) Literature of China; (7) Literature of

Japan; (8) Mandchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan Literature; (9) Tables of authors, oriental titles, and editors. Our readers will perceive that this work covers an immense surface, and that when complete it will be of very great value indeed. A third volume, preparing for the press, is to contain works relative to the history, geography, philosophy, etc., of the East. If a fourth volume is added, it will contain a list of extracts and translations of oriental works. To ourselves, the most direct and positive value of the volume before us lies in the division marked No. 2 in the preceding summary. It contains seven lists of works, of which the first contains bibliography and literary history, and the remainder comprise lexicons, grammars, chrestomathies, Biblical versions, literary and miscellaneous. We refer to the fifth of these, and find lists of polyglott versions, and of versions in Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopic, Ambaric, Coptic, Armenian, and Georgic. If it is true, and it is true, that these lists do not contain all the printed editions, they nevertheless include by far the greater number, and will be of great service to all who have occasion to seek for such information. We have therefore much pleasure in calling attention to this valuable publication, which must have cost the editor an enormous amount of labour and research.

Jewish School and Family Bible. Vol. IV., containing the Hagiography. Newly translated under the supervision of the Rev. the Chief Rabbi of the united congregations of the British Empire. By Dr. A. BENISCH. A.M. 5621—1861. 8vo. London: Longmans.

WE are glad to record the completion of this excellent work, which the translator informs us has occupied him twelve years. We have carefully examined many parts of it, and it is due to Dr. Benisch to say that he has performed his task in a thoroughly scholarlike manner. The principles upon which he has proceeded appear to be sound, and it is impossible to deny that he has carried them out with great fairness and honesty. His aim was avowedly to execute "a translation of the Word of God, free from all un-Jewish preconception." This circumstance has perhaps modified his views occasionally, but it has not at all interfered with the general character of the work, which rests throughout on the basis of our Authorized Version, of which the phraseology has been extensively adopted. We shall return more fully to this important work.

INTELLIGENCE, BIBLICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

Biblical Manuscripts.—The library of Sion College, London, contains four Greek manuscripts, but we are not aware whether they have been collated. In case they have not, it may be as well to say what they are, as this notice may attract attention to them. The manuscripts are of a quarto size, and may be thus described.

1. *The four Gospels*, containing an inscription, "Quatuor Evangelia, mutila, maculata, Cod. Sec. xiv.;" to which some one has added in pencil, "G. Woide," probably because he wrote the inscription. A list of contents is given, from which it appears that the MS. contains "Matt. x. 18—fin.; Mark i. 15—fin.; Luc. i. 15—fin.; John i. 19—ix. 4." Another note says it was given by Mr. Edward Payne, whose autograph appears on the first page. The MS. is written in a beautiful cursive character, with outstanding capitals as in Codex A. and others, indicating that it was most likely copied from an ancient uncial. This is the more probable, as these capitals do not always begin a word; thus—

... τουτου του γενημα
Τος της αμπελου.

It is also to be noted that the smaller sections are without the subscribed references to the harmony; in other words, we have the Ammonian sections, and not the Eusebian canons. Some of the headings are written in red, and the capitals are splendidly gilt. Unfortunately the MS. has been irreparably injured, so that the upper part of almost every leaf is illegible. The beauty of its handwriting and other circumstances, lead to the suspicion that it is older than Woide supposed.

2. *An Evangelistarium*, cursive characters, double columns, not so elegantly written as No. 1. A leaf is supplied in paper. It is called a MS. of the eleventh century, and is not perfect.

3. *An Evangelistarium*, in several respects resembling No. 2, cursive characters, double columns, with outstanding capitals like those in No. 1, but in red ink. It is imperfect at the end, and a former possessor has inserted in the margins references to the places from which the texts are taken. The accents have been supplied in red ink.

4. *An Evangelistarium*, apparently two volumes in one, called a MS. of the eleventh century, contains some portions supplied by another hand. It has the accents and outstanding capitals in red ink. The characters are larger than in No. 3. Two columns to a page.

We have not minutely examined these manuscripts, but we shall be glad if any of our correspondents can tell us if they have been collated, more especially No. 1.

Diversity of Languages, and the Antiquity of Man.—At the meeting of the British Association, in Manchester, Mr. J. Craufurd read a paper on

"The Antiquity of Man from the evidence of Language." Upon this paper, *Evangelical Christendom* has some remarks from which we borrow the following,—

Mr. Craufurd pointed to the formation of language as one of the many facts which attested the high antiquity of man. Language, he said, was not innate, but adventitious—a mere acquirement, having its origin in the superiority of the human understanding. The prodigious number of languages was given as a proof that language was not innate, and their extraordinary differences were strongly insisted upon. With regard to language not being innate, that is not the question, for we all know perfectly well that a child brought up apart from other human beings would be a savage, and would have no perfect language. The question is, how long the race of men remained without language, and whence they obtained it? Plain Christians are satisfied with the Bible narrative, which records the fact that the first man was endowed, not only with intellect, but with the use of speech. Our philosophers, however, shut up the Bible, and try to discover the history of language in its present forms and modern changes. The phenomena have convinced some of them that "the first rudiments of language must have consisted of a few articulate sounds, in the attempts made by the speechless, but social savages, to make their wants and wishes known to each other; and from those first efforts, to the times in which language had attained the completeness which they found it to have reached among the rudest tribes ever known to us, *countless ages* must be presumed to have elapsed." What shall we say to this? Here is a gentleman who says *countless ages* MUST be presumed to have elapsed from the first introduction of language to its appearance in the rudest forms we know! All this is mere assertion, and does not weigh a feather; would, indeed, not be worth notice if it had not been propounded at Manchester the other day. We have written documents which we know were composed not less than 3,300 years ago, and as they represent not one of the rudest, but one of the most artificial forms of language, it is impossible to imagine how far back Mr. Craufurd would go to look for its first rudiments. The truth is, however, that he is no philologist, whatever he may think, and is in error on his fundamental theory. He looks upon language as a tree which springs from a small seed and gradually grows and extends, and becomes remarkable for symmetry and beauty. Facts are against this. Languages appear primarily not to have grown like a tree, but to have been cast like a statue. Of all languages which can be called primitive, this seems to have been the case. Like Mercury, whom the ancients fable to have sprung into the world full-grown, and fully armed, so language. It is impossible, of course, to say what language was spoken before the flood of Noah; some say Hebrew, but in truth no one knows. To appeal to the names of the antediluvians as Hebrew proves nothing, because they may be all translations. Our only safe starting-point for the history of languages is the plain of Shinar, just as our only safe starting-point for their origin is the garden of Eden. From Eden a voice comes which tells us that when God made man, he made him able to hold converse with his Maker; but Mr. Craufurd's school want us to believe that man existed for "countless

ages" before he could use his "tongue, the glory of his frame," in prayer and praise to God! We stand aghast at such profane trifling—science we will not call it. Again, a voice comes to us from Shinar, and tells us that, by an act of special intervention, God introduced diversities of speech. But the new philologist tells us that these diversities "imply a separate and distinct creation for each tongue." Now, which shall we listen to, the book or the man of science? They both profess to account for the origin and diversities of human speech; only the book was written 3,800 years ago, and the man of science lives now. The one was much nearer the events it records, the other believes that he has still greater advantages. Well, then, we abide by the book, and we will mention a reason or two why we do so: 1. As to the origin of language; it gives a far more rational account of the fact than is supplied by the theory of growth. 2. As to the diversities of language; it will be seen in Genesis that these were at first, probably, but few, and that they are accounted for by an adequate cause. All who believe in a personal God, as the ruler and director of the world, must believe in the possibility of a miracle; and all such must believe that the confusion, or rather the multiplication of languages, could have originated as reported by Moses. We do not mean that no languages have been formed since, but what we mean is, that they have been mainly fashioned out of existing materials, and have been more the modifications of language than positive additions to it. Take the English of the present day as an example, and after careful analysis you will scarcely find a new word in it. It has borrowed from half the languages under heaven, and it has now moulded and clothed with a Saxon uniform its noble array of foreign words. But it has created almost nothing. It has destroyed more than it has created. This destruction has been threefold at least—of grammatical inflexions, which become fewer and simpler; of words which have fallen out of use; and of idioms or peculiar combinations. The materials out of which our most admirable language is formed, are known to be older than the language itself. We can anatomize it, and refer its elements to their sources, just as an architect can say from what quarries the various marbles of a splendid palace have been brought. The same process is applicable to many other languages, to such an extent, that the best modern philologists trace them all to three or four sources. Such a fact is worth all the theories in the world, and furnishes a striking corroboration of the Biblical narrative. It is moreover, an incontrovertible proof of what we say, that languages are made, and do not grow.

With regard to the parent stocks from which derived languages have come, we said that they were cast like a statue, and did not grow like a tree. We cannot illustrate this at length, but we may mention a fact or two. One great fact is, that the most ancient languages are highly artificial and complicated; another is, that those very languages in course of time became more simple. The Hebrew is very ancient, but in the progress of ages it lost some of its finer and more delicate features. The Sanscrit is more artificial and minute in its details than its modern descendants. The Greek underwent a similar change, as it is shewn by its contractions, and the rejection of old forms. The English is less fur-

nished with grammatical inflexions than was either Norman French, or Anglo-Saxon. All the languages which come from the Latin abound in changes by which facility of utterance is purchased at the expense of old forms. Even the Latin itself, in its classical purity, is known to have undergone a like modification. In every case, the nearer we come to the source, the more perfect and minute is the organization. It will be seen at a glance how utterly this is opposed to the theory of growth and development, from the rude utterances of men but little better than brutes, to the elaborate systems and perfect structure of Sanscrit, Hebrew, or Greek. Equally plain it is, that facts rightly viewed are in harmony with the Bible, which represents languages as originally given by the will and act of God. We cannot stop to explain the bearing of all this upon the unity of the human race, and its common origin, as set forth in that same marvellous book.

Mr. Craufurd had it not all his own way. Mr. Gresswell placed the matter in its true light when he affirmed that, "instead of advancing, language had changed in the way of degradation." Dr. Hincks also pointed out the fact that all our inquiries tend to confirm the idea that the different languages had a common origin. Other speakers made additional remarks, and we hope proved that the views of Mr. Craufurd are untenable.

Syro-Egyptian Society, March 12th, 1861.—The Rev. B. H. Cowper read a Memoir on the goddess Nanæa (otherwise called Anais and Tanais) in the second book of Maccabees, one of the least known divinities worshipped in Asia.

After quoting the account given in 1 Maccabees xiii. of the destruction of Antiochus in the temple of Nanæa, Mr. Cowper said the temple appeared to be at Elymais (1 Macc. vi. 1, 2). In the Syriac version the goddess is called Nani; and Bar-Hebræus says Nani was the Venus of the Arabians, who had sixteen names for that goddess. In the Syriac apology of Melito of Sardis, of which translations have been printed by M. Renan, Mr. Cowper, and Mr. Cureton, in the order named, the same name occurs, although they all mistook it. M. Renan read it "Noe," Mr. Cureton "Nuh," and Mr. Cowper, following the vowels, "Hai." The passage should be really, "The Elamites worship Nani, daughter of the king of Elam. When his enemies took her captive, her father made to her an image and a temple in Shushan the palace, which is in Elam."

"Nanæa," Mr. Cowper then went on to say, is several times mentioned by Strabo, under the name of Anais. Thus (512) he says that the Persians erected a temple to the goddess Anais, to Omanes, and to Anadates at Zela, in Pontus. Again (532), that the Medes, and especially the Armenians, observed licentious rites in honour of Anais. Elsewhere (559) he speaks of Zela, near the mound of Semiramis, with a temple of Anais, whom the Armenians also worship. He also says (738) that in Cappadocia the Magi performed a religious service in the temple of Anais and Omanes, by chanting for about an hour before the perpetual fire. And once more (738), that there was a temple to Anais and Sadrakai near Arbela.

Plutarch, also, in the life of Artaxerxes, relates the consecration of Aspasia as a priestess of Artemis at Ecbatana, adding that Artemis, or Diana, was called Anais, and that Aspasia was doomed to a life of virginity. The worship of Anais is mentioned by Agathias (book ii.), and by Pausanias in his *Laconica*, where he tells us she was worshipped in Lydia (?). Pliny also speaks of a temple of Anais, which was destroyed in the Parthian wars of Antony. He does not say where the temple was, but from his allusions to the Anaitic lake, and a province of the same name on the upper Euphrates in Armenia, it was probably there. (Comp. book v. 24; xvi. 36; and xxxiii. 4.)

With regard to *Tanaïs*, I only find this name in Clemens Alexandrinus, who, in his *Protreptic*, says that Artaxerxes first set up statues to the Venus Tanaïs at Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana, and introduced her worship in Persia and Bactria, at Damascus and Sardis. The statement of Plutarch leaves little doubt that Anais and Tanaïs are the same. Probably also Nænia whom Arnobius (iv. 7) calls the protector of persons about to die, was the same. It is also very likely that Mannia, mentioned by Augustine (*De civ. Dei*, iv. 7) was the same deity. My conjecture is confirmed by a passage in Dio Cassius (lib. 36), where the movements of Pompey and of Mithridates in Armenia are described. There we read of *Manaitis*, a district of Armenia, consecrated to a certain god of that name. The god of that name would be Manais. That the word *Theos* (God) is used need excite no surprise, since it often meant simply divinity or deity, as in Lucian's well-known treatise on the Syrian *God*, who was a goddess. Dio further on speaks of the region Tanaitis, which may be the same as Manaitis and Anaitis.

From the description of the worship of Mylitta, given by Herodotus (i. 199) it is almost certain that she also was the same as Anais or Nanæa. Elsewhere (i. 181) he gives us the important information that the Assyrians called Venus Mylitta, the Arabs Alitta, and the Persians Mitra. Now Mithras, or Methres, was Helios, or the Sun, and this confirms the view of some, that Mitra, Anais, or Nanæa, was the Moon or Diana. Whether such names as Mithridates and Mitrobates have anything to do with it is only probable.

In the new publication of M. Joachim Menant on Assyrian proper names, there are some which seem to belong to this divinity; and others which appear to belong to the male counterpart, who may have been Omanes, etc., as Nanæa was Anait, etc.

We have evidence that about A.D. 100, this goddess was worshipped as Nanæa. A coin of Kaderkes bears a figure of Nanæa, with the name in Greek letters. It was discovered by General Court, at Manikyala, in Lahore, along with another, having upon it the figure of the sun, and the word *Helios*. Helios has about his head a circle with rays, and Nanæa a plain crescent, again supporting the opinion that the moon was intended. It is supposed that Omanes, so often associated with Anais, was the sun-God.

The figure is a female, with an abundant head of hair, fastened at the back of the neck by two bands, which are allowed to fall like ribbons over the shoulders. Crossing the neck is a large crescent, nearly encir-

clinging the head, and the points meeting above. The arms and bust are dressed in a closely fitted garment, and the remainder of the person is draped in a long, loose robe, reaching to the feet, which appear. In the right hand she holds a forked sceptre, and before her stands a figure, which Dr. Moore calls a monogram, containing the name of Godama, but which is certainly no such thing. It is a species of fire altar, with a turreted top and feet (of which two are represented) curving inwards. And let me here remark, that this very object reminds us forcibly of others found in Assyria, and known to have some connexion with the worship of Venus (see *e.g.*, Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii., 467).

It would, Mr. Cowper remarked, have carried him too far to consider the relations of Nanæa with Astarte or Ashtaroth, and Baltis, the female (Baal or) Bel.

This is all the information I have been able to obtain on the subject. The rabbins give a word Nani, which they say is Persian, and means father. If so, Nanæa may also be Persian, and may signify mother; in which case it would at once be identified with Mitra and Mylitta, which are known to have the same meaning. However, I leave this inquiry to others, simply observing that this view of the matter is in favour of those who take Anais or Nanæa to be Venus.

The facts which have been adduced prove that the worship of this goddess extended from Lydia to Lahore, and from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf. Possibly some light will be derived from the Assyrian inscriptions, and in all probability the small figures of the Assyrian Venus, as they are called, may represent Nanæa.

I will not attempt to reconcile the claims of Diana and of Venus, because it is well known that on such matters ancient practice and ancient opinion are very uncertain and contradictory.

I think, however, I have quoted enough to shew that Anais was the same as Nanæa, and that therefore Nanæa is a legitimate form of the word, and not corrupt, as Bochart and others have conjectured.

The recent opinion of Dr. Moore (*Lost Tribes*, p. 294-5) that Nanæa is Hebrew for Nanajah, "the offspring of God," and a name of Godama, is equally inconsistent with Hebrew, and with the fact that Nanæa was not a god, but a goddess.*

* Dionys. *Periegesis*, 750, says the Sacæ bowmen, live upon the Jaxartes, east of the Caspian.

Ibid., 660, Tanais, a river, falls into Mæotis, north of Euxine, and regarded as the boundary of Europe and Asia (*Ibid.*, 14).

Selden says, Anais or Anaitis was called Zares or Zaretis.

Strabo says that Cyrus instituted once a year the festival *τα σακαία*, or the Sacæan days, which, according to Athenæus, after Berosus, were celebrated for five days in Lois, 16—20 (August), and resembled the Saturnalia for license and misrule. A lord of misrule was appointed, under the name of "Zoganes" (Chal. Segan, a prefect), and the common opinion seems to have been that the ceremonial originated in a victory over the Sacæ by Croesus of Lydia (Cir. 550 B.C.).

See Prinsep's *Indian Antig.*, by Thomas, vol., i., 131—133.

Mr. Masson says there are numerous shrines throughout that country, known to the Mahomedans as the Ziarats of *Bibi Nani*. The Hindhus also resort to these, claiming the lady as one of the numerous forms of the goddess Parvati.

Mr. Bonomi exhibited the drawing of an Egyptian tablet, on which a goddess was represented, with the name of Anta or Anais.

Mr. Ainsworth communicated a note upon the identification of the ruins called Masjidi Sulaiman Kutchuk, or "Little Mosque of Solomon," on the Plain of Baitawand, in Luristan, with the temple of Nanæa, where Antiochus the Great lost his life, and of the ruin known as Masjidi Sulaiman Buzurk, or the "Greater Mosque of Solomon," on the Karun or Eulæus, and close by ancient Shushan or Elymais, with the temple sought to be spoiled by Antiochus Epiphanes, and which was also the Templum Dianæ of Pliny. Tabæ, whither Antiochus retreated, being also the modern Tab, according to Sir Henry Rawlinson.

Mr. Ainsworth believed with Calmet, that the Persepolis alluded to in 2 Macc. ix. 2, was Shushan or Elymais, and the Ecbatana alluded to in ix. 3, a treasure city or stronghold in Elymais; almost every region having its own, as the Babylonian Ecbatana (Kirkuk); the Persian, Hamadan; the Assyrian, Amadiyah; the Median, Tacht-i-Sulaiman; and the Syrian, at Mount Carmel.

The temple of Diana, plundered by Mithridates, and called by Strabo, Azara, from Azar-gah, "a fire-temple," was probably at Manjanik, in the same neighbourhood, where is a great Babylonian mound, with traditions of Nimrod and Abraham, and Selencia, on the Hedyphon or Hedypnus, was also the same city on what is now called the Ab-i-Zard.

Mr. Ainsworth next alluded to Gregory the Illuminator having founded the Armenian Patriarchal Church of Êtchmiadzin, upon the site of a temple of Artemid or Anahid; and to the existence of fragments of two statues, with an inscription, at the church of Taman, in the straits of Kertch, or the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which statues the inscription records to have been raised by Komosange, wife of Pairisades I. (of the Pharnagorian dynasty) to Ânerghe or Anahid, and to Astara or Ashteroth. This Ânerghe, according to some distinguished archæologists, as M. Quatremère, Ritter, and De Montpereux, was also the personification of "Sacred Fire," Ner or Nur, being the Cuthean root among the Medes and Persians for "fire."

The Codex Sinaiticus of St. Petersburg.—The following circular has been issued by the Publishers of this Journal:—It is well known that it was the intention of the Russian Government to print, for presentation to the Crowned Heads of Europe, a splendid edition of the Codex Sinaiticus, recently brought from the East by Professor Tischendorf, and now deposited in the Imperial Library of Petersburg. It has been determined that this edition shall consist of four folio volumes, somewhat resembling

Col. Wilford, see *Asiat. Res.*, vol. iii., p. 297 and 434.

Cf. Persian *Anahid*. Hindhus, even in modern time, pay their devotions at the temple of Anais, with its burning spring (naptha), near Kerkuk, east of the Tigris.

The supposed Babylonian Ecbatana.

M. Guigniaut, *Religions de l'Antiquité du Creuzer*, vol. ii., 731.

Nanaia also occurs in form Nanao, and Sanscrit *Anayasa-devi*.

The corresponding coin has upon it a male figure, with varying inscriptions, Mithra, etc.

in form and type Baber's Edition of Codex A. printed for the trustees of the British Museum, and shall in every respect be a magnificent specimen of typography. The discoverer and editor, Dr. Tischendorf, will receive by way of honorarium a small number of copies of this edition, of which it is his intention to dispose of ten copies, and these will be the only copies that can ever be purchased. Being by him informed of this circumstance, we have secured these copies for this country, and herewith offer them for sale on the following conditions:—The price for each copy has been by the editor limited to £25, and in accordance with an agreement with the Imperial Government, he is prohibited from making any public announcement or in any manner publishing the same. The copies can only be offered privately and to subscribers. The printing will be completed in August, 1862, when it will be presented to the Emperor on the occasion of the Russian Jubilee, and in September, 1862, the copies will be delivered to our subscribers.

Ancient Biblical MS.—Messrs. Trübner and Co. announce for publication, in large folio, the *fac-similes* of certain portions of the Gospel of St. Matthew and of the Epistles of SS. James and Jude, written on papyrus in the first century, and preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Joseph Mayer, Esq., Liverpool, with a portrait of St. Matthew, from a fresco painting at Mount Athos. It will be edited and illustrated with notes and historical and literary prolegomena, in English, containing confirmatory *fac-similes* of the same portions of Holy Scripture from papyrus and parchment MSS. in the monasteries of Mount Athos, of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, of St. Sabba in Palestine, and other sources, by the discoverer, Dr. C. Simonides. [A Biblical MS. of the first century would be something wonderful, and we do not expect to live to see one.]

Isaiah's Prophetic mention of the name of Cyrus.—Isaiah, who expressly mentions Cyrus by name, nowhere calls him a Persian; indeed he does not once introduce the word "Persian" into his predictions. It is true that formerly it was the general opinion of commentators that Elam was the appellation given to Persia in the Hebrew scriptures until the time of Daniel. Accordingly, when the Hebrew seer said—"Go up, O Elam; besiege, O Media" (Isa. xxi. 2)—they understood him as saying, "Go up, O Persia, besiege," etc. But the disciphering of the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions by Sir H. Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks has proved this notion to be altogether erroneous. Elam was a separate nation, as distinct from Persia as from Media or Armenia. Hence it is plain, that Persia is not even once mentioned by name, either by Isaiah or Jeremiah. Perhaps Mr. Jowett may think that as Isaiah is the only one of the two who names Cyrus, it may probably be inferred that he is therefore to be regarded as having written after Jeremiah.

Yet is it not very strange and unaccountable, the reader may ask, that these two Hebrew prophets should so thoroughly have ignored the Persian name? What should we have thought if Herodotus had done so? We may reply, that it is only doing bare justice to Isaiah and Jeremiah to believe, that if they, like Herodotus, had been merely historians for the

past, they would have been as little likely as the venerable father of history himself, to have been guilty of such an extraordinary omission. And were we for a moment to suppose that the prophetic announcements of these two seers were really forged after the fall of Babylon, their ignoring the existence of the Persian name would be altogether inexplicable.

Perhaps the following observations by the pious and able Auberlen, in his work upon Daniel in the Apocalypse, may assist us in the difficulty:—

“It is worthy of remark, that we do not find Syria and the individual kingdoms mentioned by name (in Daniel) any more than Rome. *As yet these kingdoms lay quite BEYOND THE HISTORICAL HORIZON OF DANIEL*; the angel, therefore, could not designate them by their names. Rome was separated from Daniel by space (its site was far distant towards the western coast of Italy); an independent Syrian kingdom, by time. (Seleucus did not become an independent sovereign until some two centuries and a half after Daniel). Syria, already conquered by the Assyrians, belonged afterwards as a province to the kingdoms of Babylon, Persia, and Greece successively, and was a very unimportant country in the time of Daniel. The angel designated the Syrian kings by the general appellation of the kings of the north. If the book of Daniel had been written so late as the time of the Maccabees, it would be difficult to assign a reason why Syria is not mentioned by name as well as Greece (Javan); nay, it might be expected that Syria should be mentioned even though Greece was not. This circumstance must be regarded as one of those minute and fine features which, because of their very insignificance and *secondary position*, are, to the unprejudiced student, the most eloquent^b witness for the antiquity and authenticity of a book.”—Auberlen's *Daniel*, p. 59.

Now the Persians entered the domain of history with their illustrious leader Cyrus; nor is there any reason for supposing that their name had previously been heard at Babylon or Jerusalem. Herodotus does not bring them before us as a nation, until he has to record the career of Cyrus, though he had before spoken of them as one of the barbarous tribes subdued by the Median Phraortes, the father of Cyaxares. In fact, if we follow the chronology of Herodotus, we shall conclude that Persia continued to be a comparatively obscure province of Media, until circa B.C. 560. Hence, even so late as circa 595 B.C., when Jeremiah foretold the doom of Babylon, the Persian name was still below the historical horizon of the prophet, and remained as strange and unfamiliar to the Jewish ear, as it had been more than two centuries before, in the days of Isaiah. The name of Cyrus was revealed to the latter through the divine prescience of Him who knows the end from the beginning, and Jeremiah was subsequently moved by the spirit of prophecy to speak of the advance against the guilty city of the Medes, with their confederates of Ararat, Minni, and Aschenaz (Jer. li. 27); but the curtain of the future was not yet so far drawn aside as to reveal the name of the Persian nation.

When did the Persian name first appear in the Hebrew Scriptures? In the interpretation (Dan. viii. 20) given by the heavenly messenger to Daniel of the vision of the ram and the he-goat; whence we may not unreasonably conclude that the Persians had only recently conquered Astyages and the Medes, when they thus first appeared above the political and historical horizon in the Jewish Scriptures. It is very plain, from the contents of the chapter in question, that neither Elam nor Babylon had yet come

^b Auberlen's test would seem to be especially applicable in examining the claims of prophetic documents to be received as such.

under the Persian supremacy. It was, however, necessary that Elam should be separated from Chaldea, and become confederate with Cyrus and his Medes and Persians, before the fall of Belshazzar, in order that the Elamites might form a part of the besieging host, according to the prophetic injunction—"Go up, O Elam (against Babylon); besiege, O Media."

Now when we consider the striking omission of all mention of the Persian name in the professedly prophetic books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and notice the familiar mention of that name in the historical records of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, it seems rather impossible than improbable that any forger of imaginary predictions of the fall of Babylon (whether subtle or unskilful) should, while speaking of Medes and Elamites, of the men of Ararat and Minni, neglect to assign, in the most express terms, a prominent position among the invading nations to the Persians. Grant that Isaiah and Jeremiah were really what they professed to be, and what Jews and Christians have alike believed them to be,—prophets inspired by the Most High God, who knoweth the end from the beginning,—and who, under such inspiration, delivered genuine prophetic documents in the Hebrew language to the Jewish nation; and that which is otherwise perplexing and unaccountable, becomes at once comparatively simple and clear.—*Christian Observer*.

The Book of Kells.—In his report of the visit of Her Majesty and the Prince Consort to Ireland, the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* says, (Aug. 24, 1861):—"I presume there are very few of your readers that have not heard of the magnificence of the College Library in Dublin. The noble room (along the sides of which, in compartments, the bookshelves are ranged) is about three hundred feet long, the fittings throughout of oak, which has now become blackened with age. Last year a very important improvement was made in the construction of a new roof, which was formerly flat, but has now been considerably heightened by the substitution of an arched roof, entirely panelled with wood, which is very striking and unusual in appearance, while it gives great loftiness to the library, and at the same time has admitted of a new series of shelves being constructed along a gallery, by which means the accommodation for books has been doubled. When the Queen first visited Ireland, in 1849, she spent a considerable time in this library. The treasures of the College are well known in the literary world, and therefore it is unnecessary to allude to the priceless MSS. which are committed to the guardianship of Dr. Todd. Of one book I may speak, both on account of its great antiquity and value, and also because upon a fly-leaf specially introduced, facing the title-page, it now bears the signatures:—

"Victoria R., August 7, 1849.

Albert, August 7, 1849."

"The Prince Consort had yesterday another opportunity of renewing his acquaintance with this volume. It is known as the *Book of Kells*, and is a MS. of the Four Gospels, which anciently belonged to the Columban Monastery of Kells, in the county of Meath. It was written in the sixth century, and, therefore, is now 1,200 years old. Like St.

Chad's *Gospels* preserved at Lichfield Cathedral, so the *Book of Kells* is transcribed in large characters, that for beauty and sharpness of finish would rival the most perfect specimens of printing. No MSS. in their lettering can exceed the elaborate and artistic finish of the *Book of Kells*, which has this superiority over the Lichfield treasure, that while the lettering is similar, the Dublin volume is far more illuminated and ornamented. Its history is somewhat singular. It is alluded to in the eleventh century, and was in ancient times preserved in a massive silver case. The book was stolen for the sake of the case, and the metal being secured, the precious, but unvalued work, was thrown away into an Irish bog, where it was discovered. When the days came when the Iconoclasts despoiled and destroyed so many of the treasures of the churches, it is supposed that Archbishop Usher, well acquainted with the value of this book, took measures to become possessed of it, and added it to his library. During the Commonwealth the library was seized as belonging to a man unpossessed of that Puritanical inflatus which expressed the convictions of the heart through the snuffle of the nose. At the Restoration the library was at the disposal of Charles II., and he conceived it could have no better resting-place than in the University of Dublin. It was presented by the King, and in this manner the *Book of Kells* having escaped destruction at the hands of robbers at one time, and Puritans at another, now reposes safely on the shelves of the Great Library of Trinity College, and bears on its first page the autograph of Her Majesty."^e

The Falashas or Jews of Abyssinia.—Under this title the *San Francisco Gleaner* had the following article, which, we believe, was copied from Bishop Gobat's work on Abyssinia. Let it be borne in mind that all the recent information on the Falashas which we possess proceeds from missionaries full of prejudices against Jews. Their communications, therefore, must be received with due caution. "Besides the two principal sects of which I have spoken, there is also a small body of Falashas or Jews. Very little, however, is known of them. They live in a manner so retired, and have so little intercourse with those who profess Christianity, that neither their religious dogmas nor their social customs are well understood by the latter. They occupy but a small portion of the Abyssinian territory, residing chiefly in the neighbourhood of Gondar and Shelgo, and in a narrow district to the north-west of Lake Tsama. I have made efforts to gain information of their condition and character, but with little success; having learned decidedly but one thing, and that is, that as a race, they are far more ignorant and besotted than the generality of Christians in the country. Whenever I have proposed to them any questions concerning their history, present condition, or doctrinal belief, they have invariably referred me to their learned men. They know not to what tribe they belong, and have no correct idea of the time when

^e The writer ought not to accuse the Puritans of a want of respect for Biblical MSS. They gave us our great *Polyglott*, and many other noble works. Their seizure of the College library had nothing to do with "snuffles at the nose," and it does not appear to have resulted in any harm to the books. Let us do justice even to the Puritans.

their fathers first settled in Abyssinia. Some suppose that they emigrated hither with Memlee, the son of Solomon, and the Queen of Sheba; others maintain that they were not established in the country until after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. The truth is, the whole subject is shrouded in the twilight of antiquity. Scarcely a wandering ray illumines the scene, unless the numerous fables or legends concerning the Queen of Sheba, which have floated down the current of tradition, and which are now eagerly propagated and treasured up, may be supposed to shed a feeble light. But even these traditions are too ridiculous to secure rational confidence; and although they are received with the same deference by the Christian as by the Jew, they are really unworthy of the least regard. The Falashas, in general, entertain the superstitions of the Christians around them, though such as are slightly tinged and moulded by the Jewish religion. They have some lingering notions of the promised Messiah; but I could never perceive that the idea awakened in their minds any strong or lively interest; and when I have questioned them in regard to his coming, they have replied with indifference, that He would probably appear in the character of a conqueror by the name of Theodorus, whose advent was supposed to be near; and which the Christians were not less anticipating than themselves. But when it comes, whether he will be a Christian or a Jew, is a point about which the poor Falashas have formed no definite opinion, though in regard to the person of Jesus Christ, they indulge the same intense hatred which is felt by the Jews in every land.

"In their intercourse among themselves, they use an idiom which is equally unlike the Hebrew and Ethiopic; though most of them, with the exception perhaps of a few females, are able to speak the language of Amhara with more or less ease and accuracy. I have never been able to find but a single book among them, written in their peculiar dialect; and this, as they told me, was a collection of prayers. Their ignorance is extreme; but deep and dark as it is, it cannot much surprise us, since they have no other books, excepting those written in the Ethiopic language—a language with which they are so little acquainted, that the information conveyed by it must remain veiled to their view. I have seen, however, a considerable number among them who have acquired a tolerable knowledge of the five books of Moses. They read the Psalms, together with all those repetitions, 'In the name of the Father, the Son,' etc., which the Christians have ventured to subjoin to them, as well as the songs of Mary and Simeon, which the same hands have added; but the Oudasse Meriam of Ephraim they reject.

"They are much more industrious in their habits than the rest of the Abyssinians. They compose the architects of Gondar, and build most of the houses in that city. The Christians are never allowed to enter their dwellings; and the former, on the other hand, fearing the supernatural influences with which they believe the Falashas endowed, have no disposition to force an entrance. Indeed, the whole of this peculiar people, as well as all workers in iron, and many others, are regarded as bondas or sorcerers. A Falasha never re-enters his house after having conversed with a Christian, without previously washing his entire body, and changing

every article of his clothing. They are also equally scrupulous in regard to cleansing their provisions ; whatever is purchased in the market must be washed before using it in the family. For some reason, their intercourse with Mahomedans is much more free and unrestrained than with Christians. In general they may be said to be a peaceable people, never bearing arms either in defensive or offensive war. They are benevolent to the poor among themselves, supplying their wants, and rarely suffering them to gain their subsistence by begging."—*Jewish Chronicle*.

Tischendorf's Monumenta Sacra.—Fragmenta Origenianæ Octateuchi Editionis, cum fragmentis Evangeliorum Græcis Palimpsestis. Ex codice Leidensi folioque Petropolitano quarti vel quinti, Guelpherbytanico codice quinti, Sangalensi octavi fere Sæculi. [Fragments of Origen's Edition of the Octateuch, with Greek Palimpsest Fragments of the Gospels. From the Leyden Codex and the St. Petersburg Leaf of the Fourth or Fifth Century, the Guelpherbytan MS. of the Fifth, and the St. Gall MS. of the Eighth Century.] By Ænoth. F. C. Tischendorf. Leipsic : Hinrichs. 1860. Folio. pp. xl, 300.—This splendid volume is the third of the "Monumenta Sacra Inedita," a series of transcripts of most ancient manuscripts, upon which the learned editor, Dr. Tischendorf, has lavished all the resources of the typographic art. The Greek texts are in uncial characters, in imitation of those we find in the most venerable codices ; and we believe that, as specimens of printing, they have never been surpassed. The type, the size, and the paper, are such that we could fancy we witnessed a resurrection of some of the most beautiful specimens of ancient caligraphy. No doubt the venerable fragments invested in this sumptuous dress are every way worthy of it ; but we always look at them with a certain feeling of regret, because they are thus placed beyond the means of the great majority of Biblical students. They are books for the libraries of princes, nobles, and wealthy corporations, who can patronize sacred learning without afflicting their purses. And yet it is a marvel how a volume like the one before us can be produced and sold for eight and forty shillings—a sum for which it would be impossible to bring it out in this country.

Having said this much of the externals of this beautiful book, we may add a few words respecting its contents. It is dedicated to the theologians of Leyden, whom the editor compliments by saying that during the twenty years he has laboured to reproduce ancient manuscripts in their pristine beauty, he has received from them greater encouragement than from any except the English. The prolegomena contain a large amount of useful matter, and form, as is to be expected, an appropriate introduction. The Leyden manuscript, as stated in the title-page, consists of a large fragment of the Octateuch of Origen ; that is to say, of the Old Testament in Greek as edited by that eminent father. In this volume it occupies two hundred and sixty pages, containing portions of the books of Genesis, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges, all which are carefully indicated by the editor, who also describes with considerable care and minuteness the original manuscript. This is on vellum, for the most part thin, generally legible, and beautifully

written, evidently belonging to the palmy days of Christian caligraphy. The characters bear a strong resemblance to those of Codex A, but perhaps a still stronger likeness to Codex B, although it is distinguishable from both. There are, of course, no distinctions of words, pointing is rare, and contractions are frequent. It should also be noticed that there are no large initial letters. Like most ancient MSS., it has been subjected to correction. It is Dr. Tischendorf's opinion that it was produced in Egypt in the fourth or fifth century. The text is furnished with many of the signs which Origen is known to have introduced for critical purposes. Following the general description of the MS. is a more specific account of its various portions, which includes all such observations upon the text as the editor supposed would be useful. It will not be expected that we should go into these details, and we will therefore only say of them that they will be found of material assistance in the study of the text—as, for example, in reference to the work of the correctors, of whom Dr. Tischendorf traces no fewer than seven. Following the account of the Leyden MS. comes that of the Guelferbytan, which contains certain fragments of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, occupying in the original thirteen leaves, and the same number in Dr. Tischendorf's volume. This codex is a palimpsest or rescript, forming part of a volume which exhibits upon the surface the Latin text of works by Isidorus Hispalensis. The precious fragments of two of the gospels thus brought to light are minutely described, and a fac-simile of the writing is given. We should observe that there are fac-similes of each of the manuscripts quoted in this volume. We quite agree with Dr. Tischendorf in thinking that the Guelferbytan Codex was not written in Egypt, but in the West, and probably in Italy. Our space forbids our going further into details regarding this MS., which is supposed to belong to the fifth century. The third MS. copied in this volume is that of St. Gall, which is also a palimpsest, and consists of only three leaves, containing portions of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke. It appears to have been written in the eighth or ninth century. Of the single leaf from St. Petersburg, containing an extract from the Book of Judges, nothing need be said, as it formed a part of the one at Leyden. The manuscripts in the volume before us have been long known. Of the one at Leyden, there are twenty-two additional leaves still at Paris, which Dr. Tischendorf intends to insert in the fifth volume of his *Monumenta Sacra*. The Guelferbytan fragments were discovered a century ago by Knittel, but were imperfectly read with the means at his disposal. These fragments belong to two MSS. known as P. and Q., the latter of which is here printed, and the former is reserved for the fifth volume. The St. Gall fragments are known as W^c; they are not really palimpsest, but erased, as it would seem, for use by a bookbinder. Such are the curious and venerable relics which the new volume of the *Monumenta* contains.—*Clerical Journal*.

Contentions at Bethlehem.—A correspondent of the *Daily News*, writing from Jerusalem in June, says, that troops had been recently dispatched by the Pasha to the town of Bethlehem. On their arrival they

found the streets quiet enough, but the sanctuaries of the church in most unholy disorder. The pavements were stained with the blood of the monks, from the injuries which they had inflicted upon each other. The wounded had been removed to the Latin and Armenian convents, but in the meantime there were the lamps smashed to atoms, artificial flowers and pictures of saints torn and defiled with oil, and the fragments scattered about.

The events had been as follows :—There are two ways of communication between the Latin chapel and the crypt of the Manger, which, as all travellers who have been here and may read this know, is situated beneath the altar of the Greek church. One of these two ways is underground, cut in the rock from the Latin chapel; the other is from a cloister of the Latin convent, by a door which opens into the Armenian chapel, which is alongside of the Greek, but on a somewhat lower level. Crossing over this Armenian pavement one descends by a few steps to the Manger. The object of the Armenians has always been to stop up this passage. They even got a firman a generation ago for this purpose. Since then the Latins got another firman in their favour, and so the door was opened again, and every day the Franciscans make a solemn procession over the floor of the Armenian church, lifting up their hymns in triumph. Now, the Armenians, at least the clergy, are proverbially not a bright set of people: but by dint of laying their heavy heads together they concocted a notable scheme—namely, to spread some of the matting of the country in front of their altar; then after a time they increased its size. This being undoubtedly their own property, and the firman giving the Latins no right to walk over matting, they went on increasing its size till almost the whole floor was covered, and the Latins could only walk in single file. This went on till Spanish and Italian blood could bear it no longer. The Franciscans set to work, and cut off several yards of the Armenian matting, and then stalked triumphantly over the unmatted part of the floor: but they had reckoned all on one side of the question. The Armenians had for some days kept a number of cudgels in a cupboard near their altar, and had brought a reinforcement of monks from Jerusalem. As the Latins marched on, the alarm cry was raised, the cudgels were out, the latter got similar instruments as quick as they could; and then how can you expect me to speak with anything like reverence about monks on each side falling, and bleeding, and screaming? The Mahomedan Kawass of the Armenian convent appeared, but down went he with several of his clergy, before the redoubtable arm of Father Emanuel, the Latin curate, noted for exploits with his sword-stick last January twelvemonth, in the matter of sweeping the pavement outside the great iron door of the convent. An equal hero was a Spanish dragoman in attendance upon a Spanish colonel, when the latter had been struck by an Oriental bludgeon. Father Gabriel bid himself till the victory was evident on the Latin side; then came he forth and demolished the enemy's lamps and pictures, and tore down the abominated artificial flowers from their altar. Such was the state of affairs on the arrival of the Pasha and the soldiers.

But this is not all. Who has not heard of the silver star being stolen by the Greeks in 1851, bearing its Latin inscription that on that very

spot the Redeemer was born? This was replaced under French auspices in 1852; but behold, the day after the above proceedings the Latins discovered that five of the screws had been abstracted from the silver star. Who had done this is not yet certain, but the Latins accuse the Armenians of this attempt at sacrilege; others suspect the Greeks, but there are others again who believe it to have been a trick of the Latins themselves, in order to bring about another such affair as the Crimean war on their behalf.

Anglo-Biblical Institute.—The meeting resumed the discussion of Mr. Black's plan of Revision. After due consideration, it was thought advisable, at the present stage of the Institute's proceedings, to defer the discussion of rules 2, 11, 12, 13, and 17 of the original plan till some future meeting. Having deliberately discussed the other rules, numbers 5, 9, and 19 were somewhat altered, and the remaining ones agreed to in their original form. The plan, therefore, so far as agreed upon, stands as follows:—1. That the proposed revision or corrected version of the Scriptures, as contemplated in the ensuing propositions, be that of the Ancient Hebrew Scriptures, commonly called the Old Testament. 2. That the Hebrew text, with points, be generally followed; but its pointings to be changed, and its readings supplied and amended where the authority of ancient versions and MSS. require. 3. The divisions of the Law of Moses to be scrupulously observed, and the poetical parts thereof to be displayed exactly as in the original; the like also in the other historical books where poems occur. 4. The modern chapters and verses to be merely marked in the margin, without breaking or disturbing the text. 5. That translations, as they proceed, be submitted for adoption or amendment to the ordinary meeting, prior to publication; and in case of various renderings, the voice of the majority of those present shall be decisive. 6. The Hebrew phraseology to be as closely as possible retained, and (where deemed needful) to be explained by a marginal gloss or equivalent. 7. The rhetorical order of words to be retained, where consistent with the English language. 8. The utmost degree of simplicity and purity of English style to be observed, consistent with clearness; mere archaisms to be avoided. 9. That deviations from the *textus receptus* shall be indicated. 10. The Prophets to be expressed in prosaic form generally, except where distinct poems occur, noticed as such in ancient copies or versions. 11. Poetic burdens, responses, and repetitions to be conveniently displayed or distinguished. 12. Documents and quotations to be marked with inverted commas, and otherwise distinguished as they may require. 13. Supplements to be distinguished by italics, as in the common translation. 14. In all other respects the common version to be left without alteration. 15. At first, a specimen to consist of the Books of Haggai and Jonah.

Theological Journals at Athens.—The Rev. J. T. Walters of the Church Missionary Society, writes as follows.—One of the Professors of Theology in the University of Athens, publishes (the work is of some years' standing) a monthly periodical, called *The Evangelical Preacher* (ὁ εὐαγγελικὸς κήρυξ), with the motto, "Preach the word" (2 Tim. iv. 2.) It is chiefly

intended for the clergy, but, I believe, read more by the laity, the former being mostly too ignorant to understand, and too indifferent to take the trouble to read it. If this work did indeed "preach the word" in its simplicity and purity, it would no doubt, under God's blessing, do much good. But, as one may expect (though containing much that is good and useful), it defends the rites and doctrines of the Greek church, whose orthodoxy, according to the Greek mind, is never to be questioned.

"There is another publication at Athens, edited by a well-educated and enlightened Greek. The editor received his education in America, and appears to be a man of knowledge and talent. His paper is called *The Star of the East* (ὁ ἀστὴρ τῆς ἀνατολῆς), and every number contains at least one article on religious and moral subjects. These articles give no uncertain sound. The fanatical party among the Greeks are of course opposed to this paper, and so are the hierarchy, which he does not spare. But in spite of this opposition, the truth comes out boldly."

Amsterdam.—Jewish Statistics.—From a report of the Amsterdam civic authorities, it appears that among the 269,532 inhabitants of the city, there are 26,879 Dutch and 3,208 Portuguese Jews. The former have eight synagogues and two ministers; the latter four synagogues and three ministers. The government support of the school of the Jewish poor having been withdrawn, the children, about one thousand in number, are now sent to the general free schools. The Portuguese administration, however, provides education for the poor at the expense of the congregation.—*Jewish Chronicle*.

Herbs and Wild Plants.—Among wild plants there is one which holds a conspicuous place in the law of Moses; it is there named "ezob," a word commonly translated hyssop, but which the Arabic rabbis identify with "sahtar,"^a which is the wild marjoram, an aromatic plant of the labiate order, and which resembles our hyssop. This plant loves a dry and rocky soil, and it is often seen growing up in the midst of old ruins; and for this reason the Scripture says, "The 'ezob' which grows upon the wall" (1 Kings v. 13). For sprinkling the blood of the sacrifices and the water of purification, Moses commands that a bunch of "ezob" be taken. In many ceremonies symbolical of purification, cedar wood and "ezob" were employed together, as these joined, as it were, the two extremes of the vegetable world (Lev. xiv. 4, 49; Numb. xix. 6). The "caper" is mentioned in Ecclesiastes (xii. 5), according to the ancient versions, and often in the Talmud. The prophet Jeremiah speaks of "soap-wort" (ji. 22). St. Jerome, who retains in his translation the Hebrew word "borith," says in his commentary that it designates a plant in Palestine which grows in damp spots, and which is used for washing. Indigo, says Volney, grows wild on the banks of the Jordan, and it requires only attention to obtain it of excellent quality. According to the same author, Palestine abounds in "sesamum," fit for yielding oil. In the history of the prophet Elias, mention is made of "broom" ("rothem"). In the deserts of the east they light the fire with this plant; in the Psalms (cxx.

^a See Rabbi David Kimchi's *Sepher Schoraschim*.

4) the language of a slanderer is compared to the live ember of the broom. The remarkable vegetable of the prophet Jonah at Nineveh, according to the commentary of St. Jerome, is very common in Palestine; it grows on sandy soil. The Hebrew word is "kikayon;" the rabbis interpret this by "el-kheroua," or the "castor-tree." The details which Jerome gives apply exactly to this vegetable. An oil is extracted from its seed; of this notice is taken in the Mishna—the oil of "kik." Let us not forget the marsh reeds of the lake Merom, of which, according to Pliny, excellent arrows were made (*His. Nat.*, 6—13); here, says the same writer, grows also the "papyrus," as at Babylon, and in the Nile.

Of noxious plants, or such as were taken for them on account of their bitter taste, the Bible mentions the "pakkooth," a kind of wild cucumber ("cucumeres asinini"); the wormwood, which, with the Hebrew writers, is the symbol of misfortune, and of everything unpleasant; the "rosh," which some commentators suppose to mean the "colocynth," others the "hemlock." It appears that the original word signifies poisonous plants in general. According to a passage in the prophet Hosea, the "rosh" grows up in the furrows of the field; in that case, it is very probable the "zizania" (zizania lobium temulentum, the annual tares of the Botanist), of which mention is made in the Gospel of St. Matthew (xiii. 25), and which produce giddiness and dimness when eaten. Speaking of the Syrian peasantry, Volney says: "In order not to lose the crop, they take out all foreign seeds, such as 'tares' (in Arabic, 'zionan'), which produces giddiness and dimness of sight for many hours, as I myself have experienced."

This is the place to say something of the celebrated "tree of Sodom," mentioned very probably by Moses under the name of the "vine" of Sodom (Deut. xxxii. 32). According to Josephus, there was found in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea a species of fruit, which was externally beautifully, but which, when touched, was changed to ashes (*De Bello Jud.*, sec. iv., c. 8). It is to be understood that travellers and pilgrims have sought for this fruit; some of these have questioned its existence, and others, such as Hasselquist, have taken it to be the "solanum melogena" of Linnæus, of which a great many are found in the neighbourhood of the lake, and which is frequently filled with dust, occasioned by the attack of an insect. M. de Chateaubriand, after quoting the opinions of various other authors, adds the following:—"I am somewhat puzzled, for I believe I have found the fruit that has been so much searched after; there is a shrub which is abundant about six or eight miles from the mouth of the Jordan; it is prickly, and its leaves are long and slender, while its fruit is altogether like the lime of Egypt—both in colour and shape. Before it ripens it is swollen out, and has a biting and bitter taste; when it is withered, it yields a dusky seed which may be compared to ashes, and which has a taste like pepper."—*Munk's Palestine*.

Orthodox Bible Institute.—We have several times alluded to the two Bible institutes in Germany, the object of which is the publication of cheap Bibles for the Jewish community, for both of which collections are being made. The one is under the direction of Dr. Philippsohn, of Mag-

deburg; the other, of which we are now speaking, is, as we learn from the *Israelit*, under the direction of Chief Rabbi Ettlinger, of Altona, district-rabbi Bamberger, of Wurzburg, and Rabbi Lehmann, of Mayence, all of them leading men in the orthodox school. The principal object of this institute is to furnish to the German Jews such a version of the Word of God as shall be a faithful exponent of orthodox Judaism. Seven thousand florins have already been collected. This amount, however, is not considered sufficient for the purpose, and a fresh appeal for additional funds is made in the *Israelit*, the weekly organ of orthodox Jewish Germany.—*Jewish Chronicle*.

Hindu Systems and Missionaries to India.—During this half-year I have published a translation into English of a popular Tamil tract containing the elements of the system of one of the six principal schools of Hindu religious philosophy. I am hoping to follow it up with translations of other native works which circulate amongst the people, and are moulding the minds of the present generation of South India. It seems to me to be of importance that missionaries especially should be acquainted with the tenets of these Hindu creeds, not merely in the piecemeal form in which they are presented, and often distorted in the heat of discussion, but in the connected and systematic shape in which the people themselves find them in their books. But those works must continue to be sealed books to the European, unless some one undertake to make them a matter of special study. I trust these translations may prove humble pioneers of increased missionary efforts amongst the more educated classes of the Hindus.

It seems to me that the time cannot be far off when some previous study of the religious systems and false creeds of the Hindus will be considered of importance to qualify the Indian missionary for his work; when some knowledge of that which he has to combat in this country will be looked upon as second only in importance to a knowledge of the people's language. How often has the taunt been cast in the missionary's teeth in some form or other, "You are not acquainted with the religions that you have come into this country to overthrow?" The Hindu barricades himself behind this ignorance, and removes from himself on account of it, for a time at least, any anxiety he might feel for the stability of his creed: witness the following remark made in the course of a recent conversation with a missionary by the head of the celebrated Hindu monastery at Madura—"He appeared to think that missionaries generally were not sufficiently acquainted with Hinduism as a religious system to attempt conversions among the higher and more educated classes: and that, therefore, the only success they met with was amongst the lowest of the people, the mere 'worms' of the country, as he called them."

I am not wishing to attach a higher importance to this than it deserves; but it does not appear to me to have received as yet its due amount of attention. And it will be a thought of thankfulness to me to be able to succeed in any measure in supplying a want that I for one am beginning more and more to feel.—*The Rev. T. Foulkes, Madras*.

The New-Year's Festival of the Jews.—To the Editor of the *Morning*

Chronicle.—Sir, I trust that I shall not be deemed obtruding on your valuable space if I call your attention to some slight inaccuracies in your interesting little article on the above-mentioned subject, as contained in your impression of Friday, the 6th inst. I refer first to your speaking of the Fast Day of the Atonement, so frequently called the "Black Fast." This is a mistake; what is, in the Jewish Calendar, called the "Black Fast," is the 9th day of the month *Ab*, which is, indeed, a "black day," and a day of solemn mourning to the Jews, it being the anniversary of the destruction of the first and second temples of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jewish nation.

The Day of the Atonement, in Hebrew called "Yom Kippur," is known in England as the "White Fast." I suppose that it has received this name on account of its having been appointed as a day of repentance, and of invoking the Almighty's pardon, and by his forgiving the transgressions of those who call upon him with a humble and contrite spirit, and thus, as it were, cleansing or making white their souls, agreeably to the dictum of the prophet Isaiah, chap. i., verse 18, "Come, now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool."

After having enumerated the various festival days, on your coming to the "Feast of the Assembly, 26th inst.," and "Feast of the Law, 27th inst.," you observe, "Both of the last-mentioned are very rigidly observed, business of every description being suspended." I beg to say, if this remark applies to these two days, that (and I regret that I am obliged to say it) such is not the case. Of all the holidays you have mentioned there are three days which "are very rigidly observed;" they are the First and Second Days of the New Year, and the Fast Day of the Atonement; and of these three holy days the "Fast Day of the Atonement is *the* most rigidly observed." The importance and influence of that most solemn and sacred day is so great that an Israelite who makes light of all other ceremonial and religious observances during the year, will yet be impressed with a feeling of awe when the day approaches, and will hasten, by a sincere acknowledgment of his errors, to seek the Almighty's forgiveness. J. S.

Jewish Translations of the Bible.—"Before we conclude," says a writer in the *Jewish Chronicle*, "we will make mention of two other important Bible works now in process of execution. Dr. M. Kalisch is engaged on one in England, and it is furnished with a commentary, which leaves nothing to be wished for, the author having availed himself of all Biblical researches published. As yet Genesis and Exodus only have appeared. In France, M. L. Wogue, graduated grand rabbin, professor at the Israelitish seminary of Paris, and member of the Academy of Metz and of other scientific bodies, is engaged on a translation of the Bible and a commentary thereon. He has more originality, and makes less use of modern researches, and therefore writes a commentary somewhat shorter than that by Dr. Kalisch. This work is likewise very interesting; but only Genesis has as yet appeared. We shall report elsewhere more ex-

tensively on these two important works. However, we cannot refrain from stating that we could have wished that Dr. Kalisch had not fixed upon the title 'The Old Testament,' since this pre-supposes the existence of a new one."

Travellers' Tales.—Mummies for Fuel.—A Belgian paper, *La Reformation*, has the following strange story:—"A painter of Berlin made a journey into Egypt during the spring, and brought back some interesting sketches and marvellous histories. Our artist, finding himself one day in the vicinity of the pyramids, perceived the last vestiges of a temple in ruins, of which he wished to make a drawing, but the heat was that day so overpowering that he was unable to trace a line. He got up, and advancing a few paces, saw among the ruins an old man seated near a large fire, the friendly heat of which he appeared to appreciate. The artist approached, and saw that the fuel with which he sustained the fire was nothing but fragments of mummies. 'How old are you?' he asked of the man. 'Three hundred years,' was the reply. On reaching the neighbouring village, the artist questioned the inhabitants respecting the *solitaire*. Old men, of seventy or eighty years, told him that the old man had never been known other than he was; that as long as could be remembered he had warmed himself with a fire of mummies, and that he lived upon the contributions of the people, who took him water, maize, and mummies every day. The question is, how many of his ancestors this old man, forgotten by death, has already burned?"

English Convent at Lisbon.—The following, dated Lisbon, Aug. 27, deserves preservation. Amongst the passengers on board the *Sultan* are twelve nuns of the ancient convent of Sion House, who return to England, having purchased an establishment at Spetisbury, in Dorsetshire. The sisters carry with them the antique stone cross which formerly stood over the gateway of Sion House, at Isleworth; also several ancient statues which adorned their original church, and a portrait of Henry V. of England, their founder, which is said to be a likeness, and to have been painted during the monarch's lifetime. This order of Bridgetines has been settled in Lisbon since the year 1595; but, there being now more religious liberty in England than in Portugal, and more prospects there for the prosperity of the order, the sisterhood have determined to return to their native land. It is said that the Duke of Northumberland, to whose ancestors the ancient Sion House, with its lands, was granted by Henry VIII., has given the poor nuns a handsome donation to assist them in defraying the expenses of their journey and change of establishment.

The Chinese Jews.—In a former number, your "Weekly Gossip" stated that a Jewish traveller, Benjamin, guided by some midrash, has expressed his conviction that there was somewhere in China a large Jewish population. I beg leave to say that if the traveller, on the strength of a midrash, expects to find in China the ten lost tribes, his success may be considered as very uncertain; for the place of their settlement was in the time of the midrashim as doubtful as in our own. Some believed that they had been transported to Africa, and not in Asia, as plainly stated in

the Talmud Sanhedrin : " Whither where they (the ten tribes) carried into captivity? Mar Sutra said to Africa. Rabbi Chaninah said to the Mountains of Snow." Some other places are likewise mentioned there where they are said to have settled.—*The Jewish Chronicle*.

New Version of the Bible in English.—Mr. Robert Young has issued proposals to publish a new translation of the Scriptures. The "conditions of publication" state that the work is nearly complete in MS., and will be put to press as soon as possible. The work is to come out in eight quarterly parts at 2s. 6d. each, and to commence on the first of January next, if the appeal for subscribers is successful. We may observe that the version of the Book of Job in our last number was by Mr. Young.

Essays and Reviews.—The following is a list of some of the works called forth by the Oxford Essays. We borrow it from the *English Churchman*, and need scarcely remark that it includes but a small part of those which have appeared.

Inspiration and Interpretation ; Seven Sermons preached before the University of Oxford (pp. 279), with preliminary remarks (227) : being an answer to a volume entitled "Essays and Reviews." By the Rev. W. J. Burgon, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. (J. H. and J. Parker.)

Supremacy of Scripture. A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Temple. By W. E. Jelf, B.D. (Saunders, Otley, and Co. pp. 167.)

The National Church. An Answer to an Essay by H. B. Wilson, B.D. By J. W. Joyce, M.A. (Saunders, Otley, and Co. pp. 101.)

Authority of Scripture. An Examination of Professor Jowett's Essay. By James Fendall, M.A. (Saunders, Otley, and Co. pp. 96.)

Analysis of "Essays and Reviews." By Archdeacon Denison. (Saunders, Otley, and Co. pp. 73.)

The "Essays and Reviews" Examined. By James Buchanan, B.D., Professor of Systematic Theology, New College, Edinburgh. (Nisbet and Co. pp. 267.)

Creation in Plan and in Progress. An Essay on the First Chapter of Genesis. By the Rev. James Challis, M.A., F.R.S., etc., Plumian Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy at Cambridge. (Macmillan and Co. pp. 133.)

An Answer to the "Essays and Reviews." By T. C. Simon. (J. H. and J. Parker. pp. 53.)

Anti-Essays. By the Rev. C. H. Davis, M.A. (Simpkin and Co., and Wertheim. pp. 112.)

A Letter to the Rev. Rowland Williams, D.D. By the Bishop of St. David's. (Rivingtons. pp. 80.)

Some Remarks on "Essays and Reviews." By Dr. Moberly. (J. H. and J. Parker. pp. 61.)

The Reviewers Reviewed and the Essayists Criticised ; an Analysis and Confutation of each of the "Seven Essays and Reviews." (J. H. and J. Parker. pp. 88.)

An Address. Delivered at Zion College, by the Rev. B. Cowie, B.D. (Bell and Daldy. pp. 32.)

Danger from Within. A Charge, by Archbishop Whately. (J. W. Parker. pp. 37.)

"Another Gospel." A Popular Criticism on each of the Seven "Essays and Reviews." (W. Walker and Co. pp. 98.)

"Essays and Reviews" compared with Reason and Revelation. By the Rev. C. F. R. Baylay, M.A. (Hatchard and Co. pp. 55.)

Catholicity and Reason. (Mozley. pp. 45.)

Notes on the First Essay. (The Rev. F. Temple's.) By E. H. Hansell, B.D. (Rivingtons. pp. 56.)

Bible Inspiration Vindicated. By John C. Miller, D.D. (J. H. and J. Parker. pp. 97.)

- The Question of Inspiration Plainly Stated. By the Rev. Henry Miller, M.A. (J. H. and J. Parker. pp. 26.)
- Thoughts on Miracles. (Wertheim. pp. 32.)
- An Essay on Christian Miracles. By J. Evans, B.A. (Judd and Glass. pp. 67.)
- Of Miracles. By the Rev. E. H. Carr, M.A. (Hatchard. pp. 45.)
- Miracles not Antecedently Improbable. By the Rev. W. A. O'Connor. (J. H. and J. Parker. pp. 28.)
- What is the End? By the Rev. J. H. Snell, B.A. (Simpkin. pp. 37.)
- The False Position of the Authors of "Essays and Reviews." An Appeal to the Bible and Prayer Book. A Lecture by the Rev. C. Bullock, Worcester. (Wertheim. pp. 46.)
- Reply to Dr. Wild and the "Edinburgh Review." By the Rev. F. B. Hooper. (Rivingtons. pp. 16.)
- Revelation and Belief; a Word of Counsel to the Laity. A Sermon by the Rev. A. Weir, B.C.L., M.A. (J. H. and J. Parker. pp. 16.)
- A Reply to the Letter intituled "The Suppression of Doubt is not Faith." (J. H. and J. Parker. pp. 22.)
- A Lecture. By the Rev. C. T. Rust. (Jarrold. pp. 31.)
- An Examination of Dr. Temple's, Dr. R. Williams', and Professor Powell's Essays. By C. Gooch, M.A. (E. Thompson.)
- Concerning Doubt. A Letter to "A Layman." (J. H. and J. Parker. pp. 10.)
- Subscription to Articles: is it a Truth or a Mockery? (Marlborough and Co. pp. 40.)
- Is Convocation a Court of Heresy? (Rivingtons. pp. 8.)
- Dr. Wordsworth's Sermons (two series), "On the Inspiration of the Bible;" and "On the Interpretation of the Bible." (Rivingtons.)
- The World at School; or, Education and Development. (Tresidder. pp. 32.)
- Evidence of Christianity, derived from its Nature and Reception. By John Bird Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury. A New Edition, revised with reference to Recent Objections. (Hatchard and Co., pp. 333.)
- Some Modern Difficulties respecting the Facts of Nature and Revelation. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. By James Moorhouse, M.A. (Macmillan and Co.)
- Scepticism a Retrogressive Movement in Theology and Philosophy, as contrasted with the Church of England, Catholic (at once) and Protestant, Stable and Retrogressive. By Lord Lindsay. (Murray. pp. 356.)

The following are more or less in support of the writers of *Essays and Reviews* :—

- The Progress of Religious Thought, as illustrated in the Protestant Church of France; being Essays and Reviews bearing on the chief Religious Questions of the Day. Translated from the French, with an Introductory Essay on "The Oxford Essays and Review," by the editor, John R. Beard, D.D. (Simpkin. pp. 383.)
- Exoneravi Animam. By J. B. Humperley. (Manwaring. pp. 48.)
- A Protest, addressed to the Bishop of Oxford, with a Letter to the Rev. Rowland Williams, D.D., and an Appendix. By the Rev. R. B. Kennard, M.A. (Hardwicke. pp. 98.)
- Discourses on the "Essays and Reviews." By the Rev. Robert Ainslie. (Manwaring. pp. 81.)
- Three Discourses (supplemental to the foregoing). By the same Author and publisher. pp. 48.
- An Hour with the Bishops. By a D.D. (Freeman. pp. 8.)
- Tracts for Priests and People, No. I. to VII. (Macmillan and Co.), are by various and varying writers, and they contain some things for, and some against, the "Essays and Reviews;" their Authors being Mr. Hughes ("Tom Brown"), the Revs. F. D. Maurice, Francis Garden, J. Llewellyn Davies, and others.

NEW WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST QUARTER,

In addition to those noticed in the body of the Journal.

FOREIGN.

- Baur (Gst.).—Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Weissagungen. 1 Thl. Die Vorgeschichte der alttestamentlichen Weissagung. 1861. Giessen: Ricker. 8vo.
- Bibliotheca Ægyptiaca. Repertorium über die bis zum Jahre 1861 in Bezug auf Ägypten, seine Geographie, Landeskunde, Naturgeschichte, etc., erschienenen Schriften, academischen Abhandlungen und Aufsätze in wissenschaftlichen und anderen Zeitschriften. Von H. Jolowicz. Suppl. I. 1861. Leipzig: Engelmann. 8vo.
- Brosset, les ruines d'Ani, capitale de l'Arménie sous les Bagratides, aux X. et XI. s., histoire et description. 2. Partie. Histoire avec un atlas de 21 planches. St. Pétersbourg. Leipzig: Voss.
- Corpus hæreseologicum. Tomus III. S. Epiphani, episcopi Constantiensis, panaria eorumque anacephalæosis. Ad veteres libros, recensuit et cum latina Dion. Petavii interpretatione et integris ejus animadversionibus ed. Fr. Oehler. Tomi II., pars 2. Berlin: Asher and Co. 1861. 8vo, pp. 458.
- Dionysius der Areopagite. Untersuchungen üb. Aechtheit, und Glaubwürdigkeit der unter diesem Namen vorhandenen Schriften. Von Dr. Frz. Hipler. 8vo, pp. 139. Regensburg.
- Freitag (G. W.).—Einleitung in das Studium der Arabischen Sprache bis Mohammed und zum Theil später zum allgemeinen Gebrauche auch für die, welche nicht Hebräisch und Arabisch treiben. Bonn: Marcus. 1861. 8vo, pp. xii, 511.
- Huber (J.).—Johannes Scotus Erigena. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie im Mittelalter. München: Lentner. 1861. 8vo, pp. xv, 443.
- Judas (A.).—Mémoire sur dix-neuf inscriptions numidico-puniques inédites trouvées à Constantine, en Algérie, et sur plusieurs autres inscriptions dans la même langue antérieurement publiées. Paris: Challamel. 8vo.
- Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der lutherischen Kirche. 3. Thl. Philipp Melancthon. Leben und ausgewählte Schriften. Von C. Schmidt. Elberfeld: Friderichs. 1861. 8vo, pp. xxviii, 723.
- Libri psalmorum David regis et prophetæ, versio à R. Yapheth ben Heli Bassorensi Karaitâ, auctore decimi seculi arabicè concinnata, quam ad communem sacrarum litterarum et linguarum orientalium studiosorum utilitatem punctis vocalibus insignivit et latinitate donavit J. J. L. Bargès. Grand in-8. Paris: Duprat.
- Rougé (le vicomte E. de).—Rituel funéraire des anciens Egyptiens. Texte complet en écriture hiéroglyphique, publié d'après les papyrus du musée du Louvre, et précédé d'une introduction à l'étude du rituel. Folio. Paris: Duprat.
- Voigt (H.).—Die Lehre des Athanasius von Alexandrien oder die kirchliche Dogmatik des 4. Jahrhunderts auf Grund der biblischen Lehre vom Logos. In geordnetem Zusammenhange, wie im Kampf mit ihren häretischen Gegensätzen dargestellt. Bremen: Müller. 1861. 8vo, pp. xix, 346.
- Wolff (Superint. Pastor O.).—Das Buch Judith als geschichtliche Urkunde vertheidigt u. erklärt, nebst eingehenden Untersuchgn. üb. Dauer u. Ausdehng. der assyr. Obmacht in Asien u. Ägypten, üb. die Hyksos, üb. die Ursitze der Chaldäer u. deren Zusammenhang m. den Skythen, üb. Phud, Lud, Elam, Chna, etc. Leipzig: Dörffling and Franke.

ENGLISH.

- Beaufort (Emily A.)—*Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines, including some Stay in the Lebanon, at Palmyra, and in Western Turkey.* Two Vols. crown 8vo. Longman and Co.
- Besser (Rudolph, D.D.)—*Christ, the Light of the World: Biblical Studies on the First Ten Chapters of St. John's Gospel.* Translated from the German by M. G. Huxtable. Crown 8vo. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) Hamilton and Co.
- Bromby (Rev. C. H., M.A.)—*Book of Common Prayer, its History and Principles.* Part II. Fcap. 8vo. A. and C. Black.
- Brown (J. H., M.A.)—*Peter the Apostle Never at Rome, shewn to be a Historical Fact; with a Dissertation of the Apostolic Authority of the Symbol (or Creed) of the Church.* Crown 8vo. J. H. and J. Parker.
- Bushnell (H., D.D.)—*Nature and the Supernatural as together constituting the one System of God.* Post 8vo. (Edinburgh: Strahan and Co.) S. Low, Son, and Co.
- Eadie (John).—*Life of John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A.* Cheap Edition. Fcp. 8vo. Oliphant.
- Epistles (The) of St. Paul to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, after the Authorized Version. Newly compared with the original Greek, and revised by Four Clergymen. Imp. 8vo. Parker, Son, and Bourn.
- Greenwood (Thomas).—*Cathedra Petri: a Political History of the Great Latin Patriarchate.* Vol. IV., Books 9 to 11. 8vo. Thickbroom Brothers.
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**THE MINES AND METALS OF ANTIQUITY: WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO THE BIBLE.**

NOTWITHSTANDING the many researches which have been made into almost every department of Biblical antiquities, the one which now claims our attention appears to have been strangely neglected. We shall not undertake to offer a complete reply to our twofold enquiry, but we shall break ground upon the subject, and we hope to stimulate others to prosecute it further. If we are enabled to make a few suggestions which may provoke and direct enquiry, our object will be accomplished, as we are very anxious to know the sources from which the gold, silver, iron, copper, etc., mentioned in the Bible, were derived. Such a discussion will do more than satisfy curiosity; it will throw a measure of light upon some portions of the sacred text, and it may possibly recall attention to districts still rich in mineral wealth. If we could rediscover the deposits from which former generations drew their supplies of the precious and useful metals, the discovery might be a profitable one. For we cannot believe that with the means at their disposal they quite exhausted the fields they wrought, and it is most likely that they left a valuable residuum which would amply recompense the outlay of modern capital, skill, and enterprise. We are quite aware that some nations, as the Egyptians, were accustomed to sink their mines to a considerable depth, and that they used to crush the

quartz rock from which they extracted their gold. We know that the smelting and purification of metals was performed in a skilful and scientific manner. We know that the art of tempering and alloying metals was long practised, and we know that specimens of ancient castings and wrought work in various kinds of metals prove that they laboured with ability and success. But still it may yet remain perfectly true that they neither exhausted all the mines they discovered, nor discovered all the mines in their respective localities. We shall therefore proceed to enquire, first, what metals are mentioned in the Bible, and secondly, where they were obtained. There will be no great difficulty in replying to the first of these questions, but the second will involve an amount of literary and actual investigation beyond what we can give.

I. What metals are mentioned in the Bible?

1. *Gold*.—The earliest allusion to gold is in Gen. ii. 11, 12, where we read that the river Pison “compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good.” The next actual mention of gold is in the time of Abraham, who “was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold” (Gen. xiii. 2). Gold is also several times named in Gen. xxiv., in the account of Abraham’s servant’s mission to the friends of Rebekah. Possibly the signet of Judah was of gold (Gen. xxxviii. 18, 25), and other articles of which the material is not named. Pharaoh placed his ring upon Joseph’s hand, and a gold chain about his neck (Gen. xli. 42); and Jacob’s sons ask why they should “steal silver or gold.” Gold is many times referred to in connexion with the construction of the sacred utensils and furniture in the subsequent books of the Pentateuch. Gold was among the spoils of Jericho, and from that time forward it is often mentioned in the Old Testament. It was possessed in large quantities before Solomon added so much to his treasures by means of his mercantile marine. Most of the nations with whom the Jews came into contact are said to have known its value, and to have employed it for a variety of purposes. Job repeatedly alludes to it, and speaks both of its sources and its preparation.

2. *Silver*.—This is not specified by name till the time of Abraham, who was rich in silver as well as gold, and in whose time it was a medium of exchange, rather by weight than in the form of money. Indeed silver appears to have been the appropriate name for a metal currency (Gen. xxiii. 9, 16). The sons of Jacob took silver to pay for their corn in Egypt, and Joseph’s cup was made of silver. During the wanderings of the Israelites it is frequently mentioned, and was employed like gold in the manufacture of ornaments, idols, etc. It is named in the book

of Job as an important item in wealth. Throughout the remaining books of the Bible it is to be constantly met with.

3. *Copper*.—The word rendered brass in the Scriptures, in almost every case, appears to mean copper. It is referred to first in the account of Tubal Cain, who lived long before the flood, and introduced the use of brass and iron, for we read that he was the “instructor of every artificer in brass and iron.” No other mention of this metal occurs in Genesis, but it was well known in Egypt, and was largely employed by the Hebrews in the wilderness. Job refers to it in connexion with gold, silver, and iron (chap. xxviii. 1); and it is evident that the art of smelting the ore was then well understood. It was also celebrated for its strength and durability (chap. vi. 12, etc.) Samson was bound with fetters of brass, Goliath wore a helmet and greaves of brass, musical instruments were made of it, etc. There are some places in which it is supposed a mixed metal is alluded to, and hence in the Vulgate we sometimes find *aurichalcum*, and in the LXX. Χαλκομβανον. In Ezra viii. 27, only, do we read the word “copper” in the English version,—“two vessels of fine copper precious as gold.” Here, and in one or two other cases, the Syriac version has “Corinthian brass.” We may observe with reference to the value of this metal, that Aristotle in his book of *Wonderful Stories*, says that “brass is found in India so bright, clear, and pure, as not to differ much from gold.” Reference may also be made to Pliny’s *Natural History*, lib. xxxiv., cap. 2, etc.

4. *Iron*.—Iron is first named in connexion with Tubal Cain, but not again till we come to Levit. xxvi. 19. It is also mentioned in Numbers and Deuteronomy, but appears not to have been so generally used as copper. This observation applies to many ancient peoples, and the fact is supposed to be owing to the greater difficulty in working iron. Still we find mention of Og the king of Bashan, who appears to have been the inventor of iron bedsteads; at any rate, he had the first on record. We may remark in passing, that bedsteads of gold, silver, and copper or brass are to be read of in ancient authors. Thus Herodotus (ix. 80) says that the Persians not only had their tents adorned with gold and silver, but had gold and silver couches or bedsteads. Pausanius also speaks of two bedsteads of fine brass. The golden bedsteads of Sardanapalus are well known. But to return: the Canaanites had chariots of iron,—Job was acquainted with iron and its uses. In the remaining Biblical books it is often named, but in the time of Saul the art of working it appears to have been scarcely at all followed by the Jews, who had not a smith among them, and were dependent upon the Philistines for

skilled labour in metals generally. It is worth noting, that Homer, who lived still later, is by some thought to have known little of iron; and such appears to have been the fact, for even when he uses the word, it is not certain that he always means iron, and not brass or copper. With gold, silver, and copper he was familiar enough, and some of his allusions to them are valuable. That delightful old gossip, Herodotus, often speaks of it. In the Authorized Version we sometimes read of steel, but in every case the Hebrew word is the same as for brass or copper. The passages are Job xx. 24; 2 Sam. xxii. 35; Psalm xviii. 34; Jer. xv. 12.^a

5. *Lead*.—This is first mentioned in Exodus xv. 10, where it is said that the Egyptians “sank like lead in the mighty waters.” In Num. xxxi. 22, lead is named along with gold, silver, copper, iron, and tin. Job was acquainted with it (chap. xix. 24), as also were Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah. The lead known to the ancients is said to have been of two kinds, black and white, and was used, among other purposes, in refining silver. It was known to the Greeks, and is referred to by Homer, Herodotus, etc. The former describes a leaden plummet, and the latter speaks of leaden money plated with gold.

6. *Tin*.—Probably this is the *plumbum album* or *candidum* of the ancients, and indeed tin and lead seem to be sometimes confounded in ancient writers. Hence we read of white and black tin. No distinction of kinds is mentioned in the Bible, where however tin is occasionally alluded to. It first occurs in Num. xxxi. 22, and again in Isa. i. 25 and Ezek. xxvii. 12, etc. That it was used in the manufacture of various articles, and was an object of traffic with the ships of Tarshish, is evident from the texts referred to. Tin is mentioned by Homer, as well as by Herodotus and later authors.

The foregoing appear to have been the only metals known to the Hebrews, although antimony or stibium may possibly be added. This latter is supposed to be alluded to in those passages which speak of the pigment or dye with which the Hebrew women tinged their eyelashes. The LXX. and Vulgate translate in accordance with this view, in the places referred to.

It will be seen that the Jews both knew and used the metals which have everywhere been found of most service to man. We may therefore now proceed to enquire,

II. Where these metals were obtained.

At a very early period commerce was carried on between

^a Steel was certainly known to the Assyrians. Mr. Loftus, in his *Chaldea and Susiana*, gives a representation of a flint and steel, resembling those in modern use. See p. 213.

nations widely distant from each other. The productions of one country were bartered for those of another, and spread over the known world by means of ships and caravans. Men were influenced by much the same motives in those times as they are at present, and hence by means of commercial enterprise, as well as in other ways, gold, silver, and other metals were supplied to peoples and tribes who had none in their own territory. Invasion and conquest, in a similar manner, led to the accumulation and dispersion of wealth. And yet it is apparent that gold, silver, copper, etc., were formerly produced where they are not now to be found. In some cases the supply was exhausted; in others, the search for them was discontinued, and the mines were neglected and forgotten. Our inquiry will be none the less a useful one, and we shall be able to point out many of the sources from which the various metals were obtained in ancient days. We will pursue the same order as before.

1. *Gold*.—As already intimated, gold is mentioned in the second chapter of Genesis as a product of Havilah. But where was Havilah? According to good authorities, the name was borne by three districts. The first Havilah seems to have been in Arabia, or upon one of its borders, but whether near the Persian Gulf or near the Elanitic branch of the Red Sea is doubtful. The references to it in the Bible do not give precise information. A second Havilah is imagined to have been in Ethiopia south of the straits of Babelmandeb. The third Havilah is looked for in India by some, and by others near the Caspian Sea. Now it is to be noted that gold was found in all these localities. As to Arabia, Strabo says that in one part a river runs bearing down golden dust which the people know not how to work. He speaks of some who dig their gold not in grains, but in nuggets, which require little purification. These pieces range from the size of the kernel of the medlar to that of a walnut, and are threaded on strings for ornaments of the neck and wrists. This gold they sell at a low price, giving three times its quantity for copper, and twice as much for silver, because they are ignorant of working it, and have not the more useful metals. In the adjoining country of the Sabæans, whose capital is Mariaba, and among the Gerræans, gold and silver are plentiful. The same author speaks of the gold, silver, copper and iron of the Nabatæans, whose capital he says was Petra. In connexion with this last, it is to be remembered that one of the places of this district is called Dizahab (Deut. i. 1), which signifies the place of gold. With reference to south-western Arabia, the queen of Sheba brought gold to Solomon, and the gold of Sheba is elsewhere named.

That gold was found on the African coast is also certain. The Arabian writers speak of the gold mines in the territory of Melindah, or Melinder, on the sea coast to the east of Ethiopia; although the mines were probably in the interior. We also read of Sofala Aldheheb in Zanguebar, where the Portuguese had possessions in recent times, and which took its name from the gold which was found there. Some writers think that Ophir was in this direction, and that indeed the word Africa is but another form of the name. Others, it is true, think Ophir was in Arabia, and others again place it in India; but we think the claims of Africa as strong as any. Indeed, the most recent explorers of equatorial Africa are predicting the time when auriferous deposits shall be found there so rich as to make it another California, a true land of Ophir. Ophir is named in Gen. x. 29, along with Havilah the son of Joktan, and it was known as a gold region in the time of Job. Its celebrity and productiveness are well known in connexion with the history of Solomon, who brought thence apes and ivory, which were obtained by the gorilla and elephant hunters of that generation. Uphaz was perhaps the same as Ophir, but nothing is known of it, except that gold was found there. Parvaim, also, is spoken of in the Bible as a gold-producing locality, but it is equally open to conjecture. Baamah, another source of gold, was most likely somewhere in Arabia, and not connected with either Havilah.

That gold was in all ages found in India beyond the Indus and beyond the Ganges is often asserted. Not only is this alleged by the Arab writers, but by the more ancient authors of Rome and Greece. Ptolemy describes a gold region beyond the Ganges, Herodotus tells us of gold dust dug up by the ants in north-western India, of gold obtained by digging, and of gold carried down by the rivers. Josephus says that Ophir or Sophir is a part of India then called the gold region. Proceeding towards the west from the borders of India we find allusions to gold in every direction. Towards the north Herodotus says the Scythians have gold, but neither silver nor copper, while the Massagetæ have abundance of gold and copper, but neither iron nor silver. Among the Persians gold was plentiful to an extraordinary degree, but gold only appears to have been found by them in the provinces nearest India. Hence some modern writers have believed that gold is not to be found in the country anywhere. Aristotle says that the river Ozon in Bactria washes down lumps of gold. Layard speaks of gold found in the mountains of Kurdistan. We find few traces of gold in Syria and Palestine, and it would seem that the Tyrians obtained it only from other countries. Gold was also obtained in some

parts of Asia Minor, and the wealth of Cræsus and the golden sands of Pactolus are alike proverbial. The mines of Cræsus are said by Aristotle to have been near Pergamus. The same author tells us that gold was found in Pæonia, and in the mines of the Macedonian Philippi and Pieria. The gold mines of Mount Pangæus in Thrace are celebrated by Herodotus (vii., 112), by Xenophon (*Greek Hist.*, book v.), by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, iv., 11), and other ancient authors. Gold was also found at Thasus and Scaptesyra by the Phœnicians, and in other places where the Greek language was spoken.

But probably the ships of Tarshish found at Tartessus, in Spain, their chief supplies of the precious metals. We assume that Tartessus was in Spain, because the evidence in favour of that opinion seems to us overwhelming. This is repeatedly alluded to in the Bible and in other ancient writings. The first book of Maccabees refers to the Spanish mines of silver and gold. Perhaps the extent to which the Phœnicians carried on their traffic in gold and silver with various foreign ports, and especially Tarshish, led to the story told by Pliny, that the first discovery of gold and the art of smelting it at Mount Pangæus, was due to Cadmus, the Phœnician. This reminds us of another doubtful story, and a very popular one in ancient times. We refer to the golden apples of the Hesperides, which were carried off by Perseus. Some have fancied this an allegorical fiction, others that it referred to the splendid oranges which Perseus may have obtained, and others again to the gold mines which he discovered or seized. The last view is not improbable. The Hesperides appear to have been on the western coast of Africa, and we know that from thence gold has been brought from the remotest periods. The Carthaginian ships and the ships of Tyre and Sidon passed through the pillars of Hercules, and by coasting along the African shore reached the gold country, and hence, perhaps, we may positively point to it as one of the sources of the gold which the Jews possessed through the medium of the merchant. A passage in one of the rabbins leads us to suppose that gold was at Tyre not a medium of exchange but an article of merchandize. "Tyrian money was all of silver," says Kiddush, "and none of gold, and it was of the purest silver." The Phœnicians then obtained gold from East and Western Africa, from Arabia and India, from Greece and Spain.

We may briefly allude to some other ancient sources of gold. The gold mines of Aquileia are said by Polybius to have been very productive (xxxiv., 10). This is now a small place of the same name in the gulf of Trieste, at the head of the Adriatic. The gold mines of Ictimuli, near Vercellæ (now Vercelli), are

celebrated by Pliny (xxxiii., 4), and Strabo (218), and are said at one period to have employed 25,000 men. The gold mines of Philippi, according to Diodorus Siculus (lib. 16) were exceedingly prolific, in which he agrees with Aristotle, who says that in Iberia also, the river Theodoron contains gold, which is thrown upon its banks or found in its bed. This Theodoron looks very much like Theodurum, a place in or near Belgium, but is most likely to be referred to the Asiatic Iberia, between the Black Sea and the Caspian. It would possibly scarcely take us within the limits of absurdity to suppose that the Phœnicians obtained gold from the tribes inhabiting the part of Asia just named, and even from the more distant Ural mountains themselves. Therefore we are not surprised to find Tubal and Meshech, along with Javan, among the Tyrian marts enumerated in the twenty-seventh of Ezekiel.

To name all the places where gold was anciently found, would be tedious, if possible, we will therefore mention but a few more, beginning with the island of Ænaria, probably the modern Ischia, which Vossius, in his notes on P. Mela, says, seems to be underlaid with mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, etc. Ancient and more recent authors, from the days of Herodotus have declared that gold is very plentiful in Ethiopia. Enarea, Damota, etc., are named by the Jesuits and others, as places where the Ethiopians find large quantities of gold, but according to Thevenot the mines of Enarea are not deep. Diodorus Siculus describes the mode of working the gold mines of Egypt. The site of these mines appears to have been recovered in our own day by Mr. Bonomi and M. Linant. This gold region is in the Bisharee desert, seventeen days to the south-east of Derow. Inscriptions of the tenth century have been found in the locality, but the mines seem to have been considered exhausted in Abulfeda's time. Wilkinson says, gold mines are suspected to exist near Breccia Verde, between Koptos and Kossayr. Abulfeda also speaks of gold mines at El Allaga or Ollajee, and at Eshuranib, three days beyond Mount Bon. The Egyptians probably drew their supply, not only from their own mines wrought by slaves and criminals, but from foreign countries. As for Palestine, the only indication we have found of gold there is in the statement of Clarke, that it was once obtained near Tiberias; if so, it was most likely in very small quantities.

2. *Silver*.—Inasmuch as silver was found in so many places where gold was obtained, a few indications are all that will be given under this head. Like gold it was an article of extensive commerce with the Phœnicians, the quality of whose silver is commended in the Talmud. Foremost among the countries

which yielded it must be mentioned Spain, where it abounds to this day. At the other end of the world is India, where Ptolemy places a silver region. Herodotus tells us of the silver mines of Thrace, near the Prasian marsh. Silver was procured in Lydia and other parts of Asia Minor. Mr. Layard tells us that, "Silver is found in the mountains of Kurdistan, and mines of it are still worked by the Turkish government near the frontiers of ancient Assyria, and in Armenia." "It is probable," he adds, "that others exist in a country whose mineral riches have not been explored." The abundance of silver in the possession of ancient Assyria and the neighbouring counties is abundantly attested in every possible way. Ænaria or Ischia has already been named for its silver. We have discovered no record of silver in Syria and Palestine except an intimation by Volney that it has been found in Lebanon; but Diodorus speaks of it in Egypt.

3. *Copper*.—This metal was extensively diffused and employed to a large extent. It was obtained in Egypt, according to Diodorus, but where, he does not say. Ænaria just mentioned, was named from its mines of copper. Cyprus probably gave rise to the word, and supplied large quantities of the metal. Copper was said to be found in India. Aristotle tells us of floating copper found at Demonesus, an island of the Carthaginians; he adds that the brass of Mossynecum is white. Copper appears to be rare in Ethiopia if we may believe Herodotus. Javan, Tubal, and Meshech are described as supplying Tyre with this article in Ezekiel xxvii. Copper was procured in different parts of Asia Minor, and was plentiful among some of the Scythian tribes, as the Massagetæ, (Herod. i. 215.) Corinth, Delos, Ægina, etc., were also noted for their copper, and it is curious that in a few places the Syriac Version speaks of the Corinthian brass or copper. This proves at least that the variety of amalgam which passed under that name was well known in Syria. Layard speaks of copper mines in the mountains near Tiyyari, and shews that the metal was in great use among the Assyrians. It is still found in the Sinaitic peninsula. Dr. Wilson speaks of an ancient copper mine wrought between the seams of granite in a perpendicular direction, to the east of Wady Mokatteb in the direction of Ghebel Nabbeh. Probably it is to this that Lepsius refers when he says he saw traces of copper mines in Wady Mogharah in the peninsula, somewhat to the south of the Wady Mokatteb.

It is not easy at this day to fix the boundaries of the Nabateans, the Arab descendants of Nebaioth, but probably no definite limits existed. They may generally be placed between the Euphrates and the Red Sea, the trade of which district they

conducted or rather controlled. Before the Christian era they had pushed themselves further west than formerly, for Strabo says, "The metropolis of the Nabatæans is called Petra." He elsewhere seems to intimate that they not only had gold and silver, but copper. The name of one mine in the district at least is preserved. The copper mines of Phæno, and their proximate position, are mentioned by Eusebius in his account of the martyrs of Palestine. Reference is not unfrequently made to the exile of Christians to Petra and to Phæno, and in some cases it is distinctly averred that the condemnation was to the mines. Men eminent for their piety or their position were banished there. Such were the martyrs named by Eusebius; such too were Irenæus and Nestorius in the fifth century. Their banishment is described as to perpetual poverty and solitude. Yet there was a bishop of Petra in the fourth century at the council of Seleucia (A.D. 359); and a bishop of Phæno at the council of Ephesus in 431. The site of Petra we will take for granted, but we know of no traces of copper ore in its immediate vicinity. The site of Phæno is a problem. It is apparently the same as Punon (a station of the Israelites, Num. xxxiii. 42, 43), and indeed this latter is called Phæno in the Syriac version. By some it is called Metallo-Phænon from its mines, and indeed its name is spelt in other ways. Ritter thinks we should look for Phæno in the Wady Tufileh, and it is said by Eusebius to have lain between Petra and Zoar. Athanasius tells us that it was so unhealthy that criminals condemned there only lived a few days, and that with difficulty. Its mines are alluded to by Epiphanius (*Adv. Hær.*, lib. xi.) Jerome says it was four miles south of Dedan, in which he follows Eusebius. On the whole, it seems that Phæno must be sought for to the east of Wady-el-Arabah in the mountains of Seir, and perhaps further south than Wady Tufileh. It is to be hoped that the attention of practical geologists will be turned to this locality. There is, however, some doubt respecting the place after all, because Van de Velde and others think Phæno was in Trachonitis on the western cliffs of the Lejah. According to this view, Phæno was at El-Musmeih on a Roman road, about twenty-two miles south by east of Damascus.

Besides Phæno, there were copper mines at Zauara, which is commonly supposed to be Zoar, otherwise called Zoorā, etc. The site of this place is considered as identified, or at least fixed by Dr. Robinson at the east of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, in agreement with the suspicion of Irby and Mangles. But no copper mines appear to have been traced in that locality. This is no proof that none may exist. Here again we are met

with the same difficulty as in the case of Phæno, and Van de Velde, etc., think that the Zauara named by the Fathers is equivalent to Edhraa, which lies near twenty miles S. by W. of El-Musmeih. The locality deserves to be explored, but our own feeling is in favour of the clue furnished by Eusebius and others. Ptolemy appears to place Zoara to the N.E. of Petra and the S.E. of the Dead Sea, which harmonizes with the view here preferred.

In the accounts of the martyrs mention is also made of the mines of Proconnesus, but it is not certain that they were not the quarries of Proconnesus, famous for white marble, and giving their name to the sea of Marmora. The Christians condemned by Claudius, Maximin, and Dioclesian, those celebrated by Cyprian, and others, were sent to mines of all sorts and in all sorts of places, and we cannot always trace them. We may illustrate and dismiss this question with the single remark, that Agatharcides refers to the *gold* mines of *Pheneos* in Arcadia.

Volney tells us that copper is found in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, but this is almost the only trace we have met with in Syria.

4. *Iron*.—It will not be needful to go much into the general question under this head. Jeremiah (xv. 12) speaks of iron from the north, probably referring to steel, or to iron procured from the Chalybes in Pontus. The Tyrians obtained iron in Spain and in Arabia. Iron is said to exist in Ænaria or Ischia, at Monte Ferrato in Sardinia, in Scythia, in the island of Crete, and to some extent in Ethiopia. Mr. Ainsworth (*Travels*, ii., 215) describes iron mines in Kurdistun at Tura Duri, etc., and says that five such are known in Hakkari. Mr. Layard also speaks of the iron ore and mines in the Tiyari mountains. Aristotle, who loves the marvellous, says that in Cyprus iron was found which, if cut in pieces, grew when it was sprinkled with water. The same authority tells us that among the Chalybii and the Mysii iron was carried down by the rivers. Diodorus affirms that iron was found in Egypt, and his statement is confirmed by Mr. Burton. With regard to Palestine, the evidence is positive that iron exists in the Lebanon. M. Botta intimates that iron ores abound in Lebanon, and that the sandy formation is very ferruginous. Mr. Van de Velde describes the traces of iron workings near the south-eastern base of Toum Nihās (p. 155, *Memoir*). Mr. G. W. Chasseaud, in his work upon the Druses, says there is near Mittaine an iron mine of inferior quality which is inefficiently worked: he has just before spoken of a coal mine. He also tells us of ancient iron mines and traces of iron in the district round Hasbeiya. Josephus alludes to the iron mountain

east of the Jordan. Herzog and Ritter report that ironstone is found in the lower Ghor, in Hauran, and in North Lebanon, where it is still dug and smelted. According to Ezekiel iron was also procured from Arabia, and this agrees with the reference by Strabo to the iron of the Nabatæans. Probably another source of supply was Cappadocia.

5. *Lead*.—Mr. Ainsworth found a lead mine in the district where the iron mines described by him were discovered. Mr. Bonomi says there are lead mines in Kurdistan, not far from Mosul. It was known and used by the Assyrians, and other nations of antiquity. Aristotle says that large quantities of lead were found in India. Lead was found in the west in Sardinia at Monte Ferrato, and elsewhere. The Tyrians imported it largely from Tarshish, and by them probably the Hebrews were supplied. Yet Volney reports that lead is to be found in Lebanon; and it is said to be found at Sheff, near Mount Sinai. Lead was also discovered by Mr. Burton between the Nile and the Red Sea.

6. *Tin*.—This was used, but does not seem to have existed in the soil of Palestine, Syria, or Egypt. Tyre obtained it from Tarshish, and it is said that the tin islands, the Cassiterides of the Greeks, were the British islands. It may have been so. Aristotle says the *Celtic* tin would melt quicker than lead, and it is not plain where Celtic tin came from.

A word or two more, and we have done. Mercury and cinabar are said by Burckhardt to exist near Hasbeiya, and the knowledge of antimony is inferred from such places as 2 Kings ix. 30, where the dye for the eyelashes of the Hebrew ladies is alluded to.

Two inferences only need be drawn. First, that while the Hebrews knew most of the principal metals, they were mainly dependent for their supply upon other countries, and especially Phœnicia. Secondly, that while the mineral wealth of Syria and Palestine was less developed than that of the Sinaitic peninsula, both were considerable, and would probably repay scientific exploration and working in our own day. It may be added, that iron and copper were known to exist in the time of Moses, and that these, and especially iron, are the metals which are to be met with at the present day.

B. H. C.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW.

WHERE so much attention has of late been given to the various questions connected with the Gospels, and so much ability and learning been expended on their elucidation, it may appear useless for persons who do not in many respects claim equality with their fellow-labourers in this field to enter upon it at all; but further reflection sets aside this idea as both unjust and ungenerous. There is no harvest so carefully gathered but that something remains for the gleaner, and the few olive berries which remain after the tree has been shaken not unfrequently grow upon some of its most fruitful branches. The opinions of independent thinkers who are not content to follow in the train of this or that great name or party are seldom wholly devoid of value.

It is on this account that the writer of these pages would wish to lay before the public his own reflections and ideas derived from a careful reading of the Evangelists. They may perhaps, in some instances, correct erroneous opinions not unfrequently held, or confirm those which are just, or, in some few cases, present a matter in a light to many minds new. Let them be taken for what they are worth.

In considering the Gospel of St. Matthew, our first inquiry will be as to the place where in all probability it was written, and the parties for whom it was at first composed. We do not indeed believe that we have from any sources the means of fixing, with anything like certainty, or even with any great amount of probability, the exact country or people for whom it was written. But we shall we think be able to determine what is here of chief consequence, namely, that this Gospel was not written in Judæa, or especially for Jewish converts to Christ. If this point is established, it is of far inferior moment in what Gentile land and for what Gentile people it was drawn up. And in order to establish this, it will be necessary first to draw attention to the probable movements of the apostles generally during the time immediately subsequent to our Lord's resurrection.

The command of Christ to the twelve after his resurrection indicates, beyond any reasonable doubt, the departure from Jerusalem and Judæa of the great body of the apostles at a time much earlier than is usually supposed. "Tarry ye," he said to them, "in the city of Jerusalem, *until ye be endued with power from on high*" (Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 4). We here see what was our Lord's intention as to their future movements. The descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, related in

Acts ii.,—for it was on that occasion that they were “endued with power from on high,”—was to be the signal for their general dispersion. Acts i. 8 tells us how and where they were to be afterwards employed: “Ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.” We thus see the apostolic mission. Jerusalem was to be the central point of labour, and accordingly would continue to enjoy the presence of some one or more of the body; but the greater number were immediately to leave the cradle of Christianity to propagate the faith wherever the nations of mankind had taken up their abode. The Roman world, extensive as it was, was not coextensive with the field of labour which their Lord appointed them. Eastward and southward was a world more extensive and populous than that which bowed to the Roman sceptre, where the Parthian and the Mede, the Ethiopian and Indian and Chinese followed each their several idolatries. Throughout this vast world the apostles were to be dispersed as soon as possible after the descent of the Holy Ghost had fitted them for their work. We can have no doubt but that they obeyed the command of Christ. Whether a specific revelation were made to them as to where each should labour, or whether they followed what appeared to their own minds the most suitable course, we can have little hesitation in saying that in the same year in which Christ was crucified the greater number of the apostles had left Judæa, probably never to behold it again.

With this view agrees all that we read of them after our Lord’s ascension, and the total silence about the greater number of them speaks almost as eloquently as words. Labourers in lands which have left no history behind them, the only certain record of their work is in the book of heaven. But the names of the lands in which they are said to have laboured indicates the prevalent belief of the early times of the Church, that they did literally fulfil their Lord’s command; and we find Armenia and Ethiopia, Lybia, Mauritania and Arabia, Scythia, Colchis, and India mentioned in the traditions of the first ages as where they lived and died.

We have often remarked the marvellous accuracy of St. Luke in his writings. We believe him to be of all the writers of the New Testament the most accurate; and we are satisfied that in carefully following his exact expressions, in his mention of the apostles in the book of Acts, we shall be able to fix upon the very time when the greater number of them left Judæa to return no more. His use of the pronouns “we” and “they” has often been remarked on as accurately marking his own presence at or

absence from the scenes which he describes. The manner in which he speaks of the apostles will, we think, as accurately mark how long they continued together, and when they separated to meet together on earth no more.

How very careful St. Luke is to tell us of the presence of every one of the original apostles at Jerusalem previous to the day of Pentecost! He is not content with telling us that *the eleven* were there, but he must mention the name of each apostle with the same distinctness that he had enumerated them when in his Gospel he had described their call (Acts i. 13; Luke vi. 14). One name only is wanting—that of the traitor. As we proceed we notice the same careful mention. Matthias is numbered, not with the apostles generally, but “with *the eleven apostles*” (Acts i. 26). At the day of Pentecost we are particularly reminded that “*all*” of them were present (Acts ii. 1). In the subsequent proceedings of that great day, we are told that, in reply to the mockery and doubts of those present, “Peter stood up *with the eleven*” (Acts ii. 14). And lastly, we are told that when the deacons were chosen to administer the alms of the Church, “*the twelve* called the multitude together” (Acts vi. 2). From this time we read no more in the Acts about *the twelve apostles*. When mention is made afterwards of apostles at Jerusalem we are told no more of this number, because this number no longer remained at Jerusalem.

Is there any expression of this accurate writer indicative of the dispersion of the apostles, which we suppose, from his ceasing to speak of the twelve, happened very soon after the choice of the seven deacons? There is. Samaria receives the gospel from the mouth of Philip (Acts viii.). It is desirable that the Church there should receive the gift of the Holy Ghost at the hands of the apostles (verses 15, 16); and how is this told? We do not read that “the twelve” sent Peter and John to Samaria, but we are told that “when *the apostles which were at Jerusalem* heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John” (viii. 14). What is the natural inference from a writer of Luke’s accuracy dropping his usual previous expression of “the twelve,” and adopting the phrase, “the apostles which were at Jerusalem,” but that he was aware that at this time *the twelve were not at Jerusalem, but that only some of them were there?* We did not need to be informed that Jerusalem was the place of abode of the apostles. In the first verse of this same chapter we had been expressly told that they were there. The only probable cause is that at this time some of the apostles had left it, that Luke knew of their departure, and consequently, when he described the mission of Peter and

John to Samaria, he spoke of it as directed not by the entire apostolate, but by "*the apostles which were at Jerusalem.*" There were then only some of them present there at the time.

So runs the expression throughout the book of Acts. The twelve are never mentioned again throughout its later portions, though in the earlier part we were always referred to their number. It is henceforth "*the apostles,*" or "*the apostles that were in Judæa,*" that we are told of (Acts ix. 27; xi. 1). The variation of phrase has indicated that the greater number of them had left Judæa and Jerusalem.

We will now see if we have not abundant confirmation of the truth of the view thus suggested to us by the phraseology of St. Luke.

In the first place, it agrees exactly with the command of Christ, of which we have already spoken (Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 4). It was by him plainly directed that *as soon as they were endued with power from on high*, while some were to remain in Jerusalem and Judæa, the greater number of them were to leave for far distant lands. In conformity with this command, we cannot suppose that the apostles generally made any considerable stay in Judæa. Directed to leave as soon as the Holy Ghost descended upon them, we cannot suppose that they lingered for years about the holy land. In all probability, within a very few months—perhaps not more than one or two after the descent of the Spirit—the greater number had departed upon their mission. Any lengthened stay after the day of Pentecost would have been opposed to the command of Christ, and therefore we may conclude that no such stay was made. And here is one powerful confirmation of the view we have taken of the significance of Luke ceasing to speak of *the twelve* as at Jerusalem later in his history than Acts vi. 2.

We will next see that their departure at a very early period is in exact conformity with the notices that we find of them here and there in Scripture.

In Acts ix. 27 we read of Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion: "Barnabas took him, and brought him *to the apostles.*" We have supposed that Luke, by his ceasing to speak of *the twelve*, indicates a greatly diminished number as present at Jerusalem. *Now how many does he here mean by "the apostles?" Only two!* We gather this from St. Paul's own description of this same visit in Gal. i. 18, 19: "After three years," he tells us, "I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother." When St. Paul then was brought by Barnabas "*to the apostles,*" we find that by this expression

not more than two of them are intended, and we also find that at this time there were only this small number present at Jerusalem, though doubtless as many of them as could, would have been delighted to welcome as a brother the newly-converted Saul.

And now when did this occur? In an essay lately published we have shewn that we are to place the conversion of St. Paul in the same year in which our Lord was crucified.^a Taking this at the usual date of A.D. 33, we have Paul's first visit to Jerusalem in A.D. 35. And however the dates are reckoned, we have at any rate the indication that, in the third year after our Saviour's crucifixion, there were very few of the apostles resident in Jerusalem. Peter and James were the only ones present there to welcome the new apostle.

In Acts xi. 30 and xii. 25 we are told of Paul's second visit to Jerusalem. In the same essay to which we have just referred we have shewn that this is the visit of which the apostle speaks in Gal. ii. 1, and is not his third visit, as is by some erroneously supposed. St. Luke in his narrative does not mention the apostles at all in connexion with this visit, but St. Paul supplies his omission. He did meet the apostles at this visit, but how many? *Only three!* "James, Cephas, and John" were all of the apostolic body who were present to welcome the deputation which came to relieve the saints at Jerusalem then suffering from a terrible famine. This was A.D. 46.

The fifteenth chapter of Acts supplies us with another instance of St. Luke's meaning when he speaks of "the apostles at Jerusalem," and also of the small number of them which then remained there. It is Paul's third visit to Jerusalem, and the convening of the council which is to determine the liberty of the Christian Church. We read that it was determined at Antioch that "Paul and Barnabas . . . should go up to Jerusalem *unto the apostles*" (Acts xv. 2). How many did St. Luke include under this expression? *Only two!* Peter and James were alone present of the apostolic body. John had taken his departure: the rest were too far off to take any part in the first and last infallible council. Only James, the president of the Church, and Peter, the apostle of the circumcision, could attend the meeting of a council which was to determine the liberty of the Christian world. This is about A.D. 51.

Paul visits Jerusalem once more; but how many of the apostles does he find present at the feast of Pentecost? *Only one!*

^a *Essays Critical and Theological.* By the Rev. Henry Constable. Longmans. (pp. 67—72.)

Peter too has gone, and has left James the sole representative of the twelve (Acts xxi. 18).

And now what is the natural inference from all this? We find a writer of acknowledged accuracy ceasing in a particular part of his history to speak, as he had been used to speak, of *the twelve apostles* as being at Jerusalem. We find that the period where he changes his language was just the period when, according to the Lord's command, by them doubtless obeyed, the greater number of the body should leave Jerusalem and Judæa. We henceforth find his altered expression—"the apostles which were at Jerusalem"—as including, both by his own explanation and that of St. Paul, only two or three of them. Is it not a reasonable inference to suppose, that just when he altered his language the dispersion of the apostles had taken place, authorizing and calling for the precise change of language which we remark in St. Luke?

It is then during the events related in Acts vi. that we would place the general dispersion of the apostles from Judæa. They all joined in the appointment of the order of deacons, and in the ordination of the first seven (verses 2, 6). During that period of great prosperity to the Church mentioned in the seventh and eighth verses of the chapter, when priests and people came over in great numbers to the faith, when popular favour, and the miracles and eloquent wisdom of Stephen, seemed carrying everything before them among the Jewish people, we suppose that the great body of the apostles thought that the time had come that they should leave a scene where they did not seem to be urgently wanted, in order to fulfil their Lord's command, to preach his Gospel in the uttermost parts of the earth. From this period we read no more of "*the twelve*." "The apostles" who remained in Jerusalem when the body of the faithful fled from Saul's persecution were not the twelve (Acts viii. 1); they were Peter, the two Jameses, and John. The rest had gone where we cannot follow them with anything like certainty as to their movements. In the scenes of Scripture we see them no more.

St. Matthew is one of these. He is mentioned by name in Acts i. 13. He continued at Jerusalem down to the appointment of the seven deacons; but from thenceforward we find no trace of him. Paul never met him in his extensive travels throughout the Roman world, nor had he in any instance preceded Paul in any of the places where he laboured (Rom. xv. 20). With most of the other apostles he left Jerusalem and Judæa in the year of our Lord's crucifixion, and went in all probability, at this early period of the Gospel, into some land outside the Roman world. Whether it were Ethiopia or not we cannot determine.

It is very evident of what consequence the previous reflections, if well founded, are in determining the question, *for what parties St. Matthew wrote his Gospel*. That he wrote it in Judæa, and for Jewish converts to Christianity, is the unanimous opinion of the Fathers. With a marvellous and suspicious circumstantiality, rendered more suspicious by some important contradictions and most improbable suppositions, they all give this as their testimony. Mr. Nelson, in a concise paragraph in his *Fasts*, has given us a very pleasing view of the entire matter, if only it were true, which it is not. The testimony of the Fathers is in fact little, if anything, more than the testimony of the weak-minded and credulous Papias whom they followed, and who, from confounding an early heretical Gospel according to the Hebrews with St. Matthew's Gospel, has misled many of greater sense and information than himself.

That Matthew wrote his Gospel in Judæa and for Jewish converts, and in the Hebrew language, and with the approval of the apostles generally, all falls to the ground if we agree with the previous reasoning of this essay, drawn, not from confused and contradictory traditions, but from the only sure source of information on a point of the kind—the writings of the New Testament. The man who left Judæa almost immediately after the Lord's ascension, and spent the remainder of his life in some distant Gentile land, neither wrote his Gospel in Judæa, nor for Jewish converts there to Christianity, nor with the knowledge and approval of the apostolate, nor in the Hebrew tongue. He must have written it for Christian converts personally unacquainted with the life of Christ, among whom there may have been some few Jews, but the great majority of whom were Gentiles, in the wide-spread tongue of Greece, with no aid from other apostles, but himself relating, with the assistance of God the Holy Ghost, works which he had seen at a former period of his life with his own eyes, and words to whose thrilling power his own ears had listened.

The internal evidence of the Gospel will also, we think, be found to support the view, that it was not written for the Jewish converts of Palestine. Dean Alford, indeed, is of opinion that there are in it notices which tend to confirm the opinion that it was.^b But we do not think that the notices he refers to necessarily point that way, while other notices beyond any doubt point in the very opposite direction. "We have," he says, "fewer interpretations of Jewish customs, laws, and localities than in the two other [synoptic] Gospels. The whole narrative proceeds

^b Alford's *Greek Testament*, vol. i., p. 30. Proleg. to Matthew's Gospel.

more upon a Jewish view of matters, and is concerned more to establish that point which, to a Jewish convert, would be most important,—*that Jesus was the Messiah prophesied in the Old Testament.*” It is very true that a man writing for Jewish converts would naturally follow such a plan as this. But it is still more likely that one who was a Jew himself, educated up to the time of mature manhood in Jewish principles, would quite unconsciously, in writing a life of Christ, give the Jewish view of that life, even though his readers had never been Jews themselves. Matthew was such a man, and his own feelings and views would most naturally and properly give a colour to the view he relates of his Master. That view is therefore sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the writer was a Jew, without taking into account the question, whether his readers were so or not. Other notices shew us they were not.

While, therefore, we recognize in this Gospel the believing Jew tracing out Jesus as the Messiah of the Jewish Scriptures, we find sufficient proof throughout it to confirm our previous view, that it was written for Gentiles. And, in the first place, he wrote for parties unacquainted with the Hebrew dialect of Christ’s time. This is shewn by his giving the interpretation of various Hebrew words which occur in his Gospel, as Emmanuel, Golgotha, and others (Matt. i. 23; xxvii. 33, 46). Had he been writing for the converted Jews of Palestine he would never have thought of explaining these terms, for they were just as well aware of their meaning as he was himself. He had therefore parties for his readers ignorant of the dialect of Palestine. Again, that he did not write for converted Jews is evident from his explaining the peculiar doctrines of the Sadducees with respect to the resurrection (xxii. 23). He reminds us, while of course speaking far more briefly, of Josephus giving an account of a Jewish sect for the information of Gentiles. But had Jews constituted his readers he never would have dreamed of giving any account, long or short, of the main doctrine of one of the great parties which divided Judaism. Again, his mention of Pontius Pilate as compared with the mention made of him by the other evangelists, not only indicates that he did not write for the Jews of Palestine, but that he probably wrote for parties living outside the circle of the Roman world. When he speaks of our Lord being led before Pilate, he is very careful to tell his readers *who this Pilate was*, and to keep his office constantly in their view. His first mention of him occurs xxvii. 2: “They delivered him to Pontius Pilate *the governor*,” and he mentions him afterwards as the governor no less than eight times. But how is he mentioned in the other Gospels? His name is simply mentioned,

while not a word is said as to his office : "They delivered him to Pilate;" "They led him to Pilate" (Mark xv. 1; Luke xxiii. 1). Nor do they throughout the trial once mention his office. The natural inference is, that Pontius Pilate was a man well known through the Roman world, and by the readers of Mark and Luke, but that he was not thus known by the readers of Matthew. These then were not the converted Jews of Palestine, for they above all others knew who and what Pilate was. And more than this, they probably were not belonging to any nation subject to Rome, for Mark's and Luke's mention of him indicates that to such he was known. They were probably a Gentile church gathered outside the Roman empire. Once more, this Gospel was not written for the Jews of Palestine from the way in which the Jews are spoken of (xxviii. 15). Speaking of the report that Jesus was stolen by night out of the tomb, he says, "This saying is commonly reported *among the Jews* until this day." Plainly "the Jews" here are *not St. Matthew's own readers*. Plainly he speaks of them as a people distinct from those for whom he was writing, and therefore these are not the converted Jews of Palestine, who besides would not need to be told at all of a report which had probably been thrown in their teeth by their unbelieving countrymen over and over again.

We have thus seen that our inference from the early dispersion of the apostles is fully borne out by the internal evidence of the Gospel itself. From that dispersion we gathered that Matthew could not have written in Palestine or for his countrymen there, and the internal marks lead us to conclude that he did not do so.

Were we disposed to rely much on notices occurring in this Gospel of *the interest of Gentiles in Christ and in his work*, we have fully as striking instances and proofs of this in St. Matthew as in any other of the evangelists,—perhaps even more striking than in any of them. Matthew alone mentions the assemblage of multitudes *from Syria* to have their sick healed by Jesus, and from the connexion of this assemblage with his narrative in his fifth chapter he teaches us that the famous sermon on the mount was addressed to a congregation of mingled Jews and Gentiles (iv. 24, 25; v. 1, 2). In connexion with his mention of our Lord's mercy to the "woman of Canaan," Matthew alone leads us to suppose that, in consequence of it, multitudes of other Gentiles brought their sick to Jesus, and, overcome by his exhibition of power, "*glorified the God of Israel*" (xv. 25—31). They who did so were plainly not Israelites themselves. Matthew alone mentions the visit of the eastern Magi to Christ—(perhaps he preached himself in the land they came from);—

alone mentions the light shining "*in Galilee of the Gentiles*;" alone mentions the coming of "many from east and west to sit down with Abraham in God's kingdom;" alone mentions the removal of the kingdom of God from Israel to bestow it on another nation (ii. 1; iv. 15, 16; viii. 11; xxi. 43). With Mark he mentions the assemblage of God's elect from the four winds of heaven; alone of the evangelists describes a judgment to which "*all the nations*" are to be gathered; and alone mentions the appearance of Christ after his resurrection to the greatest number of the disciples *in Gentile Galilee*, and his command there to teach "*all the nations*" (xxiv. 31; xxv. 31—46; xxviii. 19). We think, on comparing these plain and repeated proofs of Christ's care for and merciful intentions towards the Gentile world with those of any other evangelists, we will find them in no way inferior. The Ethiopian or the Indian—if among such Matthew laboured—would know from his Gospel that He in whom they believed lived and died for them as He did for Israel.

Having thus seen that St. Matthew did not write for the Christian churches of Palestine, but in all probability for some Gentile church outside the Roman world, we now come to consider the question of the *date of his Gospel*.

Tradition gives very different accounts of this: while one tradition places it so late as the (supposed) period when Paul and Peter together preached the Gospel at Rome, and founded the Church there, another refers it back to so early a time as the stoning of Stephen. Tradition only agrees in supposing it to have been the first written of the Gospels. We suppose the contradictions of tradition on this point teach us that the fathers were but guessing themselves, or repeating the guesses of others. In matters of this kind tradition goes for very little.

But we think we have from better sources reason to conclude that a late date is far the most likely, not only for Matthew's, but also for all the Gospels. Which was the first written of the synoptic Gospels we doubt of having any grounds for determining.

Among the commands of Christ to his apostles there was no command to write a history of his life, nor any promise of supernatural help in writing one. They were repeatedly told to go and preach the Gospel to the nations, but never to write the life of Christ. Authorship indeed was at that period of the world a much rarer thing than it is now. Though there are a great many now, there were then very few indeed who felt with Horace—

"Quisquis erit vitæ, scribam, color,"

and among men of the rank and pursuits of the apostles the

idea of writing a book would be the last thing to enter their minds; few of them probably knew how to write, and we do not know that their inspiration gave them any help towards acquiring the art. "They were unlearned and ignorant men" (Acts iv. 13),—a description true even of St. John, who was probably in rank of life the very highest of them. Matthew indeed from his office of publican probably had some little knowledge of writing, but not at all such as would suggest to him the notion of writing a book. The idea of authorship, we may safely say, was one which probably never entered their minds until some urgent occasion forced it on them. That nothing whatever had been said to them by Christ as to their writing any history of his life, and that it was not suggested to them that their being apostles and witnesses of Christ entailed on them any such office as becoming his historians, we certainly gather from the undoubted facts of the case. Of the twelve apostles only two wrote Gospels themselves. Matthew, we will see, probably wrote his late in life; John certainly did so. Of the rest, Peter probably had a very considerable share in Mark's Gospel; while the other nine left nothing of the kind behind them; they testified to Christ by word of mouth, but they wrote no life of Him for after times.

Now from all this we assuredly gather that the idea of writing a Gospel was not among the original apostolic ideas; it occupied no place in their minds. The idea current among them was that their oral teaching about the life of Christ was sufficient for the wants of the Church while they lived; and it was, in all probability, the known death of most of their number,—their own approaching dissolution,—a feeling forced upon them by apocryphal accounts of Christ gaining currency in the Church, and the sense of how fearfully these would be increased if they were all gone, and left no authentic history behind them,—that forced even the few among them that did write to write their Gospels. All these tolerably certain reflections lead us to the theory, that Matthew did not write his Gospel till towards the close of his life.

But besides inferences from the facts of the case, we have in the evangelical writings, we think, pretty clear proof that the above was the real state of feeling in the early Church, and among the apostolic body.

The opening verses of St. Luke's Gospel afford us very valuable information here. We cannot read those verses without having the impression strongly forced upon us that "the eye-witnesses of the Word," from whose teaching many in that time endeavoured to draw out memoirs of Christ, *were most of them departed from this life*. It would seem that it was the departure

from among them of the apostles generally, that created a great want in the Church which many earnest and well-intentioned Christians, as well as others of a different kind, laboured to supply, by writing what professed to be the teaching of the apostles. Now that they were no more,—when they could not be appealed to, to supply information and to correct error, a sore loss was felt which many laboured to supply with different objects in view. This is the impression which St. Luke conveys to us in his opening verses, when he says that “many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, *even as they delivered them unto us which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word.*” These “eye-witnesses,” we say, would seem to have done their work,—delivered their testimony,—and slept in Jesus; and then, to prevent oblivion of their words, or erroneous accounts of them, “many” took in hand to deliver an account of apostolic teaching, or for the purpose of propagating error. Luke felt the same urgent necessity which had actuated them, and having had as perfect information at least as they had, and a higher aid in writing his recollections, he proceeds to give an account of the life of Christ which could with certainty be relied on as accurate, while those other accounts, from the necessary imperfection of human memory and comprehension, could not be so relied on. We take it then that Luke penned those verses when, in all probability, most of the apostles were dead, and those who might have survived were too distant to be appealed to by the churches of the empire.

Dean Alford indeed considers that he has, in the case of this Gospel, “*a fixed date,*” which necessarily obliges us to conclude that it was written at a much earlier period than we have here supposed. We know that he wrote his Gospel before he wrote the Acts of the Apostles (Acts i. 1), and the dean considers that from Acts xxviii. 30 we cannot at all suppose that the Acts was written at any period subsequent to the termination of the second year of Paul’s imprisonment at Rome.^c Before this he says the Gospel “*must have been published.*” It may appear presumptuous to differ from the Dean of Canterbury when he expresses so decided an opinion, but, however this may appear, we have just as little doubt but that his inference from the above text is certainly unfounded. We had intended to have kept the full discussion of this question until we came to speak more particularly of St. Luke’s Gospel; but perhaps this may be as good an opportunity for discussing it as later on.

^c *Gr. Test.*, vol. i., p. 45: Fourth Edition.

The words of St. Luke descriptive of the time of Paul's stay as a prisoner at Rome are these: "*And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him.*" The only natural force of these words is, *that they describe the entire period of Paul's imprisonment.* It was two entire years—neither more nor less. They are the words of a man who evidently knew how long Paul's imprisonment lasted, and evidently intended to tell how long it lasted. Does any one think it consistent with these words to suppose that Paul might, for anything they convey to the contrary, have remained in prison three, four, or more years? We are sure that such an idea will be felt to be inconsistent with their natural force. But if so, then they must be taken as descriptive of *the entire period of time during which the apostle remained in prison.* It follows as a matter of course that the Acts was written, not during the imprisonment, *but after it was ended* either by Paul's release or death. If the book tells us the whole time that the imprisonment lasted, it must have been written after it was over; and if after it was over, we cannot tell how soon or how long after. Dean Alford's "fixed date" then is not a fixed date at all. We only know that the book of Acts was written at some period subsequent to the termination of Paul's imprisonment, and that the Gospel was written prior to the Acts. But for anything Luke tells us, the Acts might have been written six, ten, or twenty years after the imprisonment was over.

But, observes the Dean of Canterbury, if Paul "had left Rome or that house, or had any remarkable event happened to him before the publication, we cannot suppose that so careful a recorder as Luke would have failed to bring his work down to the time then present, by noticing such departure or such event." This argument would be conclusive if we had any reason to suppose that Luke's object in the Acts was to write the entire life of Paul, or as much as he knew of it. He evidently had no such object: his object was evidently gained when he had brought Paul to Rome, the metropolis of the world, and described him as there testifying to Christ. Of the two years of his stay there, of which he could have written volumes of deeply interesting matter if his object had been to tell us all he knew of Paul, two short verses—after the interview between the apostle and the Jews, which took place the third day after his arrival—form the entire account. His object was not to write the life of Paul, except so far as his account of that life accomplished a much higher object. Personally attached as he was to Paul, he loses sight, in his inspired narrative, of the hero and the friend, in making even that friend subservient to Christ; just as Matthew

and John in their Gospels forget themselves in the object which they are describing. Luke's object was gained when he brought Paul to Rome, and so he dismisses him from his narrative, just as his object in connexion with Peter had been gained when he described his preaching in Jerusalem, Judæa, and Samaria, and, this gained, dismisses him with the words, "*he went into another place*" (xii. 17); after which he never introduces the great apostle of the opening era of the Church, except when he is incidentally brought upon one occasion into notice by his meeting with St. Paul at the time of the council (chap. xv.) Plainly his purpose was not to write the life either of Peter or of Paul: his object was to write so much of the lives of these two men as carried out the real object he had in mind in writing the book of Acts. He knew a great deal about St. Peter subsequent to the conversion of Cornelius and the escape from Herod, but it was not to his purpose, and he tells us not a word of it. The man of whom he was so minute up to his twelfth chapter is afterwards kept out of sight just as if there was no Peter. So with Paul. He knew very much about his early life before he became an apostle, and of the first years of his apostleship, but they were not essential to his object, and he is almost silent upon them. He knew much of Paul's life after he arrived at Rome, but by this time his object had been gained, and in a few words he dismisses the man on whom he had descanted with such minuteness during his missionary career throughout the great Gentile empire, ending at its capital.

And what was Luke's object in the book of Acts? He tells us what it was in his first chapter. It was to shew us the fulfilment of Christ's last promise and command: "Ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth" (i. 8). There is the plan of the book of Acts. It describes the fulfilment of these words of Christ, and not one whit more. The day of Pentecost comes first before us (chap. ii.); then comes the witness to Christ in Jerusalem, Judæa, and Samaria, and Peter, the apostle of the circumcision, is the foremost figure; then comes the witness to Christ in the uttermost parts of the earth, and Paul, the man of world-wide labours, occupies the pen of the inspired physician. But as each accomplishes Christ's command, he is dropped at once from view, and so we see no more of Peter after his testimony to the circumcision, or of Paul after his testimony to Gentile Rome. The departure of Paul from Rome—even his death there—were not required in order to fulfil the object of St. Luke, and therefore

he may have known of both of them when he wrote his book, and yet not have mentioned either. In the volume which has described greater men than Plutarch wrote of, there is no hero-worship.

We must then abandon the date which Dean Alford supposes he found in Acts xxviii. 30. We see that it implies that the Acts was written after the close of St. Paul's imprisonment, but how soon after we cannot tell. Before he wrote Acts he wrote his Gospel, but neither can we tell how long before; probably not long. At all events we are at liberty to take the opening words of his Gospel with the idea they naturally suggest, of having been written when the apostles in general were dead. If this is allowed, we may easily see how it bears upon the date of Matthew's Gospel. At the late period in which we suppose Luke to have written, it appears tolerably certain he had not heard of any Gospel written by an apostle. He speaks of many gospels drawn up to supply an urgent want of the Church, but these are all gospels by others than apostles. He intimates that these were all that the churches could then look to as containing a written account of Christ's life, and thus is evidently ignorant of any Gospel written by an apostle. This puts out of all question the idea of Matthew's having written a Gospel in Judæa within a few years after our Lord's ascension, and suggests a late date and a distant land for its appearance.

But these opening verses of his Gospel also shew us that there was not a general idea in the early Church that they were to expect written gospels from the apostles. It was evidently the absence of any such expectation—whether from their death or other causes—that led many to write gospels. What they could not have, or did not look for from the original eye-witnesses, they endeavoured to supply themselves with; and we thus see how that down to a late period the idea was current in the Church that apostles were not to write gospels.

Does not St. Peter seem to intimate that such too was the idea of the apostles themselves, and that it was only the contemplation of how things might go after their death that induced some of them to write what they had seen? What he says in his second Epistle (i. 2—15) seems to convey an impression that his presence and teaching were sufficient for the Church as long as they could have them, but that when he was gone, written history must supply the place of inspired oral testimony. To whatever written document we may suppose him to refer, he certainly does intimate in verse 15 that writing should occupy to the Church the place which apostolic oral teaching occupied while the apostles lived; or, in other words, written histories of

Christ's life were not by him deemed essential so long as he or other apostles lived. But as we shall refer more particularly to this passage when speaking of St. Mark's Gospel, we will not now allude to it any further.

We have not much in the contents of the Gospel to indicate its date. There are, however, two expressions which serve to shew that it must have been written a considerable time after the events which it records. These are, first, the mention that the field which was purchased with Judas's money was "called the field of blood *unto this day*;" the second, that the report that our Lord's disciples stole his body out of the tomb "is commonly reported among the Jews *until this day*." The expression is one of common occurrence, and refers to periods of time of very different length; it may refer to a period of ten, or twenty, or a thousand years. But in every case it indicates that *a period of great duration as regards the nature of the thing spoken of has elapsed*. Paul, after he had spent some thirty years as an apostle of Christ, felt warranted in using this expression: "Having obtained help of God, *I continue unto this day* witnessing." And Peter was warranted in using it of the preservation of David's sepulchre after the lapse of some thousand years: "*His sepulchre is with us unto this day*" (Acts xxvi. 22; ii. 29). Both these periods were very considerable when we consider what it was which is said to have continued, and the shorter period absolutely is relatively at least as long as the longer. It was a marvel of constancy that St. Paul should have continued anything like thirty years witnessing to Jesus in the face of contempt, and obloquy, and hardship, and danger, and coldness, and disappointment, and ingratitude. A year's similar experience would have worn out the patience of one not thoroughly in earnest. It was also remarkable that David's tomb should have continued after the changes and violence to which Jerusalem was subjected during the lapse of more than a thousand years. Paul could not thus have spoken in the early years of his apostleship, nor Peter of the times of the undisturbed succession of David's family. But it was applicable to the apostle in the close of his life, and to David's tomb after his city had been exposed to the violence of the Babylonians and Antiochus.

In this manner we try to estimate the time indicated by the expression in Matthew's Gospel. We do not think that a period of a few years would justify its use in either case. The name of a place to which such fearful celebrity was attached as to Judas's field would not be at all likely to die away for many years, or until the coming of times whose awful troubles and alarms would obliterate the past from memory. Nor would the report of the

clandestine abstraction of Christ's body from the tomb be suffered soon to die away, when it was all that the inveterate enemies of the Gospel could oppose to the bold unceasing testimony of men who said and repeated each day of their life that they had seen Jesus alive after he was buried. Neither name nor report would be at all likely to die away until at least the coming of those ominous times when the gathering of the Roman eagles over the quivering carcase shadowed out to general apprehension the time as near when the whole land was to be a field of blood, and the Jew might forget in the ruin of his nation the fabricated story of his priesthood. Their continuing then to the time when Matthew composed his Gospel indicates its composition as being many years after the events recorded had taken place.

If we suppose the Gospel to have been written some short time previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, of the predicted destruction of which it gives so minute an account, we will obtain a date in agreement with the preceding considerations. At the close of St. Matthew's life, just as it occurred to Peter, it occurred to him that the Church would needs require, after his decease, a written life of Christ by an inspired eye-witness, in order to preserve it from the deluge of apocryphal stories with which it would surely be inundated then; and to such a thought at such a time we probably owe, under God's providence, the inestimable treasure of Matthew's Gospel.

As to the language in which this Gospel was first written, if we have agreed to the previous reasoning, we can have no hesitation in rejecting the theory of a Hebrew original. The opinions of those best qualified to decide from internal evidence whether it bears the marks of a translation or not are divided, and may therefore fairly leave us to decide on other grounds. Neander thinks that the original Hebrew document of Matthew passed through the hands of a Greek editor; Michaelis considers it a translation from the original Hebrew; while Alford seems decided to agree with those who find in the Gospel itself internal evidence of a Greek original. The main reason then for supposing that it was at first written in Hebrew arose from the supposition, that it was composed for the converted Jews of Palestine, and was therefore written in their language. But as we have seen that it was not, in all probability, written in Judæa at all, this reason is set aside, and no other view remains for us but that Greek was its original language. But there are in the Gospel itself indications which are conclusive against its being a translation. If it were originally in Hebrew, and translated into Greek, *we should find no such thing as the interpretation of Hebrew words in the Gospel.* It is quite plain that a Hebrew

writer would not interpret in Hebrew a Hebrew phrase; consequently such a passage as chap. xxvii. 46 would have been given in the original Hebrew (if such had been) without the explanatory words, "That is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" The verse in Hebrew would have ended with "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani." A translation of the Hebrew original would have run thus, "And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" The verse, as we have it, indicates therefore that it was in this form it was thus written, and overturns the notion of a translation from the Hebrew to the Greek. We have similar instances in chap. i. 23; xxvii. 33.

We find precisely similar passages in other parts of Scripture which we know were at the first written in Greek. Thus in Mark v. 41 we read that Jesus "took the damsel by the hand, and said unto her, Talitha cumi; which is, being interpreted, Damsel, I say unto thee, arise." Had this been a translation from the so-called Hebrew it would have run thus, "And Jesus took the damsel by the hand, and said unto her, Damsel, arise." See, for similar instances, John i. 42; Acts. i. 19; iv. 36.

It may perhaps make this matter plainer to take a passage from the Greek, and shew that a translation could not possibly take the form which the above passages in Matthew have. We will take our Lord's words addressed to Lazarus in his grave, John xi. 43: *καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκραύγασε. Λάζαρε, δεῦρο ἔξω.* You could not translate these words into English otherwise than as they are translated. To make them assume the form of the expressions found in Matthew would be to depart altogether from the province of translation. We will throw them into such a form, and see this at once: "And when he thus had spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazare, deuro exo, which is, being interpreted, Lazarus, I say unto thee, come forth." This is not translation from the Greek into English, and consequently similar expressions in Matthew are not translations from Hebrew into Greek. Internal evidence coincides with external reasons for concluding that our Gospel of St. Matthew is an original work, not a translation.

That the writer of this Gospel was thoroughly and minutely acquainted with Jewish customs, and the local phrases and politics of Galilee, we have abundant proof. This is so much the case that, as we have already seen, it suggested the idea that he wrote specially for the converts in Palestine. We considered, however, p. 275, that it only proves his own early Jewish education, and will now refer briefly to some indications which would shew that the writer was not only a Jew, but educated to mature life in Galilee.

St. Matthew has frequent occasion to speak of that sheet of water by whose shores so much of our Lord's life was spent. He, with Mark, invariably give it the local name of "sea," while Luke, the foreigner, invariably calls it "a lake." The writers of the former Gospels were Jews, in whose eyes, and in whose eyes only, Gennesaret was a sea. Even the Jewish Josephus, writing for foreigners, calls it a lake.⁴ Again, Matthew speaks of "the traditions of the elders" without any explanation, as though so familiar to him that it did not occur to him that it might not be familiar to others (xv. 1, 2). Again, the peculiarly Jewish phrase, "kingdom of heaven," occurs twenty-four times in St. Matthew; elsewhere, not at all. But there is one expression which seems to indicate *the Galilean* beyond mistake; it is the title which he and Mark give to Herod Antipas. Matthew calls him "*a king*," a title which no foreigner, and scarce any but *a Galilean Jew*, would give to this Herod. He was not a king, he was but a tetrarch, the title which Luke invariably gives him. Josephus also gives him no higher title.⁵ Nor was it in ignorance of his proper title that Matthew calls him a king; in the same chapter in which he familiarly speaks of him as "*the king*," he calls him "*Herod the tetrarch*" (xiv. 1, 9). He never would have called him a tetrarch if he thought he had a legal title to the higher dignity of king. And why then does he give him a title to which Herod had no claim? He gives it for a reason which could only influence a Galilean, living under the government of Herod, versed in the local title which Herod longed for, and which was doubtless given to him generally by those who lived under his jurisdiction, but which would be unknown or unthought of out of Galilee. Josephus explains this matter;⁶ he tells us how, on the elevation of the brother of Herod's wife to the dignity of king, Herodias was miserable at her husband's inferior title, and excited him perpetually to seek from Cæsar the title of king. After considerable efforts, she at length persuaded him to set out for Rome to seek the title, and they set out, though the suit proved unsuccessful. Hence the local title of Galilee of king given to one who was but a tetrarch. The courtiers of Herod knew the inner politics of his household, and, to gratify their master's pride, would give him the coveted title; from them it would spread throughout the tetrarchy, and Herod would be in popular language "*the king*" in Galilee, though everywhere else nothing but a tetrarch. The bestowal of this title on him in our Gospel, written long after the events and in a distant land, indicates then clearly a writer who had lived during

⁴ J. W., iii., x., 1.⁵ A., xviii., vii., 1.⁶ A., xviii., vii.

his earlier life in Galilee, who was accustomed to its local phrases, and to whom it was a usual thing to give to the tetrarch Herod Antipas the title of king. No one else would ever have done this.

We now proceed to consider the chronological arrangement of Matthew's Gospel, and it will, we think, lead us to Dean Alford's conclusion, that it was written with very little reference to the order in time of the events related.^s Thus, as Alford remarks, we learn from Mark iv. 35 that the whole former part of Matthew's Gospel is out of order of time. Mark expressly tells us that it was on the evening of the same day on which our Lord spoke the parable of the sower that the storm took place. Luke also places it after the parable. But Matthew relates the storm in his eighth and the parable in his thirteenth chapter; and the events before and after the storm are so linked together, that we cannot suppose that that one scene only is related out of its order, but the whole series of events in connexion with it. Again, Matthew relates the scene of the expulsion from the temple on the day of our Lord's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, while Mark tells us it happened on the day after (Matt. xxi. 12; Mark xi. 12—15). Luke does not, as Alford thinks, agree with Matthew; he merely relates the scene as having taken place on the occasion of this visit of Christ to Jerusalem, but gives no intimation as to what day it happened on (Luke xix. 44, 45). Nor is there the smallest reason for supposing, with Alford (in Matt. xxi. 1), that our Lord's first entry into Jerusalem was private. The account in Luke is quite inconsistent with such a notion, nor does Mark xi. 11 intimate anything of this kind. Mark's account is the fullest, and explains all: on the evening of his triumphal entry our Lord entered into the temple, and saw the state of things there, but did nothing until the next day. Matthew relates the expulsion out of its time.

These, and other instances which might be added, shew us that Matthew wrote with little regard to chronological order. Whether he was in every instance aware of the order and neglected it, as certainly was sometimes the case (xiv. 1—14), or in some cases was really ignorant of the order, we are not to depend upon his narrative in a chronological point of view. As we read Suetonius without regarding him as chronological in his arrangement, so we read the Gospel of St. Matthew.

But some may regard it as subversive of his claims to inspiration to suppose him ignorant of anything relative to the affairs he undertakes to relate. It would be indeed fatal to what we consider a satisfactory view of inspiration to suppose him ignorant

^s Alford, vol. i., pp. 31, 39.

of anything which he undertakes to teach with authority, but not to suppose him ignorant where he does not profess so to teach. The objection arises from a very erroneous view of inspiration. God chooses how far he will inspire any man; so far as he inspires there we trust: when he ceases, there the authority of the writer ceases without injury to what has been inspired. We may well suppose Matthew inspired as to the events which he relates, and uninspired in their order of time; what he says we may be sure happened, though we may not rely upon his Gospel as relating their order of time.

This view of Matthew's possible ignorance of the chronology of his Gospel agrees with the universal theory of inspiration, *as limited in every inspired man*. Inspiration bestowed different gifts on different men, but in all, their knowledge was partial. The inspiration of Peter on the day of Pentecost did not acquaint him with the abolition of the distinction between the Gentile and the Jew (Acts x. 28). Paul's inspiration gave him no knowledge of other men's minds,—or of his own future movements,—or of questions of interest and importance to the churches,—or of events which had happened to him in past times (Acts xix. 2, 3; 1 Cor. iv. 19; 1 Cor. vii. 6, 8, 12, 25; 1 Cor. i. 16). The prophet understood not always his own predictions, or the apostle his own declarations. Inspiration in the prophet's case only lifted a small portion of the veil which hides the future, while that future, in its infinite vastness, was just as much hid from prophets as from other men; and in the apostle's case, it only taught him some truth, while it left other truths to be as vaguely guessed at, or as wholly unconceived by him as by others. And so it is no disparagement of Matthew's inspiration to suppose him ignorant of much of the chronology of his Gospel, while of the events themselves which he relates we may be perfectly assured. He has made no profession of any strict chronological arrangement, and we are therefore not concerned to defend what he has not asserted.

With regard to the style of the Gospel, we think it is that of one unversed in the art of composition, and that it exhibits a mind quite incapable of any of the loftier efforts of oratorical genius. And if this is the case, it only sets out in a more striking manner the inspiration of a man who, being himself of an ordinary and prosaic mind, and ignorant of setting off commonplace thoughts with the charm of cultivated language, has yet given us in it long and sustained discourses of a character and an order which stand comparison with the highest efforts of human genius and skill. The discourses which Matthew gives us of Christ could not by any possibility have been composed by him.

They are, in fact, beyond any external evidence, proofs of the authenticity and fulfilment of those remarkable words found in John xiv. 26: "The Holy Ghost will bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." Those words were once spoken, and spoken by One who brought them to pass. The Gospel of St. Matthew is a proof of this; in it we find recorded discourses of a nature, a grandeur, and a style of which the writer was himself wholly incapable; of a length which would defy correct recollection at the very time of their delivery, but which it were a hopeless task for any one to recall long years after they were uttered. We would sooner suppose Smollett capable of writing like Macaulay than Matthew of composing the sermon on the mount. His twenty-third chapter again is utterly beyond his power; for bold, graphic, and pointed vigour we should not hesitate to compare it with any uninspired composition of any master of denunciation, and there are few that would not look poor in the comparison: it is wholly above Matthew's mind and style. The tax-gatherer's ledger gave no aid in the formation of an invective which excels anything in Demosthenes: nor could the sublime predictions of the twenty-fourth chapter have been the work of St. Matthew.

What are these, and whence are they? We have them written, and we ask their source. They are beyond question the recalling in late life to memory words spoken years ago by a master-mind, of whom it was truly said, that "never man spoke as he did." Accordingly we find ideas, human thoroughly yet superhuman too, entering into every phase of the human heart, expressed in language not one word of which could be altered without injury to its effect. Whether it be the beatitudes on the mount, or the denunciations in the temple, or the prophetic anticipations of woe to Israel and the world, we find a power, a pathos, a terseness, an imagination, a beauty of language, of which the publican was as capable as a stammerer would be to captivate the Roman forum with the oratory of Cicero. Here is proof of inspiration. It is indeed inspiration which has quickened memory with a coal of fire from heaven, and the very words of the great Teacher are uttered as they once fell from Himself.

H. C.

THE EARLY LIFE OF BOSSUET.

JACQUES BENIGNE BOSSUET, the illustrious subject of the present memoir, was born in the ancient city of Dijon on the 27th of September, 1627, and was baptized on the 29th of the same month in the church of St. Jean. His father, Benigne Bossuet, was counsellor in the Parliament in 1633; and his grandfather, Jacques Bossuet, was counsellor in the Parliament of Bourgogne in 1597. The family had long occupied an honourable position in Dijon, where they are found to have been established at least since 1461. There can be no doubt that Bossuet owed much to the favourable circumstances in which he was placed, since they facilitated his introduction to those persons whose influence could promote his interests. But while this was the case, it is to his extraordinary genius that he was mainly indebted for his promotion, and to it alone is due the renown of his memory. Had he been no more richly endowed with superior mental qualifications than many others whose names posterity has not preserved from oblivion, his own would long ere this have been forgotten. We shall see as we proceed that he purchased every distinction which was conferred upon him by the force of his character, by his great talents, and by his untiring industry.

The mental superiority of Bossuet early appeared, so much so that when little more than a child, he excited the hopes of his family, who confidently anticipated his future excellence. While his mind was active, and his disposition lively, he manifested an amiability which won affection, and a modesty which inspired with confidence. He had an uncle, Claude Bossuet, who had been counsellor in the Parliament of Dijon in 1610, and who as a civilian enjoyed in his lifetime various other marks of distinction. This uncle was the godfather of young Jacques Benigne, and seems to have been particularly attached to him. He was a man who paid some attention to literature, and it was his delight to take his nephew into his study, where he first acquired the knowledge and the love of books. Bossuet's father removed to Metz in 1633, leaving behind him his two sons, Antoine and Jacques Benigne, who were under the eye and guardianship of their uncle. They were sent to school at the college of the Jesuits at Dijon, to be instructed in grammar and Latin. Jacques Benigne displayed considerable aptitude for study, and was endowed with a particularly retentive memory, which enabled him to learn and to repeat many of the verses of Virgil. This happy facility was encouraged by the uncle, who gave every encouragement to his nephew, whom his masters as much admired as he

himself was delighted with them. From time to time Bossuet's father returned to Dijon, and marked with parental pride the progress of his son. It happened one day that he took the boy into his study, when an incident occurred which shewed that he had a relish and an aptitude for other than merely secular studies. He had seen, read and admired the Latin poets, but till this time he had never opened the Scriptures. He was now a student in rhetoric, and his mind was both informed and cultivated. On the occasion in question, he found among his father's books a Latin Bible, which his curiosity prompted him to examine. He asked and obtained his parent's consent to take it away. He took it, and discovered in its pages traces of sublimity and excellence, which made him prefer it to all that he had ever read. As long as he lived he remembered with grateful pleasure the impression which he at once received from this perusal. It was an event which he never forgot, and which seemed ever present, so deeply had his soul been moved.

The disposition of Bossuet from his earliest years was so towards religion, that the far-seeing Jesuits, who were not unobservant either of this or of his excellent natural talents, judged that he was a suitable candidate for admission to their society. The regent of the school made the proposal to the youth, and often talked with him on the subject, but he thought it his duty to consult his uncle on the matter. His uncle, who believed his nephew destined for something better than the society of Jesus, discountenanced the project, and persuaded the father to send his son to Paris, to pursue his studies there, and in this way brought the measures of the Jesuits to an end. He had already commenced the study of Greek, and laid the foundation of the respectable acquaintance with that language which he subsequently attained.

Bossuet was now to come more closely into contact with the world. Hitherto his time had been chiefly spent at Dijon, with occasional visits to Metz, where in the bosom of his family he relaxed from his severer studies. One of his companions at Dijon, Pierre du Mai, relates that he was so given to books, that he scarcely found time for the ordinary recreations of youth; and it was this which led his schoolfellows to invent a pun upon his name which may have passed for a veritable etymology—*Bossuetus aratro*. He was scarcely nine years of age when he received the tonsure in token of his dedication to the ministry of religion. On the 24th of November, 1640, when little more than thirteen, he was created canon of the cathedral church of Metz, partly as the recompence of his unusual attainments, and partly, doubtless, owing to his father's influence. These and

other facts serve to discredit the report, that he was originally designed for another profession.

In 1642 the Abbé Bossuet visited the metropolis of France. He entered Paris on the day made memorable by the return of Cardinal Richelieu, who came there to die, to use the words of Lamartine, "like Tiberius to Rome, amidst the silence of terror, and stained with the blood of Cinq-Mars and of De Thou, which he had just shed at Lyons."

Bossuet witnessed the cavalcade, and the proud and haughty cardinal borne along in his litter—the *avant-courier* of his funeral procession, for the hand of Death was already upon him; he died on the 4th of December, 1642, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Bossuet also saw him carried to his grave with all the pomp and outward glory which could be displayed. What was the kind of impression produced upon the young ecclesiastic, what feelings agitated his breast, and what thoughts arose within him on these occasions it is hard to say, but we do know that he never forgot them. In them he saw the grandeur and the vanity of man, and he could not but reflect upon the character and course becoming one who had consecrated himself to the service of the altar of the Prince of Peace. Of Richelieu we have nothing to say; it is well known how firmly he held the reins of government, and how, although ambitious, overbearing, and unprincipled, he enabled his sovereign, not his master, to rule with a more absolute sway than his predecessors. But the minister and his monarch both came to the same tomb within a few months of each other. Louis XIII. died in the following May, and was succeeded by his son, who was then hardly five years old. This son took the government as Louis XIV., under the regency of his mother, and occupied the throne till 1715, or more than seventy years. Of him we shall have more to say in subsequent pages; at present we can only intimate his ascension. Events so striking and changes so great must have taught their own lessons to Bossuet, who, as we said, had just come to Paris. His object was to enter the university as a student of philosophy in the College of Navarre.

The head master or principal of this college at that time was Nicolas Cornet, who had been originally a Jesuit, and who was appointed syndic of the faculty of theology. When the *Augustinus* of Jansenius, published after the death of its author, had been condemned by the Pope, at the instance of the Jesuits, and the five propositions deduced from it, and pronounced heretical, had led to much bickering and heart-burning, Cornet took up the matter, and as syndic of the Sorbonne, denounced these famous propositions before the faculty of theology on the 1st of

July, 1649. The controversy thus raised was, however, not allayed; it continued during the lifetime of Bossuet, who himself took part in it, and was perpetuated after his death.

Cornet became particularly attached to Bossuet, and endeavoured in every way to promote his advancement. To his wise counsel and affectionate solicitude Bossuet referred in after life with becoming gratitude. Cornet died in 1663, and Bossuet pronounced over him a funeral oration in which he recapitulates the advantages derived by him from his master. "Can I," he exclaimed on this occasion, "refuse him some fruits of a mind which he cultivated with a father's kindness, or deny him some share in my discourses, after he has been so often their censor and their judge?"

His studies at Navarre were not confined to philosophy; he acquired a competent knowledge of the Greek language, and, according to Le Dieu, he read all the ancient Greek and Latin historians, orators, and poets. So thoroughly did he apply himself, and so strong was his memory, that he was enabled to repeat the choicest passages not only from the poets, but from the orators and historians, down to an advanced period of life. He was fond of descanting upon the classic authors, and of illustrating his characteristic descriptions by apt quotations. He was a great admirer of Homer, and equally partial to Virgil among the poets. He revelled in the declamations of Demosthenes against Philip; and among the orations of Cicero, he was particularly partial to that noble example of eloquence, the *Pro Ligario*. It was his custom to pronounce his judgment of the authors he had read, and opinions once formed by him were seldom changed. But while he studied the classics, he did not neglect the Scriptures, of which he acquired a knowledge which is apparent upon almost every page of his writings. In this diligent study of the Bible he was particularly encouraged by M. Cornet, who rightly judged that nothing was more important for a candidate for the priestly office. Like some other men of extraordinary genius, "he was never tempted to study the mathematics, not that he believed them useless, but because he was persuaded that an ecclesiastic could employ his time better than in dry speculations which had nothing to do with religion." Le Dieu says, however, that while he called mathematics a vain study for churchmen, he was not insensible to their value to others; and that sometimes he took pleasure in hearing great mathematicians explain their problems. The repugnance of Bossuet to mathematical pursuits will cause no surprise to those

* De Burigny, *Vie de M. Bossuet*, p. 10.

who observe the character of his mind, and who remember that he had worked out for himself a course which, while it required reasoning, demanded a more rapid, and was satisfied with a less exact, process of argumentation than was consistent with mathematical precision.

Philosophy was more attractive to him, and Des Cartes was his model and his master; a man, too, who during his lifetime^b acquired a reputation which philosophers are not always sure of. Perhaps no men as a class have more need to leave their reputation to posterity. The afterwards-celebrated Huet was one of Bossuet's fellow-students, and relates that he has held many lively discussions with Bossuet in a friendly spirit, but in direct opposition to the system of Des Cartes.^c

Such was the progress made by Bossuet in the college, that he speedily attracted attention; and such was his attention to the duties of religion, that they scarcely knew which most to admire, his piety, his diligence, or his great talent. Yet hard as he worked, he found time to participate in the diversions of his companions, on which occasions, such was the heartiness with which he entered into them, one might have supposed they were his chief care. Through all his life he was characterized by the thoroughness with which he performed everything in which he engaged; he threw his whole soul and all his energies into it for the time being, as if it were the one thing which he had to do. Here lies very much, if we mistake not, the secret of his extraordinary influence; when other men who did things by halves quailed before their difficulties, and were defeated, he carried himself forward by the impetuosity with which he moved, and therefore seldom failed to reach his aim.

The College of Navarre, at the time when Bossuet studied there, was in a very flourishing state. Not only candidates for sacred offices, but young men of rank and fortune, who were destined for civic honours and employments, were among the *alumni*. Bossuet found friends among them all, and some of his old college acquaintances perpetuated their intimacy with him through life.

Probably the rivalry which existed between the university and the Jesuits, as to which should produce the greatest and most distinguished scholars, contributed to the celebrity of the college, of which mention has been made. Of course, if either party were fortunate enough to obtain some precocious genius, no time was lost in making known the fact, and exhibiting the prodigy to the delighted Parisians.

^b Des Cartes was born in 1596, and died in 1650.

^c *Amicis quidem ac acris tamen habitis fuerant inter nos concertationes.*

Now Bossuet was undoubtedly a genius, and one of such promise as was seldom met with among the university students. At the end of his first year in philosophy, therefore, he was selected to defend a thesis on philosophy before M. de Cospean, bishop of Lisieux. This prelate had considerable influence at court; he had been a disciple of the celebrated Justus Lipsius, and was now preacher-in-ordinary to the Queen-mother Anne of Austria, and *grand-directeur* of the ladies of the court. The circumstances which led to his elevation were somewhat singular. The Duke d'Epemon having heard of his remarkable powers of oratory, went down to the college of Lisieux, where Cospean was engaged as a teacher of youth. There he had an opportunity of hearing him; he was astonished, and returned to court full of the subject. Curiosity was excited; he was sent for, was heard, was admired, was appointed by the ladies as their spiritual director, and was drawn from his obscurity to be made in succession bishop of Aire, of Nantes, and of Lisieux. Cospean was much respected in the university, of which he was regarded as a principal support, and he had already made the acquaintance of Bossuet. Partly in honour of the bishop, and partly for the advancement and glory of the College of Navarre, Cospean was chosen to witness the display of the students. Bossuet acquitted himself admirably in the presence of the high ecclesiastical dignitaries who came, accompanied by others, on this memorable occasion. The force with which he argued, and the eloquence with which he spoke, were marvellous for a youth of sixteen years of age. Two of his fellow-students defended the same thesis on the following days, and with a success scarcely inferior to that of Bossuet. The university was elated; so much so, that it threw down the gauntlet of defiance to the Jesuits, and challenged them publicly to produce youthful philosophers of so much excellence.

The reputation thus acquired by Bossuet made him the idol of the university, but his fame did not stop there; Paris talked of him with wonder and delight, and prelates and nobles carried his fame to the charmed precincts of the court.

It was customary in those days, as it is not unknown in ours, for persons of quality and wealth, who had a disposition to promote the interests of men of genius and learning, to invite them to their mansions, where they were introduced to the society of the great, and had opportunities of exhibiting their attainments. Bossuet had a cousin of some consideration and influence, and he, being naturally proud of his youthful relative, was particularly attentive to him, and embraced every opportunity of making him known. In this way, he appeared at the Hôtel de Nevers,

belonging to the Secretary of State, M. du Plessis-Guénégaud, and a famous rendezvous of the celebrities of the time. He was similarly introduced at several other places, both by M. François Bossuet, his cousin, and by the Marquis de Fenquières, who had known his father at Metz. The marquis, in particular, took Jacques Benigne on one occasion to the Hôtel de Rambouillet, which was among the most famous places for such gatherings as we have described. Here, one of the most remarkable events recorded of the early life of Bossuet occurred, and a brief narrative of it is indispensable, illustrating as it does the character and taste of the age, and the extraordinary courage and self-possession of our hero.

Shortly before this circumstance occurred, in a conversation at the Hôtel de Rambouillet the Marquis de Montausier, to whose sister the hotel belonged, spoke of the extraordinary merits of young Bossuet, and offered to introduce him to her. He said that such was his genius, that if they would shut him in a room without books, and give him a subject for discourse, he would forthwith compose and repeat such a sermon as should give to them entire satisfaction. The Marchioness de Rambouillet listened with astonishment to the statement, and was very anxious to have its accuracy tested. A messenger was despatched to the college for the youthful abbé, who in obedience to the summons was conveyed to the hotel the same evening. In the course of some hours his sermon was ready, and he was ushered into the splendid saloon, where a large assembly of rank, wit, beauty and fashion had been gathered for the purpose of witnessing the display. It was eleven o'clock at night when he commenced his discourse, which in every respect answered the expectations which he had excited as the Roscius of the period. Among the company present was the celebrated Voiture, the critic and the wit. What he thought of the merit of the preacher is not recorded, but a piece of pleasantry in which he indulged has been duly transmitted to us. In allusion to the youth of the orator, and the lateness of the hour, he remarked that "he had never heard a preacher preach so early or so late." So true is it that a joke may be remembered when a sermon is forgotten: the subject and the discourse of Bossuet have alike passed into oblivion.

The sermon just mentioned was not the only one of the kind, and there is a tradition of a similar exhibition in the presence of the Bishop of Lisieux and two of his friends, also bishops. The prelates were so well satisfied, that M. de Cospean promised our young orator to present him to the Queen, before whom he should have an opportunity of repeating the discourse to which

they had just listened. What was perhaps better than the promise, which was calculated to kindle his ambition, and feed his vanity at the expense of his humility, the bishop gave him some valuable hints on preaching, and some seasonable cautions not to neglect his studies, as many young men are tempted to do who have the gift of a fluent and ready expression. "For," said the bishop, "it is impossible for you to become a useful preacher if you are not well versed in the principles of theology, and if you are a stranger to the philosophy of morals." This advice was not thrown away upon the young abbé, whose good sense taught him the propriety and the value of it. Bishop Cospean looked on Bossuet with great expectations, and one day said to his friends as he left the room, "That young man will be one of the great lights of the Church." Among those who heard this was the Abbé la Bouthillier de Rancé, afterwards so famous as the Abbé de la Trappe. Unfortunately for Bossuet, the Bishop of Lisieux, for some cause or other, received an order to retire into his diocese;^d he was therefore unable to fulfil his promise of presenting Bossuet to preach before the Queen, and could only commend him to the protection, patronage, and friendship of the Abbé de Rancé, who so responded to it, that an intimacy was formed which only terminated with the death of the abbé.

The retirement of De Rancé to La Trappe, says De Burigny, only served to cement his union with Bossuet, who went there several times to see his friend, and to encourage his piety by the presence of so great an example. When the abbé died in 1700 the monks of La Trappe, who knew how much Bossuet venerated their holy father, besought him to undertake his biography. He was not averse from this, and even instructed M. de St. André to obtain materials for him. He drew up some account of him, of which Marsolier was aware, and from which he borrowed these words: "When the Abbé de la Trappe commenced his reform, I made two or three journeys to his abbey with Father de Mouchi of the Oratoire to make there 'retreats.' We went in secret to hear the exhortations which he addressed to the monks at the chapter after primes. They were so lively, forcible, and touching, that we could not restrain our tears. All the monks departed from them with new fervour, and with sentiments of compunction so extraordinary, that nothing seemed impossible to them." While Bossuet contented himself with preparing some reminiscences of the Abbé of La Trappe, M. Marsolier undertook his life at the request of James II., king of England, who had known him well, and who cherished the

^d Where he died in 1646, aged 78.

greatest esteem and the most profound respect for the holy abbé. Bossuet contented himself with revising another biography which was drawn up by Pierre le Nain, a monk of La Trappe, and brother of Tillemont.*

To return from this digression, Bossuet prosecuted his studies at the College of Navarre with great success, under the able direction of Nicolas Cornet. From the philosophical course he proceeded to the study of theology, when Cornet, equally delighted with his piety and his progress, anxious to retain him, and desirous of attaching him as soon as possible to the house, secured his formal admission. This was not in conformity with the rules, as Bossuet had not sustained the *tentative*, or thesis which preceded the *baccalaureat*; but in his case an exception was allowed.†

The *Tentative* of Bossuet was at length pronounced, and this first-fruit of his theological studies was a memorable occasion, in consequence not so much perhaps, after all, of the merit of the respondent, as of the dignity of the patron. Doubtless, however, the former was the occasion of the latter. This thesis was sustained on the 25th of January, 1648, and was dedicated to the celebrated Prince de Condé, Louis de Bourbon, whose victories at the head of the French army had made him the most distinguished general in Europe. The hero of so many battles, of Rocroy, Fribourg, Nordling, and Dunkerque, thought it not beneath his honour to preside on the occasion; he came by the light of torches, and attended by a numerous crowd of followers. Condé was at this time only in his twenty-seventh year, although his exploits had filled the world with his renown. When but a youth of twelve years old he had written a treatise on rhetoric, and while at college studied with so much success, that he was qualified publicly to defend theses like the present, and came off with honour and applause. So much was he attached to letters, that he was wont to frequent the fashionable and learned gatherings at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, to which reference has already been made. At nineteen he became a soldier at the siege of Arras, where he rendered essential service in bringing it to a successful issue. Cardinal Richelieu regarded

* Le Dieu, in his *Memoires*, speaks of a life of De Rané by M. de Maupeou, curé of Nouancourt au Perche, which he read to Bossuet. Some observations of Bossuet on the life by Marsollier will be found in the *Memoires*; Feb. 10—13, 1703.

† Le Dieu relates in his *Memoires*, Jan. 1, 1703, that he had in vain endeavoured to recover the theological theses of Bossuet, and his thesis on philosophy and that of his *tentative*, but that Bossuet had dictated to him a portion of this latter which he carefully preserved. There can be no doubt that these early efforts are lost beyond hope.

him with peculiar affection and hope, as one of the most promising men of his time, and contrived a marriage between the young soldier and his neice. The future course of Louis de Bourbon belongs to the history of France, but we may have occasion to speak of him again.

Before such a man Bossuet sustained his thesis. He summoned all his powers to the task, and his triumph was complete. He took his audience captive at the very outset by a masterly stroke of policy, in the form of an eulogium of the Prince, who was the hero and the demigod of the day. The Prince himself felt all his old literary fires enkindled afresh within him, and, as he left the hall, declared that he should like to dispute with the young student himself. Bossuet was known already to Condé by his family, and his province of Bourgogne, but now he was so strongly impressed in his favour, that he conceived an affection for him which continued till his death. This friendship was of great use to Bossuet, who was frequently indebted to it in subsequent years. When called to pronounce the funeral oration of the Prince well nigh forty years later, the preacher alluded in touching terms to the intimacy which had existed between them, and expressed the deep grief he felt at the loss of one whom he had known so long, and honoured and loved so well.

In the same year as the *Tentative*, Bossuet gained another oratorical victory at Navarre. He was chosen to perform an exercise which was called by the faculty the *Paranymphes*,—a set speech or discourse in honour of the licentiates in theology and medicine, previous to their taking a higher degree. The speaker was called the *Paranymph*, or bridegroom, from the relation in which he stood to the candidate for superior honours. Bossuet was chosen on this occasion in consequence of his reputation, and, with characteristic art, succeeded in so combining the precepts of piety with the exercises of genius, as to command the unqualified approval of all who heard him. He took for his text those words of the apostle, *Deum time, regem honorificate*—Fear God, honour the king. This is his first text of which we have any record.

After the circumstances now recorded, Bossuet withdrew to Metz, the residence of his family, where he had held a canonicate for some years, and was accustomed to retire during his college vacations. These were happy times; surrounded by relatives who loved and almost idolized him, he could give himself up without restraint to the innocent and delightful pleasures of home. But though free from the restraints imposed upon him by the duties of his university life, he neither remitted his attention to religious exercises, nor relaxed in his ardour for study.

Every evening when he retired to his chamber, his last words were, "I am off to matins." He diligently performed the services required of him in his canonicate at the fine old cathedral of the city; and he availed himself of the liberty and leisure he enjoyed for the careful reading of the fathers of the Church. He was accustomed in after-life to refer with pleasure to these patristic studies, which were of great use to him when so much engaged in public labours. In this way he embraced every opportunity for acquiring those qualifications which should fit him for the course to which he was destined.

During the same year he was appointed a sub-deacon at Langres by the bishop of the diocese.

Voltaire, on what authority is unknown but with little probability, relates that Bossuet was originally intended for the legal profession. The same writer says, that while very young he was espoused to a young lady of extraordinary worth, named Mademoiselle Desvieux; he goes on to say, that the talents of young Bossuet for theology, and for that kind of eloquence which distinguished him, induced his parents to forego their intention, and determine upon educating him for the Church. To this arrangement Mademoiselle Desvieux consented, and sacrificed her prospect of happiness with him to the anticipation of his future glory. To this circumstance, he adds, is to be ascribed a report which was widely circulated, that he had been married; a report which is neither true nor likely. De Burigny truly observes that there is nothing in the conduct of Bossuet, and nothing in the memoirs of his secretary, which would lead to the supposition that he ever contemplated a secular life.^s

After receiving his sub-diaconate, Bossuet returned once more to Paris, where he was admitted by M. Cornet to the *Confrérie du Rosaire*, which had been established in the College of Navarre. On occasion of his admission, October 24th, 1648, he delivered a discourse replete with pious sentiments, the memory of which was long preserved upon the registers of the house.

Although so much devoted to his studies, and enjoying a distinction unknown to most of his companions, he did not hesitate to employ himself in promoting the welfare of the college. Thus he undertook to arrange for the supply of provisions to those who had taken their bachelor's degree, at the beginning of the year 1649, during the troubles of Paris, when the city was blockaded, and expected to suffer nothing less than the horrors of famine. Bossuet used to tell how he kept four sacks

^s *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ed. 1752, p. 335. *Vie de Bossuet*, p. 20.

of flour at his bedside, where he had deposited them for the use of his brethren in their time of need. The first war of the Fronde to which these incidents belong arose from the strong feeling of opposition against Cardinal Mazarin, the successor of Richelieu, in the administration of France. It was of brief duration, and has been characterized as ridiculous, although the Queen-mother with the king her son, her brother, Mazarin, Condé and others, thought it prudent to retire to St. Germain. This movement was so sudden, that no provision had been made, and, with the exception of the king and his mother, the whole court had to accommodate itself as best it could, and slept on beds of straw. Marchangy relates, "The king often lacked necessaries. The pages of his chamber were dismissed because they could not be supplied with food. At the same time, the aunt of Louis XIV., and daughter of Henry the Great, wife of the King of England, who had fled for refuge to Paris, was reduced to extreme poverty, and her daughter, afterwards married to the brother of Louis XIV., kept her bed because she had no fire to keep herself warm." It was at this very time that Charles I. of England was condemned by his own Parliament to lose his head; and not long after Masaniello, the fisherman of Naples, as he is commonly called,¹ had risen in revolt against the Spanish viceroy. Singularly enough, taxes were the ostensible cause of all three.

At the period in question (1649) there dwelt at the College of Navarre Doctor Jean de Launoy, who had the reputation of being one of the most accomplished theologians in the university of Paris. This eminent man was born in Normandy in 1603, and was a laborious student, and a bold critic. He exposed many errors, says Voltaire, and especially in reference to saints, whose intercession he denied. The free inquiries which he set on foot excited a good deal of opposition against him, and led to the suppression of what were called his Monday conferences. On these occasions, important theological problems were freely discussed. De Launoy continued his independent and disinterested course till his death, which took place in 1678. This man conceived a very favourable opinion of Bossuet, who he hoped would be of great service in the Church; and he encouraged and exhorted him in his studies. Bossuet was much obliged to him for his good counsels, but although on many accounts he esteemed the learned doctor, and spoke of him in after-life with respect, he carefully avoided committing himself too much to his party. He thought De Launoy too daring in many of his

¹ His real name was TOMMASO ANIELLO.

expressions, and the holder of some erroneous opinions, which could not easily be reconciled with the decisions of the Church; not only he did think so, but he said so, and in public blamed the course and opinions of the professor. He even went further than this when he became attached to the court; but as on this occasion his conduct may be open to question, we shall let his biographer Le Dieu relate the circumstance. "Having been privately informed of the conferences held by this doctor in the heart of Paris, where they softened down, without caution or reserve, all the mysteries of religion, and where, it was said, they went so far as to teach pure Socinianism, he secured the suppression of these conferences, by the authority of the chancellor Le Tellier, without appearing to mix himself up at all in the matter, and so as to spare the doctor every kind of harsh treatment. He was satisfied with preventing mischief, and with endeavouring to correct people without making any more of it." Bossuet certainly could never understand what we mean by toleration and religious liberty. He believed the decisions of the Church were right, and that men hazarded their soul's welfare in leaving and even in questioning them, and he believed it to be alike the duty of the Church, and for the good of men, to enforce these decisions. As for De Launoy, he is but little known and thought of now-a-days, although and perhaps because he was not only a profound scholar, but an original and independent thinker, and a man who dared to stand between Antoine Arnauld and his theological censors.

We come now to what may be considered as a singular inconsistency in the Abbé Bossuet, who was so exact and even severe on all moral questions. He was not yet in orders, but he had become fired with ambition to shine as a sacred orator, it was therefore necessary for him to study the graces of expression both in pronunciation and in action. "He had heard say, and he had read in Cicero, in Quintilian, and in all the great masters of eloquence, that expression was an essential part of oratory. He imagined that by going sometimes to the theatre, to observe the performances of celebrated actors, he might obtain some advantage. No sooner had he taken orders than he renounced the theatre for ever: he never went there afterwards but once," and that was when the operas of Sully were the rage, and only then at the earnest entreaties of his royal master, who was anxious that he should form some idea of them. Le Dieu says that he was never attached to the theatre, and left off going as soon as he had received the impression he wished, and that after he became a sub-deacon he did not think such exhibitions were permitted to him.

Later in life, in 1694, Bossuet published a treatise entitled *Maxims and Reflections upon Comedy*, in which theatrical spectacles are wholly condemned. An ecclesiastic had ventured to publish something in favour of these performances. The fact that this was written by a priest, and that, on the one hand, it explained away the censures and authority of rituals, councils, and fathers, and on the other hand, quoted Thomas Aquinas and other great saints in favour of the theatre, stirred up the veteran controversialist to rise and crush it. He does not shun to condemn by name Molière, of whom he declares that "his comedies are full of impieties and infamies." He accuses Quinault of reducing corruption to maxims. Sully, he says, succeeds in insinuating the most deceitful passions. Corneille does not fare better, and the Cid is particularly instanced as illustrating the sentiments of the bishop. Racine, says he, when occupied with subjects more worthy of himself, renounced his Berenice. Returning to Molière, he relates the circumstances of his death in the following words: "Posterity will perhaps know the end of this poet-comedian, who, while performing his *Malade Imaginaire*, or his *Medecin par force*, received the last attack of the malady of which he died a few hours after, and passed from the pleasures of the theatre, among which he heaved almost his last sigh, to the tribunal of Him who said, 'Woe unto you that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep.' Those who have left upon earth the most gorgeous monuments are none the more protected from the justice of God; neither do the loveliest verses or the sweetest strains serve for anything before Him." In this terrible strain Bossuet advances, sweeping away the arguments for the theatre by reason, by Scripture, by appeals to fact, by references to Plato, Aristotle, Augustin, Chrysostom, and many more; and by the force of his language. His rejection of the theatre extends to the ancients as well as the moderns, and includes the reading of plays as well as their representation upon the stage. He argues that if theatrical exhibitions are generally injurious and reprehensible, much more are they so on Sundays and on those days which have been set apart for special religious exercises. The whole dissertation concludes with the following paragraph: "As for such as desire in good faith the thorough reformation of the theatre, in order that after the example of the wise pagans, they may agreeably make known examples and serious lessons to kings and to peoples, I cannot blame their intention; but let them consider after all, that that which charms the senses is a bad introducer of virtuous sentiments. The pagans, whose virtue was imperfect, gross, worldly, and superficial, could insinuate it by means of the theatre; but it

has neither the authority, nor the dignity, nor the efficacy necessary to inspire men with the virtues becoming Christians. God refers kings to his law to learn their duties there : let them read it all the days of their life, let them meditate therein day and night, as David ; let them sleep and wake with it, as Solomon : but for the theatre, its touch is too light, and there is nothing less earnest than it, because man there makes at the same time a sport of his vices and an amusement of virtue."

Whatever opinion may be formed of Bossuet's sentiments on this matter, it will surely be admitted that this treatise is one of the most ably reasoned, and eloquently written, which has ever appeared on that side of the argument.

While upon the subject it may not be out of place to direct attention to one or two passages in the Journal of Le Dieu, which serve somewhat to modify our conclusions in reference to rather more than the private reading of theatrical writings. The first is : " Septuagesima Sunday, 12th of February, 1702. M. de Meaux laboured all the forenoon upon the Apocalypse ; he then said mass at the Recollets, and returned to dine at home, where he met with M. de Longepierre, of Dijon, a friend of our prelate, and who had formerly put him in the way of the Count de Toulouse. After dinner, M. de Longepierre recited his tragedy of *Electra*, a piece founded upon that of Sophocles, and which has been represented here many times since the beginning of the month of January in the hotel of Madame the Dowager Princess de Conty, Monseigneur the Dauphin having enquired who was its author, and having declared himself his protector. It has moreover met with marvellous success, more so than can be remembered of any theatrical piece. M. de Meaux was very well satisfied with it, and praised it very much to the author, and again afterwards to all his friends. It has been represented to-day for the last time at the Hôtel de Conty, and resolved that it shall be performed at Paris at the public theatre. There is no love intrigue in it ; it sustains itself entirely by means of terror."

Again : " Monday, February 27th. M. de Meaux has been at Trianon to the levee of the King. He has given a grand dinner at home, where were M. de Malézieu and M. the Abbé Genest, to let M. de Meaux afterwards see the new theatrical piece of the Abbé." The next day there was another grand dinner, before which, " M. de Malézieu read the *Penelope* of the Abbé Genest. It is a tragedy which he composed twenty years since, and which has been performed at Paris, as it is still every year with great success. M. de Meaux had heard the reading of it already at Germigny, and has heard it read again to-day

with great pleasure, and the more so, as besides that the piece is excellent, M. de Malézieu by his action gave it yet more relief. All who were present heard it with admiration."

To reconcile these facts we may suppose either that Bossuet's language in his *Reflections* is not to be interpreted too rigidly, or that his views underwent some slight modification. In any case, it seemed better to place here all that it is necessary to say upon the subject, and to leave the reader to draw his own inferences. We know the rôle which the theatre enjoyed in the reign of Louis Quatorze, and that ecclesiastics as well as others wrote plays, and frequented the playhouse. But "the high profession of piety which Bossuet made could not reconcile itself with these vanities of the world, and Nicolas Cornet, who set him up as an example of virtue and of modesty, yet more than of attainments in knowledge, would never have consented to it."

Cornet continued to reside at Navarre, although he had transferred his office of principal, since June 27th, 1643, to his friend, M. Pereyret, who was another celebrated doctor of that house. Pereyret subsequently was compelled to quit his post, and Cornet returned to his former office in October, 1651. His piety, modesty, and disinterestedness were very beneficial to Bossuet.

In 1649, Bossuet, when preparing for his license, returned to Metz, where he made his principal residence in his canonicate, as above described, and there he entered the diaconate the same year. At this time, and at Metz, he became acquainted with Charles de Schomberg, who to his other titles added those of peer and marshal of France, governor and lieutenant-general of the sees of Metz and Verdun, and of the city and citadel of Metz, where he generally resided. This nobleman and his second wife, Marie d'Hautefort, had a character for eminent piety and virtue. To their house Bossuet had free access, and so won their confidence and affection, that they did their utmost to patronize him and to make him known. The relation in which they stood to the court enabled them very effectually to further the interests of Bossuet in that direction,—a matter of no small moment in an age when all honour and promotion came from the royal palace. De Schomberg died in 1656, and Le Dieu tells us that his master was so grateful for the kindness shewn him by this family, that even after he became Bishop of Meaux, he never passed by Nanteuil, where the marshal was buried, without turning aside to say mass at the tomb of his benefactor in the priory church of that place. His friendship for the marchioness continued till her death in 1691, and he always lived on terms of strict intimacy with other members of the house.

In 1650 Bossuet received his license, and he was thereupon constituted director of the Confrérie du Rosaire established in the college, of which he was a member already, and every Saturday he delivered the exhortation. He owed this office to his friend, M. Cornet. The registers of the college make mention of a discourse which he delivered on the 14th of August, 1650, the eve of the Assumption,—a discourse in which he represented the triumph of the Virgin in a style full of unction, piety, intelligence, and eloquence. This discourse has been preserved, and although of unequal merit, has been characterized as exhibiting some of the peculiar excellencies of the great orator.^A

It was during this year, 1650, on Wednesday, November 9th, that Bossuet sustained at the Sorbonne a thesis required by his license, and called the *Sorbonique*. Out of this arose a series of circumstances more serious than any in which he had hitherto been placed, and which no doubt served to develop and strengthen the peculiar energy and firmness of his nature. The Abbé Chamillart, who was at that time prior of the Sorbonne, from some cause or other demanded of Bossuet proofs in writing of some of his conclusions. The doctors of Navarre, with Pereyret, the principal, at their head, were indignant at this severity towards their favourite and already well-known élève, and scornfully resented it. Of all their students this was recognized as the most able, and they instructed him before all the Sorbonne to address the prior as *doctissime domine prior*, and not *dignissime*,—as most learned, but not as most worthy, according to customary usage. The prior took offence in his turn at what he considered as little better than an insult, and being supported by the party belonging to the Sorbonne, quashed the proceedings, and refused to let Bossuet pass; or, in other words, “plucked” him. Not to be foiled in their endeavours, the Navarre party went with their bachelor and his thesis to the Jacobins, where all the other bachelors accompanied him, and he sustained his thesis in the school of St. Thomas. The Sorbonists maintained that this proceeding was null and void, and that Bossuet had not complied with the regulations of the university. The dispute went so far as to merge into a lawsuit, which was carried to the Grande Chambre. Here Bossuet secured another opportunity of displaying his marvellous skill; he pleaded his own cause, and did this in Latin. His adversary, the Abbé Chamillard, thought discretion the better part of valour, and instead of committing himself to any attempt to reply to one far more accomplished and able than himself, he

^A De Burigny, *Life*, p. 25.

secretly withdrew himself from the room, and left his case in the hands of the barristers. When the case had been pleaded on both sides, the judges, charmed with the eloquence of the young abbé, and convinced of his ability by their own experience, were altogether favourable to him. The solicitor-general, M. Omer Salon, decided in favour of Bossuet, and sentence was given for him. Matthieu Mole, who was then first president and afterwards keeper of the seals, a great favourite at court, and who succeeded in controlling the passions of the people during the troubles of the Fronde, passed a high encomium upon Bossuet in pronouncing the sentence, whereby the disputation before the Jacobins was approved of in place of the Sorbonique, and whereby it was ordained that for the future the prior of the Sorbonne should be regularly designated *dignissime* . The decree was dated the 26th of April, 1651, and it was printed along with the minutes of the proceedings in this affair. And thus the most unpleasant position in which he had yet found himself proved an advantage to him, and became a means of widening his reputation: it brought him before the eyes of many who would not then at least have heard of him, and his very difficulties served him with an occasion for exhibiting those extraordinary faculties with which he was endowed. In this affair he appeared more prominently before the public than he had yet done, and this coming so soon before the time when he would enter upon the full discharge of more public duties of his office, would promote his interests. Besides, it was a great victory gained by him as well as by the college to which he belonged.

Fresh honours rapidly presented themselves to Bossuet, who was elevated to the dignity of Archdeacon of Sarrebourg on the 24th day of January, 1652, in the cathedral of Metz. He held this post till September the 5th, 1654, when he was made chief archdeacon (*grand archidiacre*). On the 27th of August, 1654, "proceeding from one degree to another by his own merit and without solicitation, M. de Verneuil, being still bishop of the diocese, gave him the first place; and the Abbé de Coursan, the penitentiary, at that time administrator of the see for Cardinal Mazarin, gave him the second,—the chapter having applied to the cardinal on the subject: each of them wishing to honour the virtues of Bossuet, and to attach him to Metz, where he was very much respected, and already regarded as a man necessary for the instruction of this large diocese."ⁱ

During Lent of the year 1652 Bossuet entered upon holy orders and became a priest. In accordance with the solemnity

ⁱ Le Dien.

supposed to attach to such a performance, in order to prepare himself for his first mass, he made a "retreat" at Saint Lazare, under the priests of the mission, the celebrated Vincent de Paul, who was superior-general and director of the congregation, being there at that time. His retreat is important to us owing to its being the occasion of his becoming acquainted with the eminent man to whom allusion has been just made. This man, for whose canonization Bossuet many years after exerted his powerful influence, was very deeply impressed in his favour, regarding him as equally distinguished for piety and genius. He therefore endeavoured to shew his affection for him by associating him with the company of ecclesiastics of Paris. This association consisted of prelates, abbés, cures, doctors and others who were eminent for their religious character and soundness and intelligence in the faith; they were known as members of the Tuesday conferences, because they met every Tuesday in the house of Saint Lazare under the direction and presidency of the superior of that house. Their object was a practical one; they discussed every kind of religious work, as missions, preaching, and all that related to the duties of the ministry.

Respecting this fraternity and the relations of Bossuet with Vincent de Paul, De Burigny writes as follows in his life of the prelate. These conferences had commenced in the year 1633, and had been regularly continued to the great advantage of those who attended them. It is worthy of observation that this association, though small at the commencement, gradually increased until it assumed an importance and magnitude which its originators probably never anticipated. It served as a kind of nursery, from which France was supplied with a considerable number of bishops of distinguished and honourable name. More than two hundred ecclesiastics were received as members during the lifetime of the founder. Yet only those were admitted who were in holy orders, and their reception took place only after long inquiry and observation of their characters. The duties which they imposed upon themselves were such as became their sacred profession, and especially to go and catechize and confess in the hospitals, in the prisons, and in the villages. In their active duties, therefore, these men became something analogous to that useful order of men, the city missionaries and home missionaries of this country.

Bossuet has admitted that it was to Vincent de Paul, under God, that he was indebted for his love of piety and order. He was all his life very grateful for it, and in a letter which he wrote to Pope Clement XI. to solicit the canonization of Vincent, on the 2nd of August, 1702, he referred with delight to the time

he had spent under the discipline of this eminent man. Vincent, whom Queen Anne of Austria respected very much, had great influence at court, but he only employed his credit to induce the Queen to do good actions, and to recommend to her those whose merit he knew. He often spoke to her of Bossuet as of a man respecting whom great hopes were entertained.^j

The details given by Le Dieu of this association of Bossuet with Vincent de Paul, are still more ample, but we need not enter more minutely into the subject. There can be no doubt that such an alliance would tend very much to deepen his conviction of the importance of the character he sustained, and to discipline him for those long and extraordinary labours in which he was afterwards engaged. These occupations formed a fit prelude to his public work, and an admirable supplement to his private studies. In fact, it was under the eyes of Vincent de Paul that he tried and fitted on the armour which he ever after wore.

Thus we have arrived at that important period in the life of Bossuet, at which he must make the election of the sphere of his labours and of his residence. He had all the endowments and attractions which would have made him popular in Paris. His person was comely, and his manners were engaging. He was a genius, full of fire and of vivacity. He was the friend and favourite of Voiture, Conrart, Godeau, and all the *beaux esprits* of the time. He was admitted and admired at the Hôtels de Nevers, and Rambouillet. But he found time and desire to associate himself with the pious exercises of Vincent de Paul and his allies; and he was prepared wholly to abandon the charmed but dangerous circle of the metropolis, in order to give himself to the more quiet duties of his office in some less distracting scene.^k C.

CRITICAL REMARKS ON ISAIAH XVIII. 1, 2.

THERE can be no doubt that the majority of recent commentators on Isaiah are correct in connecting chap. xviii. with the last three verses of the preceding chapter, and in understanding the whole as referring to the sudden overthrow of Sennacherib's army. But the diversity of opinion in regard to the translation and explanation of the first two verses of chap. xviii. is very great. It must also be said that some of the current interpre-

^j De Burigny, *Vie de Bossuet*, p. 34—36.

^k Le Dieu, p. 33.

tations of these verses are without foundation except in so far as they are founded on mistakes. Especially have the recent as well as the ancient commentators erred very much in overlooking the *usus loquendi* of the Hebrew language. Regarding the interpretation of the whole prophecy we agree with Dr. Henderson, so we will not make any remarks on that subject; but as we differ from him, as well as from every other commentator, regarding the interpretation of some of the more difficult clauses in verses 1 and 2, we submit the following critical remarks on these two verses.

The address begins with הוֹ, a word which often corresponds to our "woe!" but it cannot have that signification in Zech. ii. 10, or in the well-known passage, Isa. lv. 1, so if we find no woe denounced on the nation which is addressed, we must simply translate "ho!"

The very first words of designation, הֵן זֵנִים וְזֵנִים, have received an exceedingly great variety of interpretations, some of which, however, are utterly unworthy of notice. According to the Septuagint and Targum, זֵנִים signifies "ships" or "fleet;" it is qualified by כָּנָף, and "winged ships" are understood to mean either swift ships or ships with spreading sails. The Jewish commentators have for the most part followed the Septuagint and Targum in giving this, or a somewhat similar explanation. But there are really no sufficient grounds for translating זֵנִים either "ship" or "fleet;" the latter in Hebrew is סֵפֶן, the former תַּיִם, there is also the poetical word זֵנַיִם, some of these surely would have been used by the prophet if he had referred to ships. The rendering in question does not even derive any support from the cognate languages, with the single exception of the Arabic

ظلال = "ships," which, however, is not a word of frequent occurrence. The objection of Gesenius, that זֵנִים corresponds to Arabic سَلْصَل, and not to ظلال, might indeed be set aside, seeing that the verb זָלַל in one of its significations does correspond to ظَلَّ; still it is not safe in this instance to have recourse to the Arabic, and to appeal to a *rare* word in that language, more especially if we can explain the Hebrew word without going beyond the limits of the Hebrew language.

Lowth translates the two words by "*winged cymbal*," which he says is a periphrasis for the Egyptian Sistrum; hence he infers that Egypt is addressed, but this does not harmonize with the only correct translation of the next clause, הֵן מִצְרַיִם וְהֵן מִצְרַיִם.

A very commonly adopted translation of the first clause is that given by Gesenius, viz., "*terra stridoris alarum*, i.e., *stre-*

pitus exercituum," or "*land des Geklirrs der Flügel, d. i., voll von waffenklirrenden Heeresflügeln.*" A slight objection to this is that קלל (from root No. I. in Lexicon), never occurs elsewhere in the sense of "*sound*," but always denotes *something that produces a sound*, such as a "*cricket*," and in the plural, "*cymbals*." A much weightier objection is that קלל, without a qualifying word cannot mean "*wings of an army*." Henderson, following Gesenius, appeals to chap. viii. 8, where, according to him, it is used in application to an army. Certainly the application of the *figure* is to an army, but the *word* (which is not used absolutely in that passage, it has a suffix) is not to be translated "*wings of an army*." In the passage appealed to, the prophet speaks of the Assyrian invasion under the figure of a great river overflowing its banks with water so deep as to reach up to a man's neck, and stretching out *its* (i.e., *the river's*) wings, i.e., *the extremities of the water which overflowed*, so as to fill the whole breadth of the land. In all cases in which the word means "*extreme parts*," mention is made of the main body whose extremities are referred to. Besides, it must be remembered that the translation of a word or clause, and the interpretation of a figure are to be kept distinct; the latter must not interfere with the former. In the same way we may compare Jer. xlvi. 40; xlix. 22, where in the ultimate application of the *figure* an army may be thought of, but קלל as translated must refer to the wings of the eagle mentioned in both verses in the immediately preceding clause. As to the word קלל, used by Ezekiel and appealed to by Gesenius, it is never used by any Hebrew writer in the sense of "*wings*," and is not even the usual word in Chaldee. In the Targums קלל or קלל is generally employed. The form with א prosthetic which is found in the Targum on Cant. v. 11, אקלל ערבה, belongs to a very late (post-Talmudic) period. The meaning of the word in Ezekiel may be found and the origin of that meaning traced without borrowing anything from the idea of wings, which is itself a secondary idea in the cognate words. Ezekiel's קלל, is simply "*bands*" of men, the prominent idea is that of *collecting and binding together*.^a But even if Gesenius'

^a The origin and signification of the word are as follows:—In Hebrew, and also in the cognate languages, roots with ע, ח, ג, כ, or ק, followed by ו, ה, or י, and appearing as trilaterals by doubling the second radical, or by prefixing, inserting, or adding א, ה, ר, י, or ל, have all in common the primary meaning "*to be hollow*," from which their actual meanings are derived. Connected with hollowness is *curvature*, hence some of the words came to denote "*ridge*," "*back*," "*elevation*," "*be raised up*," hence "*be proud*," etc. Others, again, kept the idea of *concavity* more prominent, so that we have quite a host of words with that as their primary idea. Among these latter are כנף, גנף, ננף, which

opinion in regard to כנפים were adopted, it would tell *against* and not in favour of his view of the meaning of כנפים in our clause; for the latter word occurs very frequently in Ezekiel in the usual sense of "wings." And the reason why the former word (of Chaldee origin) is used when speaking of bands of men would be just because the Hebrew כנפים could not be used to denote them. The words are never interchanged, כנפים = "*wings*," occurs oftener in Ezekiel than in any other Old Testament book, and the constant use of a different word to denote "*troop*," affords an argument against giving כנפים that meaning in the clause under discussion. In no case then can we find anything to justify the translation "*wings of an army*."

By many צל has been taken in the sense of "*shadow*," and the clause has been rendered "*land of the shadow on both sides*," that is, according to Eichhorn and Knobel, "land where the shadow is cast sometimes to the north and sometimes to the south." As Ethiopia is a tropical country it might be called a land of double shadow. Strabo applies the epithet *ἀμφίσκιον* to the inhabitants of such countries, and Pliny,^b speaking of Ethiopia, says, "in Meroë bis anno absumi umbras." But however beautiful and appropriate this may seem, the Hebrew words will not bear such an interpretation. The singular צל is sometimes used in the sense of "*side*," or rather "*extreme part*," and the plural צלים always means "*extremities*," but on all these occasions the reference is to the extreme part or parts of something, and not to what is different from it and on the side of it. The words also are never used in an adverbial sense. Especially is it to be observed that very frequently in Hebrew expressions are used to denote "*on both sides*," but on no occasion is צל ever used in that sense. In one phrase (in which there is only one subject) צל is employed; but whenever reference is made to things "*on both sides of*" *some other thing*, then, the idea is expressed by a repetition of צל, or צל, or צל, as in Joshua viii. 22, 33; Numb. xxii. 24; Ezekiel i. 23; xl. 10, 12,

from "*to be hollow*" came to mean "*cover*," hence the nouns signifying "*wings*" = *the hollow covering* at the side of birds, and from this by another process of derivation these nouns came to signify the *side* or *extreme part* of anything; but the verbs came also to denote *cover in*, *inclose*, hence the Chaldee, שָׁטַח = "*shut a gate*," שָׁטַח = "*embrace*," שָׁטַח = "*that which encloses*"; hence also the Arabic

جَفَفَ = "*collect and drive together*," جَفَفَ = "*gather into one*," whence

جَفَفَ = "*a troop*." The word in Ezekiel is connected in origin and signification with these Chaldee and Arabic words, and means a *band* of men, a number of people *included* in one body—*embraced* in one organized whole.

^b *Hist. Nat.*, ii., 75.

39, 41; xlvii. 7. Some of these expressions would have been used if the prophet had wished to convey the meaning which is under discussion.

Others, again, take צָלָה not absolutely but relatively, understanding it to refer not to the two sides of an object in the land, but to the two sides of the land. They say the phrase is employed in allusion to the double chain of mountains in Egypt—a very unlikely allusion, and besides not in harmony with the context: the prophet could not designate Egypt as “*beyond* the rivers of Cush.”

Besides, there is no good reason why we should take צָלָה to be a noun meaning “*shadow*.” We can scarcely venture to say that it is צָלָה repeated, according to the construction of Gen. xiv. 10; Judges v. 22, etc. Nor yet can we give any reason why we should take it as a single word^c of the same formation as צָלָה in verse 5, and צָלָה in the fourteenth verse of the preceding chapter. The simple noun צָלָה is often joined with צָלָה when the idea of Divine protection is intensified to the utmost: and there is no special reason why intensity should be denoted by a repetition of the noun, or by a reduplicated (intensive) form of it on this occasion.

We propose to take צָלָה as a verb. This has already been done by Meier, who, instead of צָלָה , reads צָלָה , and translates, “*Ho land which the border of the sea shadows, i. e., protects;*” but although the verb means “*overshadow*,”=“*protect*,” the giving of such protection cannot be ascribed to the sea, which can never be said to overshadow the dry land in any sense. It is not easy to understand what sort of protection Meier had in view; his translation is forced and unnatural. Nevertheless, we prefer taking צָלָה as a verb; and a very good reason can be given why it should be used by the writer on this occasion. No change of punctuation will be required; the tradition of the Jews has preserved the proper sound, although the sense has been forgotten. The verb is of the pilpel form, like צָלָה , צָלָה , צָלָה , etc., and the meaning is “*overshadow*;” it is the intensive causative of No. III. in Gesenius’ *Lexicon*.^d

^c It occurs in the Talmud as one word in the sense of “*shadow*,” as well as in the other senses.

^d In Job xl. 31, צָלָה is a noun signifying “*a harpoon*,” and ought to be regarded as a derivative, not from No. I., as in the *Lexicon*, but from No. II.=“*sink*,” which occurs once, viz., Exod. xv. 10. We shall thus have a צָלָה derived from each of the three roots. Regarding this root No. II., we may remark that it is probably closely allied to No. III., and therefore should not be

made to correspond to the Arabic ضَلَّ . The Arabic verb does *not* originally mean, “*fall headlong*,” or “*sink*,” but “*move to and fro*,” or “*move to one side*,”

It can, in this instance, be no objection that the word does not occur elsewhere as a verb, and that the hiphil is used to denote "overshadow;" for Ezekiel xxxi. 3, is the only instance of hiphil. We find a parallel in the case of לָלַךְ, which occurs frequently as a noun, but is once a verb of the pilpel form, viz., Jer. li. 25, and its hiphil is used just once, viz., Gen xxix. 10, where the signification is the same as that of the pilpel, only not so intensive in idea: in the same way the hiphil of לָלַךְ in Ezekiel xxxi. 3, where reference is made to the shadow of a tree, is not so intensive as the pilpel in our clause where reference is made to the protecting shadow of wings. Besides, the greater number of pilpel forms occur only once, while the piel, polel, and (sometimes also) hiphil, forms from the same root, occur more frequently, though generally in a slightly different, or at least, somewhat less intensive, signification. There can, therefore, be no valid objection to our taking לָלַךְ as a verb in this instance. The clause is to be understood as an example of a very common figure, which is generally used to denote divine protection, but is also used of such protection as Ethiopia had determined to send to Judah. Thus, in chap. xxxii. 2, we find לָלַךְ בְּצִלְכָּם, and in verse 3, of the same chapter, לָלַךְ בְּצִלְכָּם. In these passages, "*trust in the shadow of Egypt*," evidently means reliance on Egypt for help; it is true that we do not find לָלַךְ expressed there, neither is it expressed in Psalm xci. 1, לָלַךְ בְּצִלְכָּם, yet in all these cases it is easy to understand what is meant by the figure employed, (see ver. 4 of that Psalm.) Com-

hence, "go aside," and "go astray," hence, "be lost," and "put out of the way," etc.: the ideas of death and burial which are sometimes attached to the word are derived from the idea of *being put aside*, hence, "hidden," "lost," "missing," hence, also the derivatives ضَالٌّ, "lost in consequence of going astray" (applied to an animal that has wandered), مَضَلٌّ and ضَلَّ "apt to cause one

to wander;" but לָלַךְ No. II.—"to sink," is closely connected with No. III.—"to be in the shade;" when anything sinks into water, it is put in the shade and covered over with a perpetual covering. In Exod. xv. 10, we have not the bare idea of a downward notion (which is expressed by יָרַד in verse 5); but we are told that, "like the lead, the Egyptians *sank so as to be covered* in the mighty waters." With this may be compared the cognate לָלַךְ and לָלַךְ, which are not, as

Schultens and Fürst suppose, cognate to ضَالٌّ—*act violently*, but to לָלַךְ—*sink*; and the primary idea is not, as Gesenius supposes, that of "the gurgling noise made by deep water when anything is plunged into it;" neither is it that of "rolling waves," or "noisy waves," but that of a place *covered over, and in darkness*; לָלַךְ and לָלַךְ—"the deep sea," or "the depths of the sea," that is, where there is a perpetual shade; hence, figuratively, the author of Psalm lxxxviii. says in verse 7, לָלַךְ בְּצִלְכָּם.

pare also Jeremiah xlvi. 45, *בַּלְּשׁוֹן עֲקָרִי*. Sometimes, on the other hand, *זַל* is not expressed, as in Ruth ii. 12, *הֲיָה אֵלַי כְּשֶׁעַל אֵלֶיךָ יְשׁוּעָה*, but the expression "*under whose wings*," shews that the figure is the same. So also in Psalm xci. 4. These, however, are examples of it in an abridged form; in other places it is expressed in full, *בְּזַל כְּנָפִים*, as in Psalm xvii. 1; xxxvi. 8; lvii. 2; lxiii. 18. In the clause now under consideration we have not the noun "*shadow*," but the verb "*overshadow*," and it is the only instance of the verb being used. There is a very good reason for this. No other form of expression would have been suitable in the circumstances. The prophet could not have said, *אֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר בְּזַל כְּנָפֵי אֱתִיּוֹפְיָה*, or *אֶרֶץ סְתֻרֶת בְּזַל כְּנָפֵי*, for these phrases would have implied something different from his view of the relation in which Ethiopia stood to Judah; they would have implied that his countrymen really had protection from Ethiopia. But it was not so; and he very impressively gives it to be understood, in the course of his prophecy, that Judah's protection was from a far higher source. It was indeed for the very purpose of making that announcement that he mentioned Ethiopia at all. Yet that country was willing to give protection, and was actively taking measures for such a purpose, hence the prophet might call Ethiopia *אֶרֶץ זֹלֶזֶל כְּנָפִים*, "*land that makes a protecting shadow with (its) wings*." According to the figure, Judah is not under the wings, they are only stretched out for Judah to go under them. It was in order to convey *that* meaning that the prophet made use of the expression now before us. The various forms of expression which are found in other places would have implied more than he wished; they would have implied even the very contrary of what he intended to impress on the minds of those whom he addressed. There is not even a suffix added to the verb; all that is said is that Ethiopia offers protection. There was therefore good reason for using an expression somewhat different from those that are used elsewhere; and as the greater number of pilpel forms have only one occurrence each, there can be no objection to the verb on that account. Taking, therefore, *זֹלֶזֶל* as a verb, various constructions are possible besides the one that we prefer. It is possible to translate the clause, "*Ho! a land shadows with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Cush [viz.] the one which is sending*," etc. But as on all other occasions *הִי* is immediately followed by the designation of the object addressed, it will be better not to make this clause an exception. Grammatically, possible would be the translation, "*Ho! land where wings shadow*," i.e., where protection is offered. An example of this construction is in chap. xxix. 1. *הִי אֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יִסְרָהּ יְהוָה*, and there are many other examples of the same

kind of relative clause. It can be no objection that the verb is singular masculine, for the simple form of the verb is often used even when a plural feminine nominative *immediately* follows it; instances are given in Ewald's *Lehrb.*, 316 *a*, and Gesenius' *Gram.*, 144 *a*. And in many of these instances the verbs are not passive verbs.

The above construction, therefore, is unobjectionable from a grammatical point of view, it is also very simple. But we prefer the following. *וְהָיָה* is the accusative in connexion with *וְהָיָה*. Verbs are often followed by an instrumental accusative when there is such a close connexion between the instrument and the performance of the action that the action could scarcely be regarded as performed by any other instrumentality; but in the clause before us the noun is in the accusative because it is connected with a verb which includes the idea of covering. Thus *וְהָיָה* is analogous to *וְהָיָה*, Ps. v. 13. There are many instances of this special use of an instrumental accusative. As regards the subject of the verb, *וְהָיָה* is masculine, because the *land*, strictly speaking, is not referred to, but rather its inhabitants, king, army; hence in the next clause the participle is masculine *וְהָיָה*. The grammatical subject of the verb is *וְהָיָה* understood. In most cases the omitted relative is an accusative, but there are many instances of the omission of the relative when it refers to the subject. Such an omission is most frequent in negative clauses, since *אֵין* cannot be used with a participle, for example, chap. liv. 1, *וְהָיָה אֵין*; but there are also instances of it in affirmative clauses, and with either tense of the verb. The translators of the Old Testament have been too partial to this construction, and have adopted it in many places where a much better sense would be given by another construction, as in Psalm lx. 12 (A. V. 10), where the Authorized Version, De Wette, and others, put the verbs in relative clauses; but Hupfeld and Delitzsch correctly without any relative, "*hast not thou, O God, cast us off*," etc. This mistake has been made in many similar passages in the English and other versions of the Psalms. There are also cases where another construction would be equally good, as in Job iii. 3, *וְהָיָה לַלַּיְלָה*, translated by all the recent German commentators, "*the night which said*," but might also be translated "*the night (in which) one said*." There are however a number of passages of which no other construction can be made.

* There can be no objection to this second rendering, for *וְהָיָה* is often used with an indefinite subject; and a noun of time or place before a relative clause *may* have the article even when no preposition with a suffix follows the verb (see Job xxxviii. 19, 24), although in by far the greater number of these cases it is put in the construct state.

Decided instances of the omission of $\text{וְ$, referring to the *subject* of the verb, in *affirmative* clauses with a *finite verb*, and *without a participle in a preceding clause*,^f are found sometimes, although certainly very seldom,^g see Deut. xxxii. 16—18. There can be no objection to our rendering $\text{וְ$ by a present tense in English. Neither can the rendering we propose be objected to on the ground that the verb is in the third person; among all the instances of the use of וְ there is only *one* where the second person is used in the introductory descriptive clause, and in that case אַתָּה is inserted; on all other occasions the third person is used, even when the address is afterwards carried on with the use of the second person: compare especially chap. xxix. 15; xxx. 1—3; Jeremiah xxii. 13—17, and Ezekiel xxxiv. 2—4. There is therefore nothing to be said against the proposed rendering; it violates no law of grammar or lexicography; it gives the words their simplest and most natural meaning, and construes them according to analogy. The figurative language of the clause as we render it has its parallels elsewhere, and we have also seen that the peculiar form of expression states precisely the relation which at the time subsisted between Judah and Ethiopia, it expresses neither more nor less than the actual facts.

There can be no doubt that the land addressed is Ethiopia in the more restricted sense, its position is definitely said to be $\text{וְעַל־הַנָּהָרִים הַהֵם}$, which can only mean “*beyond*” the rivers of Cush, Lowth remarks, “the word וְעַל־ signifies either *on this side*, or *on the further side*,” this is absurd, such a word would be wholly useless, every time it occurred it would create confusion. Vitranga and Hitzig are decidedly wrong in translating “*on this side of*.” Equally incorrect is the opinion of others that it means in this and some other passages “*along the side of*,” = “*by the banks of*.” The word can never mean anything else than “*beyond*.”^h Whatever may seem to favour another render-

^f With a participle in a preceding clause this construction is the regular one, a very good example is in chap. xlviii. 1.

^g If we were to include sentences which express a simile it might be said that such a construction is not uncommon, but these sentences must be excluded, for $\text{וְ$ is *never* found in them between the subject and the verb, and the comparison is made not with the noun but with the whole clause. Delitzsch (on Psalm xvii. 12) objects to this on the ground that $\text{וְ$ (instead of וְכֵן) cannot introduce a verbal clause, hence he would insert a relative after the subject; this might be admissible in many passages, but in Habakkuk ii. 14, we have an example of a comparison made not with the noun but with the whole clause, and where the insertion of a relative would destroy the sense, yet the clause is introduced by וְ before the subject which precedes the verb, and this is *always* the case in such clauses.

^h The difficulties connected with its use in the Pentateuch and Joshua are

ing in some passages is sufficiently explained by the fact that we sometimes speak of the position of places as they lie from our real or ideal standpoint, and sometimes on the other hand make use of current geographical designations. Nothing, therefore, can be adduced in support of any other translation than the one we have given. As for the special difficulty in the present case, urged by Knobel, it may be easily disposed of. He says that, reckoned from Judah, "*beyond the rivers of Cush*" must denote a land to the south of Ethiopia, and that no such land was known to antiquity. But a glance at a good map will explain the clause. The proper kingdom of Tirhakah was so situated in regard to these rivers that no other geographical description by a Jewish writer could have been more appropriately used to point out that kingdom. Knobel himself says, "According to Strabo (xvii. p. 821, 786,) Meroë was enclosed by the Astaboras (Atbara, Tacazze), Astapus (Asrak, blue river), and Astasobas (Abiad, white river); this agrees with the statements of modern travellers, such as Rüppell and Burckhardt." He need not, therefore, have objected to the translation "*beyond*." If the original kingdom of Tirhakah lay for the most part to the south of its great rivers, a writer in Judah might well call it "*beyond the rivers of Cush*." The preposition מֵ means "*from beyond*" with a verb which denotes motion, and "*beyond*" when position is denoted; there is no exception. The prophet's description, therefore, applies to the kingdom of Meroë, which was Tirhakah's own proper kingdom, the nucleus of his extensive dominions, and the seat of his government.

The first part of the second verse does not present much difficulty. The article in הַ shews that the subject must be the nation already mentioned, so the word can only be translated, "*the one [which is] sending*." There ought to be no difference of opinion regarding שָׁרֵי ; it must mean "*ambassadors*," as in Prov. xiii. 17, where שָׂרֵי occurs in a parallel clause, as also in this verse. These messengers are said to be sent בְּ . Henderson says "that בְּ and בָּ are here synonymous is more than doubtful." But בְּ is sometimes applied to a great river; some of the examples given by Gesenius (in his commentary on chap. xix. 5) may admit of another explanation, but still others cannot be explained away; such for example as Nahum iii. 8. If then בְּ could be applied to the Nile, we should give it that signification in this passage not merely for the sake of parallelism, but also on account of the special bearing of the whole of the prophet's address. The ambassadors were being sent *at the time*. Refer-

explained by Hengstenberg, *Beiträge* iii. 314—324, and Drechsler, *Unwissen-schaftlichkeit im Gebiete d. A. T. Kritik*, p. 148—166.

ence is not made to Tirhakah's intercourse with foreign parts, or even to his military despatches in general, but solely to those he was sending in regard to the project with which he was then engaged. They were sent by the Nile "in vessels of bulrushes on the surface of the waters." These vessels of bulrushes are described with sufficient accuracy and fulness by Gesenius, Knobel, and Henderson, in their commentaries; they have also quoted many illustrative passages from the classics. The Egyptians and Ethiopians certainly made good use of the bulrush: they chewed it and swallowed the juice; they peeled it, and made from the bark clothes, shoes, mattresses, baskets, sails, and ropes; from the plant itself they made canoes, which are here referred to, very light swift-sailing vessels (*πλοῖα ὀξύδρομάτα*), carrying only a very few people, who sometimes came out and carried *it* along the bank, and then after awhile embarked again.

The clause beginning with וַיִּשְׁלַח is to be understood as spoken by the prophet; there is not the slightest authority for inserting "*saying*,"—such an unwarrantable insertion can only be a source of confusion. The prophet tells them to go with *his* message (compare Ezekiel xxx. 9, where, however, the message is of a different purport, though represented as being sent by messengers on the Nile). The Cushites under Tirhakah were preparing to give succour to Judah, hence messengers were being sent along the Nile; but Isaiah tells the messengers to go to the people of their own nation, and tell them what God was about to do in behalf of his people, who would not require foreign aid.

The people described are Tirhakah's own subjects. Since גִּבּוֹרִים is connected with גִּב, it must be descriptive of the nation; it cannot refer to the geographical figure of the country. Apply it to the people, some have understood it to denote the *tall stature* of the Ethiopians, but if that was its meaning, we would have had גִּבּוֹרִים instead of גִּבּוֹרִים; besides, there is no authority in the *usus loquendi* for such a rendering. The verb is never used to denote *personal length* (either in Hebrew or in any of the cognate languages), neither does it ever denote *elevation*; high mountains, lofty trees, and tall men are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, but גִּבּוֹרִים is never used in the description of any of them.

Others render it "*strong*" or "*robust*," as if the passive of גִּבּוֹר, in the sense in which they say that verb is used in Eccl. ii. 3, making at the same time an appeal to the Syriac in support of the rendering in both passages. But the Syriac ܠܡܫܝܚ does *not* mean "*strengthen*," and even if it did, we would have no right to assign such a meaning to the Hebrew verb,—a meaning

so very remote from any of the ordinary significations of so common a word. The passage in Ecclesiastes can be explained without departing from the Hebrew usage,ⁱ and so can the clause now before us. The renderings of the Chaldee, Syriac, Septuagint, Vulgate, English version, and Luther, are not literal, and cannot be supported by the Hebrew *usus loquendi*. Grotius and Henderson have made the nearest approach to the correct meaning, but still they are a little at fault. Henderson quotes Judges iv. 6, xx. 37, as instances of the word being used in a military acceptation; but in these passages the verb occurs in *kal*, while here it is *pual*, and we must therefore translate it as a passive. A much more important passage than those referred to by Henderson is Judges v. 14, the last clause of which, if properly understood, throws light upon the precise signification of *לָקַח*; but we must first point out the correct meaning of *לָקַח* in that place. The rendering of the last clause of Judges v. 14 in the English version is incorrect throughout. *לָקַח* never means “a pen;” we must not assign an unusual and unsupported meaning in a single instance to a word of such frequent occurrence: it is “rod” or “staff.” *לָקַח* does not mean to “grasp” or “handle;” the Arabic *مسك* means “to hold,” and also “to take hold,” but the Hebrew verb has no such meaning, not even in those places where Gesenius and Maurer so explain it. If *לָקַח* is rightly understood, we shall be guided to the correct signification of the other words, as well as to the proper force of *לָקַח*. The *לָקַח* was a military officer who was charged with the levying of troops, as is evident from 2 Chron. xxvi. 11, and 2 Kings xxv. 19. In the preceding clause we have *לָקַח*, and according to the laws of parallelism, *לָקַח* refers to officers; its signification is transitive, not intransitive. *לָקַח*, which originally means “to draw,” means also “to draw out” or “select;” hence also, “draw out” for military service. We must translate *לָקַח* *לָקַח* “those who muster with the staff of the enroller,” and in the clause before us *לָקַח* means, “a nation mustered in troops.”

The moral condition of the troops that were drawn out for war is expressed by the term *לָקַח*, which, in Ezek. xxi. 15, 16, means “furbished,” and is applied to a sword ready to be used by the slayer. This is the only signification that the word can

ⁱ See Hitzig, *Der Prediger Salomo's Erklärt*, on chap. ii. 3. In support of his view, we may remark that *לָקַח*—“to draw,” is sometimes followed by *בְּ*—“by means of,” and (in opposition to Hengstenberg on the same verse) *לָקַח*—“to drive,” may be followed by a noun with *בְּ* prefixed to denote the quality of the driving; as in 2 Kings ix. 20, *לָקַח*—“furiously,” so in this passage *לָקַח*—“skillfully” or “wisely.”

have so as to be in harmony with the context; all the others are incongruous. It is easy to understand how a term applied to a sword to signify that it was neither blunt nor rusty came to be applied also to troops, to denote that they were not unfit for active warfare. Tirhakah's troops were not merely levied, but like a furbished sword they were in every way ready for an immediate engagement.^j

The description of Tirhakah's subjects is continued in the next clause, which evidently must refer to the same people, and not to any other. The rather difficult phrase וְהָיָה מִן הַיָּמִים מִן הַיָּמִים cannot mean "*more terrible than it and more distant*," for such a meaning would have necessitated the use of וְהָיָה מִן הַיָּמִים מִן הַיָּמִים. The words before us cannot denote comparison, וְהָיָה cannot be used instead of a suffix with יָמִים. The only parallel to the construction of this clause is in Nahum ii. 9, וְהָיָה מִן הַיָּמִים, where וְהָיָה is not used instead of the nominal suffix, but, as in the present passage, stands instead of the substantive verb, and is the representative of a relative clause. The construct state is often used before a relative clause, even when the relative word is omitted; so that the passage from Nahum is to be translated, "*from the days that it was*," i. e., ever since it had an existence. In the same way וְהָיָה מִן הַיָּמִים means "*from its being*," i. e., ever since it had an existence and a name; וְהָיָה מִן הַיָּמִים "*and thenceforward*," i. e., on from that time. The Cushite people were formidable ever since they were a

^j The word here, as well as in Ezekiel, is the participle pual, with the preformative וְ omitted: such an omission only occurs in pual participles. The reason of the omission is not to avoid a repetition of the letter, for we find the same form with many verbs which have another letter for the first radical. The immediately preceding word is also a pual participle of a verb that has the same letter for its first radical, and yet it has the regular preformative. Here, then, we have two pual participles together; the one with, and the other without, the preformative; the reason is, that the former denotes an accomplished act, while the latter has more the sense of an adjective, and refers to a condition viewed as existing. This distinction is sometimes of considerable importance. For example, in Exod. iii. 2, the use of וְהָיָה denotes that the bush was not suffering in any way from the effect of the fire; while if וְהָיָה had been used, the meaning would only have been that the bush was not all burned away. So also in 2 Kings ii. 10, Elijah speaks of Elisha's seeing him וְהָיָה, but he could never have suggested the probability of his being seen when וְהָיָה. In every case when the preformative is omitted, the idea of an existing state rather than that of an accomplished fact is more immediately brought forward. The form וְהָיָה is used because the levies were already made, that operation was past; and the form וְהָיָה is used because the word describes the existing character and condition of the troops. In the Talmudic dialect these two different points of view are always kept distinct; the difference, however, is denoted in another way: the one is expressed by the passive participle of an active conjugation; the other by the participle of a passive conjugation. See Rabbi Geiger's *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mischna*, § 16, 3.

people. The first "mighty one in the earth" was Nimrod, *the son of Cush*, and the Cushites acquired great power and influence in the East.⁴ After settling in Africa they became exceedingly formidable, as is known from ancient history, and there are occasional references in the Old Testament to their power and warlike qualities. Those who were "*terrible*" to others would have a feeling of security, so it was no slight danger that could "make the *careless* Ethiopians afraid" (lit. "terrify Cush [who is] in security"), as Ezekiel (chap. xxx. 9) prophesied. In 2 Chron. xiv. 8—14, mention is made of a very formidable Cushite force under the command of Zerah the Cushite. See also other passages of Scripture where they are referred to.

The reason why they were a terrible people is given in the next clause—they were addicted to conquest. The translation of this clause in the English version is ridiculously out of harmony with the context, the nouns קֶרֶן and קֶרֶן must be taken in an active sense. On קֶרֶן Henderson remarks, "No attempt to interpret these words, according to the usual acceptations of קֶרֶן , has given satisfaction. Gesenius happily illustrates them by

comparing the Arabic, قوة = *power, dominion*, which was first suggested by Aurivilius." This is the opinion of all the recent German commentators. But קֶרֶן is too common a word in Hebrew to justify our going to the Arabic in search of a suitable meaning for it, more especially when we only get one so very remote from the ordinary signification of the Hebrew word. Besides, the genuine Hebrew signification is in this passage much more suitable than the one proposed to be adopted from the Arabic. The word means "*a measuring line*," used in measuring out for the purpose of *destroying*, as in Lam. ii. 8; or for the purpose of *taking possession*, as in Isa. xxxiv. 17. Duplication intensifies the idea; קֶרֶן וְקֶרֶן taken literally, means "*a nation of line-line and trampling*," i.e., a nation that takes possession of the territories of other nations and subjugates them. This explanation, which is in perfect harmony with the context, is also consistent with well established facts.

The last clause of the verse is descriptive of the country. The latest commentators agree with Gesenius in rendering קָרַע "*divide*," comparing the Chaldee קָרַע , and Hebrew קָרַע ; it must be remarked, however, that of these verbs appealed to, the former (Chaldee) alone means "*divide*" not necessarily in a bad sense, while the Hebrew verb קָרַע , is always used in a bad sense, and indeed generally in the sense of "*plunder*," so that it scarcely

⁴ For details, see Knobel's *Völkertafel*, pp. 246-7, 251-2.

differs at all from m. Upon the whole there are no sufficient grounds for giving ~~an~~ a good sense. Reference to the abundant irrigation of the country is rather out of place here; it has no connexion with the context, and no apparent significance. The translation of the ancient versions, with which the English version agrees, is much more suitable: "*whose [own] land the rivers have spoiled.*" While the Cushites were meditating foreign conquest, they were neglecting their own country; they encroached on other people's territories, while their numerous rivers were laying waste their own; they were preparing to defend Judah against the Assyrians, while they did not defend their own land against the encroachments of the rivers, which were (most probably) wearing away the soil in some places and forming marshes in others. This explanation suits the immediate as well as the general context. It very appropriately brings out a striking contrast.

In conclusion, we need not here recapitulate what we have already said in the course of these remarks; but no one who takes the trouble to read and consider them can fail to perceive that the various clauses of these verses, as we interpret them, are all in harmony with each other, and have a direct and immediate bearing on the prophet's subject. Besides, all other interpretations are unsupported by the *usus loquendi*, but the one which we have given is in its details strictly in accordance with the principles of sound philological criticism.

J. Mc G.

HINDU PHILOSOPHY AND INDIAN MISSIONS.*

THERE was a time when many thought it a superfluous work to propagate the Gospel among the Hindus. The antiquity of the Hindu forms of religion, their profound spiritual significance, their beneficent operations, their hold upon the people, the

* *Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy, comprising the Nyaya, the Sankhya, the Vedant; to which is added a discussion of the authority of the Vedas.* By Rev. K. M. Banerjee. London: Williams and Norgate.

A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, so far as it illustrates the primitive Religion of the Brahmans. By Max Müller, M.A. Second Edition. London: Williams and Norgate.

Plates illustrating the Hindu Pantheon, reprinted from the work of Major Edward Moor, F.R.S. Edited, with brief descriptive Index, by Rev. A. P. Moor, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate.

A Manual of Buddhism, in its modern development: translated from Singhalese MSS. By R. Spence Hardy. London: Williams and Norgate.

Eastern Monachism: an account of the origin, laws, discipline, sacred writings,

learning and talent of the priests, the impregnable fortress of caste, and many other matters, were urged in justification of this opinion. The consequence was, that Indian missions were derided, and Indian missionaries were looked upon with contempt. Others who only knew that formidable obstacles were presented to the Gospel by the Hindu mind and habits, while they earnestly promoted Christian missions in India, dared not encourage any extensive investigation and refutation of what they believed to be error. They advocated the simple preaching of the truth, and relied upon its power and God's blessing for success. Let the Bible, and statements of Christian doctrine and evidences, be translated into the languages of India, they said, but let not the missionaries exhaust their lives and energies in fruitless researches in, and attacks upon, the religion and philosophies of India. In their opinion the religious and philosophical fabric was so vast and intricate that it would be useless for Europeans to try to comprehend it fully, and impossible by arguments to undermine it. The fortress was to be summoned to surrender, and those who held it were to be invited to abandon it for the Gospel of Christ. Others, again, maintained that the missionaries must study and refute the Hindu systems, whose adherents must not only be attracted by something better, but convinced that they were wrong. Christianity, they said, is to be set up, but the old superstitions and false systems of the country must be overthrown. The result of many years has proved them right, and it has been seen that if our missionaries are not to imitate the Jesuits, and graft Christianity upon paganism, they must master the philosophic and religious systems of India, and must refute them. The gradual prevalence of this view has led to the production of many works, or rather to the creation of a new order of literature. Successful students of ancient Hindu literature, history, religions, and philosophy, have published many volumes, which are not merely interesting and instructive to those who remain at home, but which are calculated greatly to facilitate the labours of those who go as missionaries. Investigations into Sanskrit philology have not only thrown a new light upon a chain of languages extending from Birmah to Britain: had they done no more, they would have produced an abundant harvest, and the names of the

mysterious rites, religious ceremonies, and present circumstances of the order of Mendicants founded by Gotama Budha, etc. By R. S. Hardy. London: Williams and Norgate.

The Study of Sanskrit in relation to Missionary work in India. By Monier Williams, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate.

Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus. By H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. London: Williams and Norgate.

labourers would merit lasting honour. In this work, Sir William Jones took the lead, some of the missionaries rendered important services, and men like Colebrooke, Wilson, Burnouf, A. W. and F. Schlegel, Humboldt, Bopp, Lassen, Max Müller, etc., have brought it to its present perfection. The study of the Sanskrit language and literature has been most profitable to the missionaries. From that language many of the spoken dialects of India are immediately descended, and that literature incorporates facts bearing upon the mythology, philosophy, and religious history of the country, the knowledge of which is a most valuable acquisition. Researches into Indian antiquities, and the modern forms of belief and worship, have enlisted the energies of not a few, and the results have been such that while we can turn them to profit here, the missionary also may find his advantage in them. So also with other branches of scientific and learned exploration, the missionary can scarcely afford to remain in ignorance of one of them; if he remains in ignorance, he is a loser by it.

In his very interesting and useful lecture, Prof. Williams shews what he thinks ought to be acquired by all who go to India to preach the Gospel. He intimates that amid all the differences of race, religion, language, and sympathies which India exhibits, the Sanskrit language is the one link which connects all varieties of opinion. A stranger in India sees the prevalence and power of caste, and he knows that it has bound the people in its chains for ages. He hears the popular traditions which declare that each caste originated in a separate creation; but if he is ignorant of Sanskrit literature, he cannot tell the people of portions of their own sacred books which plainly point to a period before caste was instituted. The mere ability to trace the origin and establishment of caste from the native literature is evidently desirable. In the same way, other institutions may be dealt with, and the ancient frauds and rivalries of ambitious and selfish priests laid bare. The analytical process by which the present complications and intricacies of the Brahminical system are unravelled, is only possible to those who have studied the Sanskrit literature, its history as well as its constituent parts; for nowhere is acquaintance with literary history more necessary. With regard to complications and diversities, we may say with Professor Williams, "The Hindu religion, as it presents itself in operation, is best expressed by the word *caste*, and the actual worship of the Hindus at the present day is as multiform, variable, and elastic as caste itself. The gods of the Veda are now out of fashion. Fire is still revered, but Indra, the god of the atmosphere, has been altogether superseded by

Krishna," etc. The gods of the Veda are now out of fashion ! and yet the Veda commonly signifies the collection of books which together constitute the canon of Hindu revelation. The Veda, then, is the Hindu Bible, in form if not in reality. And here two ideas suggest themselves : one is the enquiry as to the Brahminical principle of interpretation ; and the other, as to the relation in which the Veda stands to modern science and philosophy. We see that the modern practice is opposed to the written document. How is the contradiction accounted for ? The Hindu looks at the Veda through the priests, and the priests interpret it in a non-natural sense ; like the old Jews, making their law void through their traditions. With respect to Hindu systems of philosophy, their relation to the Veda is such that they all avowedly defer to it as their ultimate authority. These systems are stated to be six in number ; viz., 1. Nyaya ; 2. Vaisheshika ; 3. Sankhya ; 4. Yoga ; 5. Vedanta ; 6. Mimamsa. It is admitted, however, that these systems are practically reduced to three ; viz., the Nyaya, the Sankhya, and the Vedanta. Of these the first tends to materialism ; the second distinguishes between the soul and matter, but views both as eternal ; the third considers soul as only truly existent, and matter as an illusion.^b The Vedanta may be called the popular and orthodox system. A glance at the systems characterized will shew that they are neither in harmony with Biblical teachings, nor with sound philosophy. And here let us observe, that the reader will find an admirable account both of the Vedas and of the Hindu philosophy in the essays of Mr. Colebrooke. The history of the Vedic literature is set forth with great learning and completeness by Mr. Max Müller in his account of "Ancient Sanskrit Literature,"—a work which we cannot too strongly recommend to all who take an interest in the subject, and the value of which is recognized by the call for a second edition a few months after its appearance. This author divides his record into the Sutra, the Brahmana, and the Mantra periods, under each of which the details are most complete and satisfactory. The work of Mr. Banerjea is different in its form and intention. Its aim is

^b The reader will assuredly see that there can be but one other system essentially different from these. That other system is the one of the Bible. It does not, with the Nyaya, deal with spirit as a subtle form or mode of matter. Nor, like the Vedanta, does it treat matter as an illusion or phenomenon, and spirit as alone a reality. But, like the Sankhya, it clearly distinguishes between the two, with this immense difference, that it directly denies the eternity of matter, and by implication, the pre-existence and eternity of the soul. God alone is eternal, without beginning and without end. He is the author of all dependent existences ; matter and mind were created by him. "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," are words which find no parallel in oriental or occidental philosophy, out of the sphere of the Biblical teaching.

not only to give a correct and authentic statement of the doctrines of Hindu philosophy, but to suggest such modes of dealing with them as may prove most effective to the Hindu mind. He aims to secure his first object by citing the original authorities, and to secure the second by bringing the various systems into juxta-position, and by shewing how far they agree with us, and how far they are in collision with one another. He, moreover, introduces statements of Biblical truth, and arguments for it. The conversational form into which he has thrown his materials, adds considerably to the vivacity and interest of the book. In the course of his work Mr. Banerjea has "suggested a historical consideration of the relation between the Brahminical philosophy and Buddhism." We are glad he has; for while it is possible to consider these quite separately, it is undeniable that there appear to be points of contact between them which may throw light upon both. The importance of not losing sight of Buddhism, is our reason for calling attention to the two works of Mr. Hardy. Taken together, these volumes contain the most comprehensive survey of Buddhism which can be imagined. That on Eastern Monachism shews most plainly what the discipline, rites, and present circumstances of the Buddhist priesthood are, expounds their doctrines, and traces their origin. The Manual of Buddhism in its modern development, contains a much more elaborate account of the legends and teachings of the system on a variety of topics. Many points of comparison between it and the Brahminical systems will present themselves to the reader, who must feel that their relations are more than accidental.^c Our motive in inserting the title of the new edition of Major Moor's plates, is to invite attention to them for the graphic manner in which they portray the gods of the Hindu Pantheon, and reproduce not only the fictions of Indian mythology, but some of the fictions of Indian philosophy. No man can attentively look upon these plates without feeling that the philosophy of the Hindus is as false as its theology. If we had intended to enumerate all the books which deserve to be studied in connexion with this subject, we should not have overlooked the publications of Muir, Ballantyne, Mullens, and many others, perhaps equally if not more important. This literature is yearly and rapidly growing, and while very much remains to be done, enough has been accomplished to prevent necessary

^c We feel that as the subject of Buddhism can only here be at most alluded to, it will be better to devote to it a separate consideration. Its affinities to Romanism, and the fact that it represents the religion of one-third of the human race, and is probably twice as old as Mussulmanism, will fully justify us in the course we propose to follow.

ignorance, and to give a tolerably accurate idea of what the Hindus believe and practise, and of the origin and growth of that belief and practice.

No doubt the missionary will often find himself perplexed by practical difficulties which he did not look for. Interpretations, refutations, etc., which seemed to him inevitably correct, will be eluded or evaded by the crafty Pandits. Modes of reconciliation and of explanation, which he never dreamed of, will be readily employed by them, and he will discover that he has not fathomed the depths of their mysticism. They can allegorize and spiritualize as well as any non-natural interpreters in the west, and are at no loss for double meanings and metaphors of all sorts. Be it so; their heart is human, and amid all its deceits and windings it must be followed with the light of eternal truth. Their whole nature is human, and the meshes of diabolical network in which it is enclosed, must be patiently untwisted till the man is free. The Word of God may be a fire, and it may be a hammer, but it is a fire and a hammer which may be brought to bear more hopefully and immediately upon the Hindu, when his philosophy is exploded, and when he is thus bereft of its friendly shelter and strong protection. If the missionary cannot do it perfectly he must do it in part; if we cannot batter down all the walls of this citadel of darkness, he must make a breach in them and enter by that. To say that so much labour for a work so hard and uncertain is really needless, because "it is not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts," is simply absurd. On that principle, why preach, teach, translate, or even go at all? The fact is, that God does not do for us what we can do ourselves. He has instituted means for conveying truth, as well as given us the truth. It is our part to use the best means we can, and to use them in the best way we can. This has always been the practice of the Church, and it must be its practice now. The proper attitude of Christianity is that of aggression wherever it is in the presence of an enemy to human happiness and progress. Hence it was that while the earliest apologists were mainly compelled to write for their defence and preservation against persecutors and heretics, they gradually permitted the aggressive element to preponderate, and opposed, *totis viribus*, the pagan systems and principles of Greece and Rome, of Egypt and of Asia. So must it be now; but not always in the spirit then predominant.

What then must we active, practical spirits of the west do to reach the dreamy speculative visionaries of the east, whose religion and philosophy alike have been constructed out of their imagination, mainly appeal to their imagination, and leave the

intellectual and moral nature unprofited? Now, they may think that the highest wisdom lies in the cloud-land of metaphysical refinement, and facts may be repudiated as low and vulgar. Now, they may believe that the highest goodness consists in birthright and in outward ceremonies. What, we ask again, must the missionary do to get at the minds and consciences of such men? Mr. Williams says, "Study Sanskrit," and there is more by far in this than appears upon the surface. It is "the sacred and learned language of India, the repository of the Veda in its widest sense, the vehicle of Hindu theology, philosophy, and mythology, the source of (nearly) all the spoken dialects, the only safe guide to the intricacies and contradictions of Hinduism, the one bond of sympathy, which, like an electric chain, connects Hindus of opposite characters in every district of India. There can be little doubt that a more correct knowledge of the religious opinions and practices of the Sanskrit Hindus, or as we may call them, the Hindus proper, is essential to extensive progress in our Indian missions." A man may have a tolerable acquaintance with several of the topics indicated, but if his knowledge is not drawn very much from Sanskrit books, he will labour under a disadvantage. Perhaps it might be urged as an excuse, that the Sanskrit is a dead language; but it is still true that there are Pandits who understand it, and that it is the source from which what is later has flowed. In addressing the learned Pandit the Sanskrit scholar may expect to be heard with attention, but not otherwise. In speaking to the unlearned it will ensure respect. No man would be likely to succeed with the Jews who knew nothing of Hebrew. So is it with Sanskrit and the Hindus. This knowledge will give the missionary confidence, enable him to speak with authority, and afford him other advantages. As a preliminary to the study of the vernacular languages, it may be acquired here, and will be the most precious furniture which a missionary can take with him. The point to which all these remarks tend is this, that the Sanskrit is the key which unlocks the treasures of India; a key to its spoken languages, a key to its religion, and a key to its philosophy; a key to its ear, its mind, its heart, and its temples.

The intimate connexion between philosophy and religion in the Hindu systems is well known. This connexion is so close that the one can hardly be retained if the other is abandoned. It is demonstrated that such is the case, by the fact that so many really educated Hindus are infidels. They have studied European literature, and are familiar with modern science and philosophy. They see that Vedantism is false and they reject it in heart, if not openly. If Christianity does not attract them,

nothing remains but a dreary and fearful gulf of scepticism, and into that they plunge. Up to a certain point they have done for themselves what the missionary might have done for them; but having substituted infidelity as well as modern philosophy for Hinduism and its fictions, they are no nearer the kingdom of heaven than before. They have found a substitute, and when once the election is made, it is easy to see how hard it will be to reach them. All the advantage which the missionary would have gained from his philosophy is lost, and the man is in darkness still.

We agree with Mr. Williams in thinking that a more cordial and friendly understanding should be established between Christians, Hindus, and Mussulmans; that the points of contact between the three religions should be better appreciated, and that Englishmen should search more candidly for the fragments of truth which lie buried under superstition, error, and idolatry. We would adopt the language of another writer quoted by him, and "acknowledge with thankfulness everything that we find excellent in the Hindu Sastras, as we welcome every spot of verdure in the desert; and when the Hindus have only halted at a stage far short of that which we ourselves have reached, we should rejoice in being able to present to them our superior knowledge, not in the shape of a contradiction to anything that is false in their views, but as the legitimate development of what is true." On this very account we value the work of Mr. Banerjea, which honestly admits what is right and true in the Hindu philosophy, even when it is only partially right and true, and which would use such elements as stepping stones to more perfect conclusions and higher manifestations.

We may be told that Christianity is a religion and not a philosophy, but we ask if it is not a religion philosophically true? The Hindu might possibly say his was a religion and not a philosophy, but we should not fail to tell him that it is a religion philosophically false. Nor should we omit to intimate very freely our conviction that a religion which is philosophically false, is fundamentally false, and cannot be a true religion. Otherwise, no religion would be objectionable on the ground of its absurdities and monstrosities. So far are we from such an opinion, that it is our constant glory that Christianity is in harmony with all truth, natural, scientific, and philosophical. This is right, and the principle may be employed by the missionary whose aim it is to turn men from Hinduism to the Gospel of Christ.

We may be told that we view Christianity too much as an intellectual thing. Nay, but others attach too little value to its

intellectual aspects. We do say, that so far as it is true and the truth, it appeals to the intellect and reason of men. In the same way Hinduism is an intellectual system, so far as it addresses men's minds and understandings, and even so far as it has a literature which makes positive and dogmatic assertions. To proclaim a divorce between the intellectual problems of Christianity and its moral or religious influences would be suicidal. But this is partly done by him who overlooks the matters to which our attention has been directed. Men are not likely to feel till they believe, and they are not likely to receive the truth of our system till the error of their own is proved.

The recognition of any traces or fragments of truth in the Hindu philosophy is not so much a mark of candour as a work of common honesty. Such relics may be few and insignificant, but they are precious as indications that God has not left them wholly without witness. We can well afford to acknowledge them, and shall lose nothing by the act. To discover them, we must study the systems in which they lie embedded, and when we point them out, we may produce the conviction that we are serious and sincere in our endeavours to convert them to our religion.

In our deliberate judgment, a chief reason for our small success in India in our missions, is to be traced to the inadequate furniture of so many of our missionaries in relation especially to Hindu systems of philosophy.

Q.

EXEGESIS OF DIFFICULT TEXTS.

JOHN XIX. 10, 11.

THE common interpretations of this passage are open to most serious logical objections. Taking the ordinary acceptation of the word *ἀνωθεν* = *from above* = *from heaven*, we find Pilate saying to our Lord: "Knowest thou not that I have authority (or power) to release thee, and authority to crucify thee?" and Jesus answering: "Thou wouldst" (not *couldst*) "have had no authority over (literally *against*) me, if it had not been given thee *from above*." If *what* had not been given Pilate from above? Evidently, *ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ*, "to have authority over me;" which is the only supplement that can account for the neuter *δεδομένον*. Thus far all is well. But our Lord proceeds to say: "Therefore he who delivered me over to thee hath the greater sin." Several alternatives present themselves here as

regards the meaning of ὁ παραδιδούς, "he who delivered me over to thee." If Pilate's power came directly from ὁ παραδιδούς, and ὁ παραδιδούς and ἀνωθεν refer alike to God, then διὰ τοῦτο, *therefore*, is logical in itself, but the idea involved is simple blasphemy. If on the other hand Judas or Caiaphas be considered as ὁ παραδιδούς, the argument, *logically* considered, is simple nonsense. The fact that Pilate had received power over our Lord *from heaven*, which he would not otherwise have had, is made the ground of the statement, that Caiaphas and the Jews—for this is manifestly better than taking Judas as the παραδιδούς, inasmuch as Judas was the παραδιδούς with regard to Caiaphas, and Caiaphas with regard to Pilate—had a greater share of sin in the matter than Pilate. This is about as logical as to say, that, because Louis Napoleon had received power from heaven to conquer the Austrians at Solferino, and had thus become master of the situation, and taken possession of Savoy and Nice, *therefore* the King of Sardinia, who surrendered Savoy and Nice to him, had the greater sin! We trust we are not guilty of any impiety in thus parodying, as it were, for the purpose of exposure, an interpretation which would be scouted at once if proposed for a similar passage in any respectable profane author. But faith, childlike faith, is supposed to be ready to swallow any nonsense, that is but silvered over with an air of religious mystery.

The only attempt at extracting a meaning from the passage with the usual acceptation of ἀνωθεν, which would not be reduced to a simple absurdity at once by a mere change of terms, as effected above by the substitution of Louis Napoleon and the King of Sardinia, is that favoured by Dean Alford and Professor Ellicott. These commentators introduce a proposition respecting the possession of *insight* on the part of Caiaphas as regards our Lord's character, whereas Pilate only possessed power over his person. Thus the sin of Caiaphas consisted in deliberately and knowingly passing our Lord on to a jurisdiction which could inflict the capital punishment, which he himself could not. So that Pilate sinned in ignorance, though against his conscience, while Caiaphas sinned against light and knowledge. This certainly shews how Caiaphas's sin may have been greater than that of Pilate, but fails entirely in shewing how the sin of the former was aggravated by the fact of Pilate's power having been given him from heaven. But not to insist upon the absence of any allusion to *insight* in the passage itself, or to lay any stress upon the obvious argument, that this is forcing a sense out of, or rather into, the words of our Saviour, which Pilate must have been a wonderfully clever person to have apprehended at the

moment—this interpretation labours under a difficulty which no one who has any regard for the twentieth article of the Church of England, or for the inspiration of the Scriptures, can consider as otherwise than insuperable. It is in *direct contradiction* to the *express testimony* of St. Peter, corroborated by St. Paul. St. Peter's statement (Acts iii. 17) is this: "And now, brethren, I wot that *in ignorance* ye did it, as did also *your rulers*" (ὡςπερ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν). This is corroborated by St. Paul (1 Cor. ii. 7, 8), who says, "We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before time was (πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων) unto our glory, which *none of the rulers* (ἄρχόντων) of this world knew; *for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.*" How in the face of these statements can any one pretend to maintain the legitimacy of the insertion, into our Lord's argument, of a proposition respecting the possession of *insight* on the part of Caiaphas? And it really becomes a serious question how far we are justified in *daring* to ascribe to the *Son of God*, our Lord and Saviour, language which labours under such difficulties, unless we are absolutely *certain* that we have understood his words aright, and there is no reasonable and honest way of escape from the dilemma.

But in the present instance there is really no difficulty whatever except of man's making, though the first proposer of the way of escape happens to be a person in no very good repute among orthodox theologians. Semler, the celebrated rationalist, writes a note on this passage in his *Paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John*, which runs as follows:—

"Δεδομένον ἄνωθεν. Almost everybody explains this *from God, from heaven*, as John iii. 31; James i. 17; iii. 15, 17, and there is no doubt but that it can be thus explained here also. But I do not find that Pilate was so likely to understand this phrase in this, as in another way. He *who delivered me over to thee*, me, over whom thou thyself, didst thou follow justice, wouldest not had any destructive power, and so couldest not have ordained those punishments for me, to which thou hast already subjected me, has acted much more unjustly than thou. Thou couldest not then have made trial against me of thy rods and that judicial power, had not that power been conferred upon thee, *i. e.*, by those malicious Jews. Again, that particle, ἄνωθεν, might conveniently enough have been by Pilate himself referred to a *higher* locality, to the Sanhedrim, to the house of the high priest. Especially the gesture of the speaker, and a token given by pointing with the hand no doubt made the meaning of this phrase most easy to understand. If we put these things together, I do not see how that explanation, by which *God* is said to have given Pilate power over Jesus, is preferable to my explanation. For God did not place Jesus in the power of Pilate any more than in that of Caiaphas and

the Jews, to whose accounts nevertheless Jesus laid nothing of the kind. But *ἀνωθεν* is manifestly absent from Chrysostom, and rightly.

“*Διὰ τοῦτο*. This coheres most closely with the preceding expression : Thou wouldest have no power over me, which thou now threatenest me with, unless it had been given thee by *him* . . . He whom it is not necessary to name, *for this reason* has committed a much greater sin than thou, *διὰ τοῦτο*, because he does this purposely, and understands my case much better than thou : he has committed a far more serious sin. But if *God* be understood by *ἀνωθεν*, the language is not logical ; accordingly some place an *ἀποσιώπησις* here, which I do not want.

“*Ὁ παραδιδούς μέ σοι*, and indeed laden with a charge, on which the Jewish high priest alone could have decided. Caiaphas is meant and all the Jews, who eventually hired Judas, the fatal agent of their plans, and forced upon Pilate a principle of the Jewish law and a capital sentence.”

It is by no means necessary to follow Semler in all his views here, but merely to note the manner in which he brings out the relation between *ἀνωθεν*, *ὁ παραδιδούς* and *διὰ τοῦτο*. He is clearly wrong in ascribing to Pilate the execution of a Jewish sentence, as the Roman governor plainly condemned our Lord on the charge of rebellion against Cæsar, by making himself out a king. So, too, *ἀνωθεν* may just as well refer to *time* as to *place*, to anteriority of time, as well as to superiority of locality. And this we find to be the view of the celebrated S. T. Coleridge, which we transcribe from his *Table Talk* :—

“The meaning of the expression, *εἰμή ἦν δεδομένον σοι ἀνωθεν*, seems to me to have been generally and grossly mistaken. It is commonly understood as importing that Pilate could have had no power to deliver Jesus to the Jews, unless it had been given him by *God*, which no doubt is true ; but if that is the meaning, where is the force or connexion of the following clause, *διὰ τοῦτο*, ‘*therefore* he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin?’ In what respect were the Jews more sinful in delivering Jesus up, *because* Pilate could do nothing except by God’s leave? The explanation of Erasmus and Clarke, and some others, is very dry-footed. I conceive the meaning of our Lord to have been simply this, that Pilate would have had no power or jurisdiction—*ἐξουσίαν*—over him, if it had not been given him by the Sanhedrim, the *ἀνω βουλή*, and *therefore* it was that the Jews had the greater sin.”

Here we have—in the interpretation of Semler and Coleridge—grammatical correctness united with logical coherence and simple sense, which are pretty nearly all the qualities requisite for a correct interpretation. But let us glance for a moment at the several and very various significations of the word *ἀνωθεν* and its connexions, the very diversity of which will go far to justify the interpretation we are advocating. Besides the well known meaning “from above,” we find also the significations “over again,” “farther back.” Plato (*Phil.*, 44 D.) has *ἀρχομένους*

πότεν ἄνωθεν; Legg (vi. 781 D.) ἄνωθεν πότεν ἐπιχειρεῖν; Theæt. (175 B.), εἰς τὸ ἄνω,="reckoning backwards in point of time." Rep. (x. 603 D.), ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις,="in our *previous* arguments," exactly the sense we require here. Legg. (ix. 878 A.), τοῖς ἄνω τοῦ γένους. Herod (viii. 180), ἀνωτέρω Σάμου,="beyond Samos." And in the Greek Testament we have, (Heb. x. 8), ἀνώτερον λέγων,="farther back, when saying;" i. e., recurring to the former and not the latter part of the quotation just made from Psalm xl. Luke i. 3, ἄνωθεν,="from the beginning." Acts xxvi. 5, "from youth upwards." There is plenty here to justify paraphrasing ἄνωθεν by ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνω δικαστηρίου,="from the *previous* court of justice," without recurring to our own common phrases, "the court *above*," "the court *upstairs*."

But thus far we have added nothing to the arguments of Semler and Coleridge, which modern commentators seem for some reason or other to have either neglected or rejected for the sake of a mysterious inconsequence, which appears to us little better than a pious fraud. We have, however, an important piece of additional evidence to bring forward, which we trust will turn the scale in favour of common sense and simplicity with every unprejudiced mind. There is a singular verbal coincidence in Luke xx. 20, with the passage under consideration, which we do not think has yet been noticed. St. Luke's words are, "And they watched for an opportunity, and sent spies feigning themselves to be just men, to take hold of his language in order to *deliver* him to the power and *authority* of the governor." Here we have the very words used with regard to a plot of the Jews—which was frustrated—that our Lord appears to have used to Pilate with regard to that plot, which was rendered successful by the treachery of Judas. The plot was to deliver him (παράδουναι) to the authority or jurisdiction (ἐξουσία) of Pilate. Our Lord's words to Pilate were, "Thou wouldest have had no jurisdiction (ἐξουσία) over me, had it not been given thee [to have such jurisdiction] from a previous quarter (ἄνωθεν); *therefore* he that *delivered* me to thee (ὁ παραδιδούς) hath the greater sin." If our Lord had intended to refer expressly to the conspiracy of the Jews against him, which is described by St. Luke as above, he *must have used the very words* which we find him actually using to Pilate. Are we not right in considering, that this extraordinary coincidence of language cannot have been fortuitous, but that our Lord must have been referring to a plot of the Jews, which Pilate was perfectly well aware of; for (Mark xv. 10), "he knew that they had delivered him to him for envy?" It certainly appears to us that the comparison of

this passage of St. Luke almost amounts to a demonstration of the correctness of Semler's explanation.

That *ἐξουσία* is here properly translated "jurisdiction" is clear from Luke xxiii. 7, where *ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας Ἡρώδου ἐστιν* is translated in the Authorized Version, "that he belonged to Herod's jurisdiction." *Παραδίδωμι* is the regular word for bringing a person officially before a magistrate, as appears from Matt. v. 25; xxvii. 2; x. 17—19; and many other passages. Our Lord was officially brought before Pilate from the previous though inferior jurisdiction of the high priest, who was the actual *παραδιδούς*, and differed from Pilate as the thief differs from the *ex post facto* receiver, who has had no previous guilty knowledge of the theft, but is persuaded into unwillingly becoming an accomplice after the fact.

LUKE xii. 49—51.

This passage is taken by Origen, Epiphanius, and others, in the following manner:—*πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ τί θέλω; εἰ ἤδη ἀνῆφθῃ*, Origen paraphrasing the three last words just quoted by *εἴθε ἦδη ἐκάη*, "I came to place a fire in the earth, and what do I wish? Would that it had been already kindled!" Although this is perfectly consistent with the Greek idiom, yet it appears to us in the connexion harsh, unnatural, and scarcely to be justified by our Lord's expressions of wish, that the cup should pass from him, and so forth. Those, on the other hand, who have accepted a different punctuation, appear to assign to *θέλω* the sense of "I mean." "What do I mean, if I say, that it is already kindled?" This reads in the connexion, to our mind, as simple nonsense. Let us see whether a *tertium quid* will not present itself to us.

Elliptical expressions like *τί γὰρ* are generally explained by the insertion of *ἄλλο*, so as to signify, what else? or what more? Let us try a similar course with this passage. It will then run thus: "I came to send a fire into the earth, and what more do I wish, if it has been already kindled. But I have a baptism to receive, and how great is my agony till it have been accomplished! Think ye that I came to place peace in the earth? I tell you, Nay, but rather division." This is the sense given in the main by the Authorized Version, which appears to us most likely to be correct, though we have never seen it satisfactorily developed by any commentator that has fallen into our hands.

The Apostles had several times been designated as the *light* of the world, and been alluded to as *candles*, lighted by the Lord.

Fire, being spoken of here in the past tense, can scarcely be supposed to have any allusion to the Holy Spirit, who was to descend in fire on the day of Pentecost. But the purifying character of fire may be ascribed to the Christian religion itself, as well as to the Holy Spirit. Thus, then, the Christian religion would be the purifying principle, which our Lord came to place in the earth, the Apostles the torches that were to convey it. Our Lord had by his instructions and example lighted this fire and these torches, and what more had he to do or wish for on earth? But he had to suffer, to receive the baptism of death, and the anticipation of this filled his human nature with unutterable agony. Of this he here warns his disciples; and, after warning them against a false view of his own immediate mission, he also warns them against forming false expectations of the immediate fruits of theirs. The result of the gospel of love amidst a sinful race would not be peace, but discord and division.

An objection may perhaps be taken to this view on account of the aorist ἀνήφθη, where we should rather have expected the perfect ἀνῆπται. But there is a precisely similar passage in John xiii. 32, "If God has been glorified in him, God will also glorify him," &c. So too Rom. xv. 27; 1 John iv. 11; and in the passage of St. Luke under consideration, the aorist ἀνήφθη points to the lighting or kindling of the fire once for all, rather than to its still remaining alight, although the latter was also true.

2 CORINTHIANS iii. 18.

This passage can clearly be cited in support of the adverbial construction of τοῦτο αὐτὸ and αὐτὸ τοῦτο without a preposition, which we have found in 2 Pet. i. 5, and contended for in Gal. ii. 10, and 2 Cor. ii. 3. The translation is manifestly, "After the same model we are being transformed from one glory into another." What now becomes of Meyer's assertion, that this idiom is foreign to St. Paul's style? So too 2 Cor. vi. 13. Τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀντιμισθίαν πλατύνθητε καὶ ὑμεῖς. "Upon the same principle of returning like for like be ye also widened."

EPHESIANS i. 6.

We cannot but agree with Dean Alford that, MS. authority being nearly balanced, ἐν ᾧ is clearly a correction for an attraction found difficult. And we cannot understand so good a grammarian as Professor Ellicott committing himself to the observation, that "the statement of Alford, that a relative following a substantive is as often in a different case as the same, certainly cannot be substantiated." If that relative would, according to

the ordinary rules of syntax, have been in the accusative case in its own clause, it would certainly be generally attracted into the case of its antecedent; if it would naturally have been in any other case, its attraction would be equally unusual. Dean Alford's statement is perfectly general, whereas Professor Ellicott's remark upon it is utterly untrue as a general principle, though perfectly correct when confined to the accusative case, to which in fact in other places he does confine it. But the fact is, the grammarians of the date of our manuscripts do not seem to have fully understood the principles of the cognate or equivalent accusative, and were constantly tempted to explain it by some other oblique case with or without a preposition, which was more consonant to the usage of the Latin language. Hence the appearance of both *ἐν ᾗ* and *ᾗ*, as substitutes for *ᾗς* in this case. We have a very similar expression in Ephesians ii. 4, *ἀγάπην ἣν ἡγάπησεν ἡμᾶς*, literally, "the love which he loved us," in our idiom, "the love which he bore to us," or "the love with which he loved us." *Χαριτώω*, which Professor Ellicott rightly translates into Latin, "*χάριτι* aliquem afficio," may well be anglicized by coining a word with the common German, though rarer English prefix, *be*; *τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ᾗς ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς* would then be literally rendered "his grace which he *begraced* us," or more idiomatically, "his grace with which he *begraced* or *begifted* us." *Ἐχαρίτωσεν* can of course have a direct object *ἡμᾶς* and a cognate object *χάριν*, the latter of which is represented by *ᾗς* (for *ᾗν*) attracted to its antecedent *τῆς χάριτος*. But the idea represented by the English preposition *with* is not in the Greek, and that preposition is only admissible because it does not *practically* interfere with the sense intended to be conveyed.

EPHESIANS i. 22, 23.

It is not without justice that later commentators, as Conybeare, Dean Alford, and Professor Ellicott, reject the translation given by Calvin and others of the latter part of this passage, viz., "complementum ejus qui omnia implet in omnibus." If anything is certain, it is this, that *πλήρωμα* and *πληρουμένον* must correspond in sense, and that the one cannot be deduced from *πληρώω* in the sense *to complete*, while the other is deduced from it in the sense *to fill*. All these later commentators take the sense *to fill* in both cases, and translate, respectively, "the fulness of Him who filleth all things with himself," and "the fulness of him who filleth all things with all things." But this idea of Christ's *filling* all things is to our mind not a very satis-

factory or intelligible one either here or in Eph. iv. 10. In this latter passage it seems far more simple to understand that our Lord ascended "in order to *complete* all things." This is also surely more in accordance with the remarkable passage in Col. i. 20, where the Father is represented as reconciling through the Son—"making peace through the blood of his cross—all things to himself, whether the things on the earth or the things in the heavens." If these two last passages have anything in common, which they surely have, that connexion cannot be exhibited by any use of the word "fill" as a translation of *πληρώω*, whereas it is exhibited at once in all its fulness by the use of the word "complete." Our Lord ascended into heaven in order to *complete* all things, and this "completion" was effected by his reconciliation of all things to his Father.

Let us now return to the passage primarily under consideration. When we find an apposition attached to any word or phrase, we generally find it containing a rhetorical enlargement or an explanation of what precedes. But with the translations here usually adopted there is a simple running away from the previous subject, which is the connexion of Christ as *κεφαλὴ* with the Church as *σῶμα*. Now both *κεφαλὴ* and *σῶμα* are *incomplete* without each other, and the gracious covenant relation of Christ to man is most beautifully exhibited here, if we translate "which is the supplement or complement of Him who completes all things in all things."

This rendering is supported by an undoubted use of *πλήρωμα* in Matt. ix. 16: "For the supplement (or patch) takes from the garment, and a worse rent comes." So too as regards the word *πληρώω* in Matt. v. 17, where the right translation is, "I have not come to destroy, but to *complete*." *Fulfil* may certainly be a proper word to use with regard to the prophets, but it is surely a very improper one to use with regard to the law, except so far as regards its types and symbols, which were of a quasi-prophetical nature. Neither does *fulfil* form so proper an antithesis as *complete* to *καταλύειν*, *destroy*. Nor does the word *fulfil* imply a development, which *complete* is certainly capable of implying. And the manner in which our Lord treated the ten commandments, or such of them as he commented upon, in the sermon on the mount, indicated far more that he came to *develope* or *complete*, than that he came simply to *fulfil* them.

The conclusion from this evidently is, that the Church is the *πλήρωμα* of the Son in a *different* sense from that in which the Son is the *πλήρωμα* of the Deity. "He who hath seen the Son hath seen the Father" (John xiv. 9); and the Son is practically the *πλήρωμα* or *entirety* of the Godhead, while in a certain cove-

nant relation the Church is the *supplement* of the *completer* of all things.

It will not perhaps be amiss to finish this discussion by a brief investigation of the various meanings of *πλήρωμα*. *Πληρώω* undoubtedly does mean "to fill," especially when attended by a genitive, yet we think it is easily seen, that that is not its most common meaning in the New Testament. *Πληρώω τι* may mean to fill a thing full of another thing, or simply to fill it with respect to itself, *i. e.*, to complete it in all its parts. Thus *πλήρωμα* may mean (1.) the thing filled, of which we do not see any instance in the New Testament, unless we allow that *πάν τό πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος* (Col. ii. 9) has a claim upon it, which we do not think it has. (2.) The thing completed, which again we do not find in the New Testament. (3.) That of which anything is full, as 1 Cor. x. 26, *γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς*, Mark viii. 20, *πόσων σπυριδων πληρώματα*. (4.) That which is used to complete anything, as Matt. ix. 16, above quoted, and Eph. i. 23, as above explained. (5.) The fulness or abundance of the thing itself, as John i. 16, *ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ*, Rom. xv. 19, *ἐν πληρώματι εὐλογίας*. (6.) The completeness of the thing itself, with which we imagine all the remaining uses of the word *πλήρωμα* in the New Testament will be found to be connected. In Rom. xi. 12, the *πλήρωμα* of the Jews is opposed to their *ἥττημα*, *i. e.*, their consummation or perfection to their degradation. Rom. xii. 10, *πλήρωμα τοῦ νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη*, Love is the sum and substance or complete perfection of the law. Rom. xiii. 25, *τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν*, the entirety of the Gentiles, the full amount intended to come in. *Τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου* or *τῶν καιρῶν* is clearly the completion of the time or of the seasons. Eph. iv. 13, *τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ* is the completeness or perfection of Christ. Col. i. 19, and ii. 9, *πάν τὸ πλήρωμα* is the completeness or entirety of the Godhead. It is strange that Professor Ellicott should ignore the sense of "completion" in *πλήρωμα*, when he admits it in *πληρόω*, Phil. ii. 2.

EPHESIANS ii. 2.

There is great and undoubted difficulty in this passage. Grammar demands that *τοῦ πνεύματος* should be co-ordinate with *τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος*, and dependent on *τὸν ἄρχοντα*. Logic claims that *τοῦ πνεύματος* should be co-ordinate with *τὸν ἄρχοντα*. This would suppose an *anacoluthon*, which must be, but has not yet to our knowledge been accounted for. We think that nevertheless a key to the difficulty may be found in the expression *κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα*, which in strictness ought also to have

preceded τὸν ἄρχοντα (which would then have become τοῦ ἄρχοντος), instead of the simple κατὰ, which we actually find there. We offer for consideration the sentence as amended according to what we suppose to have been the original idea of the author, which from interruption, rapidity of thought, or some other reason, he did not fully carry out in words.

Ἐν αἷς ποτε περιπατήσατε κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κατὰ [τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ ἄρχοντος] τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργούντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς ἀπειθείας.

EPHESIANS ii. 21.

It is certainly impossible to deny absolutely and positively that *πᾶσα οἰκοδομή* may follow the analogy of *πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ* and be equivalent to *πᾶσα ἡ οἰκοδομή*. Yet that usage appears confined to *common* expressions, a class under which *πᾶσα οἰκοδομή* scarcely comes. If then a reasonable explanation of *πᾶσα οἰκοδομή* in the sense of "every building" or even "each building" can be found, it is scarcely fair to adopt an almost ungrammatical rendering, however convenient it may be for doctrinal and theological purposes. And such an explanation we seem to find in the fact, that this passage is connected by the illative particle *ἄρα* (verse 12) with the preceding paragraph, in which the Apostle speaks of the union of Jew and Gentile into one body in Christ. The Jews were one *οἰκοδομή*, the Gentiles another, and both were being fitly framed or compacted together and were growing into "a holy temple in the Lord." This view is also confirmed by Mark xiii. 1, 2, where the temple (*ἱερόν*) is spoken of as composed of many *οἰκοδομαί*.

EPHESIANS iv. 16 ; COLOSSIANS ii. 19.

If we compare these two passages together, we cannot but see clearly that *αὔξει* might be substituted for *ποιεῖται* in the first, and *ποιεῖται* for *αὔξει* in the second, without any sensible difference of meaning. Stier and Alford insist that the middle verb *ποιεῖται* "denotes that the *αὔξησις* is not carried on *ab extra*, but by functional energy within the body itself." Yet the common rules of classical Greek would inform us that the substitution of *ποιεῖ* for *ποιεῖται* would imply that *πάν τὸ σώμα* caused the growth of something else. *Ποιεῖσθαι πόλεμον* is to wage war, *ποιεῖν πόλεμον* is to cause war. Yet this distinction is so frequently neglected in the Greek Testament, owing probably to the influence of the Latin *facio*, which is also constantly used as a periphrasis, *e. g.*, *iter factur*us, that it is very unreason-

able to lay any stress upon the voice. For instance, Mark ii. 23, we have ὁδὸν ποιεῖν, which in classical Greek would be "to construct a road," used manifestly for ὁδὸν ποιεῖσθαι, "iter facere," "to make a journey." In Mark xv. 1, and iii. 6, we have συμβούλιον ποιεῖν, instead of ποιεῖσθαι. In Acts xxiii. 13, we have συνωμοσίαν ποιεῖν instead of ποιεῖσθαι; and Eph. iii. 11, πρόθεσιν ποιεῖν, where it is questionable whether ποιεῖν is "to carry into execution," or is used for ποιεῖσθαι, and signifies "to entertain [a purpose.]" In Luke xiii. 23, we have πορεύαν ποιεῖσθαι=πορεύεσθαι, which is avoided on account of διεπορεύετο immediately preceding.

Professor Ellicott does not see what Stier and Dean Alford see in the middle voice ποιεῖται, but thinks that the form is apparently "not so much reflexive as indicative of the zeal and energy with which the process is carried on." It is quite true that Dr. Donaldson very justly distinguishes between ἀρχω and ἀρχομαι in the sense "begin," by saying that the ἀρχω begins an action which another carries on, while the ἀρχόμενος begins an action which he carries on himself. But it is not every idiomatic phrase, especially in a late period of a language, that admits of this exact analysis, which is often only applicable to it in its origin, and as accounting for the employment of one voice rather than the other.

The fact is that the verbal criticism of commentators on the New Testament is too exclusively directed to single words, while idiomatic phrases, which are collectively only equivalent to single words, are analyzed, and their respective component parts pressed in a manner which is rather pedantic than scholar-like. What would be said, if, in commenting upon the expression "to wage war," a note writer were to enlarge upon the word "wage," and endeavour to discover some peculiar and remarkable "zeal and energy" in the mode of carrying on war, which caused its use in any given particular case. But every scholar ought to know that ποιεῖσθαι πόλεμον is simply a periphrasis for πολεμεῖν, *bellum gerere* for *bellare*, and *to wage war* for the rare or poetical expression *to war*. So here ποιεῖσθαι αὐξήσιν simply=αὐξάνειν, or, as in the corresponding passage from the Epistle to the Colossians, αὐξήσιν.

It is by a similar and equally absurd forcing of the component parts of a compound phrase, that the Romanists defend their doctrine of penance from Matt. iii. 2. *Pœnitentiam agite* is the Vulgate translation of μετανοεῖτε, and a very good translation too, seeing that there is no personal verb in Latin to translate it by, *pœnitet* being only used impersonally. And Pliny Junior, (lib. vii. ep. 10), and many other writers of his age, use *pœni-*

tentiam agere in the simple sense "to repent." *Resipiscentia* is preferred by Lactantius to *pœnitentia*, but the latter appears to have held its ground in Tertullian and Augustine. The Vulgate translator, no doubt, knew that periphrases with *habeo*, *facio*, *ago*, and even *agito*, were so common in Latin, that no mistake ought to have arisen from his idiomatic employment of a compound phrase, and used what was, according to his judgment, the best language at his command. Recent commentators make just the same unreasonable fuss about the compound phrase, *ποιεῖται αὐξήσῃ*, that the Romanists do about *agite pœnitentiam* for *μετανοεῖτε* in Matt. iii. 1, only no practical harm follows, except that the enemies of Biblical investigations indulge in sneers at the hair-splitting and wire-drawing propensities of Cambridge critics. Indeed, one of the most important things a scholar has to learn, one of the things that most requires a sound and discriminating judgment, is, to know *when* an expression ought to be analyzed, and the force of its component parts separately ascertained; and *when* it ought to be taken as a compound periphrasis for a single logical idea.

Lastly, as regards the latter of the two passages upon which we are commenting, we must protest against Dean Alford's explanation of *τὴν αὐξήσῃ* after *αὐξέει*—in the very teeth of Winer—as an accusative of *reference*. For this he refers us to his commentary on the Ephesians, whereby we suppose he alludes to his notes on Philippians i. 11, and Colossians i. 9, where equally monstrous grammatical principles are enunciated. This is clearly the common cognate object, which is foreign to the idiom of our language, and which, therefore, we have in almost every case to paraphrase in the best way we can so as to preserve the sense and force of the passages in which it occurs.

EPHESIANS V. 15.

Both Dean Alford and Professor Ellicott follow Winer in explaining *πῶς* of the manner in which the Apostle bids his converts *ἀκριβῶς περιπατεῖν*, to walk, *i. e.* live, with exactitude or strictness. There is no grammatical objection to this, but it is surely very awkward, to say the least, to define by *πῶς* an expression already defined by *ἀκριβῶς*. If we live and walk, *ἀκριβῶς*, with exactitude, what more have we to look for? or what further limitation can we want that is in anywise implied in the context? We are rather inclined to draw *ἀκριβῶς* to the similar adverb *πῶς*, and to consider *πῶς ἀκριβῶς* as equivalent to *πολὴ ἀκριβείᾳ*. The translation will then be, "Take heed how exactly, *i. e.*, with what exactitude ye walk," etc., which is free from the logical ob-

jection urged above, and at the same time satisfies all the requirements of the context. For a somewhat similar use of *πῶς* with another adverb, compare Mark x. 23, where *πῶς δυσκόλως* is equivalent to *ποῖα δυσκολία*.

A. H. W.

REMARKS ON THE PAPAL CANON LAW.*

THE grand ruling principle on which the canon law is founded is—the *absolute and supreme power of the Pope over all other rulers whatsoever*. This is the keynote of the system which regulates even the minutest details. Nothing can be more express, more full, more decisive on this point, than the language of this ancient statute book. It tells us, that “By divine right all men are subject to the Roman Pontiff,”—that “he holds the place of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ on earth, and possesses the fulness of power over nations and kingdoms;” and that “whilst he judges all, he should be judged by none!”

Unquestionably these decrees raise the successor of St. Peter above all temporal rulers. One of the titles of a papal decree runs thus:—“The regal power is *subordinate* to the papal;” and the proposition is thus significantly illustrated:—“There are two

* The Canon Law is contained in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, first published in the time of Pope Gregory XIII., and composed of several parts or collections. By far the largest part, is the *Decretum*, compiled by Gratian in the twelfth century. This is comprised in three parts; the first of which is divided into one hundred and one *Distinctiones*. It treats of law in general, and Canon Law in particular, in the first twenty distinctions; and then of the various ranks of the clergy, their qualifications, ordination, duties and powers. The second part consists of thirty-six *Causæ*, and contains the rules and principles of proceeding in ecclesiastical courts. The third part consists of five *Distinctiones*, and treats of the consecration of churches, of worship, fasts and festivals, images, etc.

The *Decretum* was a remarkable work for its age; but it is very much made up of *forgeries*. The Decretals of Isidore, which constituted the canon law of the Church, from the ninth century to the twelfth, as is well known, was a shameful imposition. The Decretum of Gratian which took its place contains an incredible number of the same forgeries. Of the eighty-four spurious epistles of the Popes during the first 400 years after Christ, the Decretum contains sixty-five. Of its *Canons*, 324 are from the so-called epistles of Popes during the first four centuries; and 313 of them are forgeries! Yet the Canon Law says, “The Decretal Epistles are to be reckoned among the canonical Scriptures” (Distinct. xix., Can. 6). It may be mentioned, that the supremacy of the Pope, is proved in the *Decretum* by three false epistles of Popes, and an interpolation of Cyprian. The second part of the Canon Law is the Decretals of Gregory IX.; then follow the *Sextum*, or Sixth Book of Decretals, the Clementines, the Extravagants of Pope John; and lastly, the Common Extravagants. But to complete the Canon Law, all the acts of the council of Trent, and the bulls of Popes issued since the time of Sixtus IV. (1484) must be added.

great lights in the firmament of heaven—the sun and the moon. The sun represents the dominion of the spiritual, the moon that of the temporal power. As great as is the difference between the sun and the moon, so great is that between the authority of the Pope and that of an earthly sovereign.” Even the right to dethrone kings, and to give away kingdoms is expressly claimed. “*The Pope has power to dethrone an emperor* for legitimate reasons,” says one of the decretals of Gregory IX. Every reader of history is aware that this alleged right has been exercised, again and again, not only on the continent, but in our own land. Nor has the right ever been abjured. Many Protestants imagine that these claims are now altogether exploded, and out of date. We can assure them that during the last century, certain lessons were inserted by Pope Benedict’s command, in the authorized breviary of the Romish Church, in which one of the most daring assertors of this papal claim is lauded for executing vengeance on a refractory monarch: on the 28th of May, every year, the following encomium is pronounced on Pope Gregory VII., the notorious Hildebrand:—“He stood like a fearless wrestler against the impious attempts of Henry the emperor, and *deprived him of the communion of the faithful, and of his crown, and released all his subjects from their allegiance to him.*”

The natural impression derived from reading this lesson certainly is, that to depose an emperor, and to absolve his subjects from their allegiance are, in the estimation of the Church of Rome, the unquestionable right of the Papal See; and that it was a glorious and a divine thing on the part of Pope Gregory to have done these, since that Church which canonized him makes it a subject of commemoration in the religious service wherein she honours him as a saint.

Another great leading principle, which pervades the whole of this mediæval document, is *the civil immunity of the clergy*. Whether it be by reason of their connexion with the supreme Pontiff, or by virtue of the lofty prerogative of “creating their Creator,” in the mass, or whatever other reason, we will not stay to determine; but certain it is that, according to the present canon law, the persons, the goods, even the very crimes of the priesthood are too sacred to be touched by profane laymen. As a specimen of the monstrous injustice and partiality of these laws, we cite the following:—“He who steals the property of the Church is to be judged guilty of murder.”—“No temporal judge has any authority over catholic priests.”—“No layman can give evidence against ecclesiastics.”—“Let no judge dare to seize or convict any priest, deacon, or any clergyman or lower officer of the Church, without the permission of the bishop.”

Such laws as these stand in no need of any comment. Their injustice is obvious; and the page of history bears abundant evidence of the disastrous effects which they produced, until the Reformation imposed some little restraint on the conduct of the clergy. "In England alone," says William of Newbury, a churchman himself, "more than a hundred murders were committed by the clergy during the reign of Henry II;" and he honestly adds, that "having a license to do what they would with impunity, they stood in no fear either of God or man." Nor let it be said that these laws decreeing immunity of the clergy are a relic of the dark ages, which the Church would never think of reviving; for in the first place they stand on record in that portion of the canon law (the decretals) which the most recent of all canonists expressly declares to have the force of law. And, secondly, the concordats lately made by the Holy See with Austria, Spain and other kingdoms directly recognize the exemption of the clergy from trial in civil courts, as the present law of the Church.

We turn over another leaf of the Pope's statute book, and there meets our eye a canon which forbids in the most positive manner all freedom of the press, and decrees that no book whatever shall be printed without the approbation of the ecclesiastical censor.

There is nothing to wonder at in this hostility of Rome to a free press. All despotisms—religious as well as civil—all systems of gross and notorious imposture and falsehood, must hate discussion, knowledge and light. Hence we find before the time of Luther decrees threatening severe penalties against all who presumed to print any work without the license of the Vatican; and this principle has been acted upon to the present day in every kingdom where the papal hierarchy possess the power. Even the late Pope—Gregory XVI. in an encyclical epistle to the faithful, dated August, 1832, styles freedom of the press—"that worst of all liberties—that never-enough-to-be-execrated and detestable liberty."

With regard to the papal doctrine concerning oaths, we observe, first, that the canon law teaches that all oaths opposed to the interests of the Church *are null and void*. And secondly, as to all other oaths and promises however sacred, the Pope and his bishops possess, we are told, the *power to dispense with them*. The canon law is full of this doctrine. An edition published in Rome itself only a few years ago gives utterance to the doctrine in the same words in which it was originally promulgated at the commencement of the thirteenth century:—"An oath which is contrary to the canon law, or to the liberties of the Church, is

unlawful." And this doctrine about oaths is repeated again and again. It is enunciated in every conceivable form, and illustrated in the most profuse manner. "An oath contrary to ecclesiastical utility is not binding;" and why:—"because such are not to be called oaths, but perjuries." Again:—"He who swears that he will not oppose another, may notwithstanding, oppose him in matters which concern himself or his church."

But it is with reference to those outside her pale, that the Romish doctrine of oaths is to be seen in perfection. We give the words of one of the decrees, and the authority on which it is based.

"Those who are bound by any obligation to heretics are freed from all obligation:"—the authority is that of Pope Gregory IX.:—"Let those who are bound to such as have manifestly fallen into heresy, by any compact, no matter however surely it has been ratified—learn that they are absolved from all obligations of fidelity, authority, or obedience of any kind."

It is true this decree was first published by Pope Gregory VII.; but what has that to do with the question of the obligatory nature of the measure? All we have to ask is simply, whether the decree is still recognized as the law of the Church? and to this it is sufficient to reply, that it is found in every edition of the canon law which has been published from the first time it appeared until the present.

This decree received a terrible illustration at the council of Constance—in the fifteenth century, when, to justify the emperor Sigismund for breaking the solemn oath which he had given to Huss, the assembled bishops passed this canon;—"That no faith or promise ought to be kept with him, which would be to the injury of the Catholic faith, by any law, natural, divine, or human." And as the result, we need not add, the martyr was soon after fastened to a stake and burnt alive!

Here then we possess plain and unmistakeable evidence as to the doctrine of the Church of Rome on the momentous subject of oaths. The canon law of the Pope, and the decree of a general council, both agree in the inculcation of the doctrine that "faith is not to be kept with heretics." And inasmuch as the decree has never been revoked, and no authoritative disclaimer has ever proceeded from the Holy See, it is impossible to deny that the present teaching and law of the Church of Rome is what it was.

It can occasion the reader no surprise to hear that this lax morality of the Church of Rome respecting oaths pervades the whole moral theology of Rome. Unquestionably the highest authority in that Church, at present, is Saint Alphonsus Liguori,

whose *Moral Theology* is the great text-book of Rome, all over the world. As a specimen of his teaching, respecting the obligation of an oath, we give the following extract:—When a person “swears without the intention of laying himself under an obligation, but with the intention of fulfilling,” one opinion is that “*he is not obliged to fulfil it, because such an oath is invalid.*” “This opinion,” he adds, “*is the more probable*”—“Such an oath *is not a true oath*, both because it wants the necessary condition to the nature of a promissory oath, such as the intention of binding oneself, etc. . . A promise made without such an intention is not really proposed; therefore the promise being evanescent, the oath is also such, and is considered as made without the intention of swearing, which, as we have seen, is certainly null and void. But if no oath exists, *there is no obligation of fulfilling that oath.*”

So thoroughly have these notions imbued the minds of Roman Catholic writers, that a little book published for the instruction of children,—“What every Christian must know and do.” (Dub. 1856) contains the following:—“Oaths—To call God to witness, etc.: for example, to swear on the book, or, by the name of God, so help me God; but if you do not know that what you say is an oath, *or do not mean to take an oath, then these words are not oaths,*” (p. 11.) This book is issued at one penny for extensive circulation among the poor, is written by Father Furniss, one of the Redemptionist Fathers, and has the *imprimatur* of Paul Cullen, the Roman Catholic primate of Ireland.

The doctrine of oaths here circulated under Dr. Cullen’s authority, is one which saps and undermines the foundations of all civil society.

A bull of Pope Pius V. in 1556—afterwards inserted in the canon law—enjoins: “Medical men must swear that they will not attend any sick person who refuses to confess to a priest:” so that all who differ from Rome as regards auricular confession are to be without medical aid, and left to die like brutes.

The laws enacted by the Church of Rome against Jews are deserving of eternal reprobation: yet they are incorporated into the canon law, and are still enforced, so far as the power of that Church renders it possible. A Christian female, if married to a Jew, must leave her husband unless he renounces Judaism and is baptized. No one is permitted to eat with a Jew, lodge with them, use the same bath with them, call them in to sick persons, or receive any medicine from them, on pain of excommunication. No Christian is to enter into the service of Jews, and their children are to be taken from them and brought up with Christians.

One act of the Papacy has recently roused the indignation of Europe—the abduction of the Jewish boy Montara. On the plea that a nurse had secretly baptized the child, when in danger of dying, the Church forcibly seized him, and carried him to Rome. In vain have the Catholic powers of Europe protested against this act; in vain was a protest presented to the French ambassador in London, signed by many hundreds of distinguished persons, including many noblemen, baronets, bishops, merchants, and bankers of Great Britain. Rome recognizes neither natural feelings, political duties, nor the laws of God or man, when they chance to be opposed to her claims. The child was baptized: the child is a Christian: the Canon Law requires it to be taken out of the hands of unbelievers: such is the irresistible logic with which the Church meets all remonstrance.

One more page only of the Canon Law shall be transcribed. We refer to the decrees respecting the *persecution of heretics*. It need scarcely be said that this is a sore subject with Roman Catholics. The opinions of the age are very strong against all compulsion in the case of religion, and nothing would serve so powerfully to prejudice men against a church as the impression, that it sanctioned persecution for the sake of religion. Accordingly several of the champions of Popery of late years have laboured hard to disabuse the public mind of the belief that the Romish Church is essentially an intolerant and a persecuting Church. Dr. Milner especially, in his clever but Jesuitical *End of Controversy*, denies the charge altogether. “So far from maintaining a claim of persecuting heretics,” says he, “Rome positively disclaims the power of doing so” (p. 465).

What will our readers say to this assertion when we tell them, that the Canon Law of Rome threatens imprisonment and confiscation, tortures and death itself, against all who in the estimation of the Church come under the name of heretics?

As a specimen we mention the following. One decree is headed, “Heretics are to be forced to salvation;” another, “The Church rightly persecutes heretics;” further on we read, “Earthly powers are bound to fight against the enemies of the Church:” another canon makes it imperative on all bishops to search after and *imprison* heretics, that they may then be punished by the proper authorities; and their power extends to placing them in iron fetters and handcuffing them if it seem fit.

But by far the most important canon on the persecution of heretics is one of the Fourth Lateran Council. True, it was pronounced spurious by the Roman Catholic bishops during the agitation of the “Catholic Relief Bill” in 1825, in order to escape the odium which it involved; but, unfortunately, they

forgot that it was placed in the Canon Law by Pope Gregory IX. The principal clauses of this canon—passed by a Pope in general council—are: “We excommunicate and anathematize every heresy which exalts itself against this holy and Catholic faith, and condemn all heretics, by whatsoever name they may be censured. . . . And let the secular powers, whatever offices they discharge, be admonished and induced, and if need be, *compelled by ecclesiastical censure*, . . . publicly to set forth an oath that they will, *bond fide, strive to exterminate* from the lands subject to their jurisdiction *all heretics pointed out by the Church.*”

Nothing can be plainer than that we have here a command to exterminate all who made themselves troublesome by denying the doctrines, or refusing to practise the rites of the Romish Church. Not only are princes exhorted to persecute, but it is at their peril if they refuse to do so. They are to be compelled by ecclesiastical censure, to swear that they will exterminate, to the utmost of their power, all heretics from the territories subject to their sway.

From the very moment of its enactment this canon instigated some at least to deeds of cruelty. Who has not heard of the crusades against the Albigenses, the persecution of the Lollards, the horrors of the Inquisition, the persecutions of the Vaudois, and of the Huguenots?

The Canon Law of Rome being such, its statutes are a disgrace, not only to Christianity, but to civilization. The misfortune is that it is in a dead language, which none but scholars understand, and not all of them care to read.

W. E. T.

ON THE DIVINE NATURE.*

CHAPTER V.—*The Divinity of Christ.*

“Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very works’ sake” (John xiv. 11).

OUR conclusions, in regard to the complexity and unity of the divine nature, have been reached, without reference to the important question of the Divinity of the Saviour; but before comparing the results of our reasoning, with the doctrinal parts of Scripture, it will be proper to take up that reserved point.

* See *J. S. L.*, October, 1861, p. 141.

In doing so, we shall reason exclusively from *facts*, and avoid making any mere doctrinal citations.

The fundamental principle of the Christian religion is the authority of its Founder, as the promised Messiah—the Christ of God—that authority being established by induction from facts. The most prominent of these are his miraculous powers, his resurrection from the dead, and his peculiar paternity.

If there be any truth in the New Testament, Christ was endowed with miraculous powers. He raised the dead, perceived other men's thoughts, prophesied future events, healed diseases, and controlled the elements. The least then that can be affirmed of Jesus of Nazareth is, that he was a man on whom the Deity had conferred extraordinary powers. His miracles indeed do not prove more than this; because similar miracles had been wrought by others, endowed with similar powers; and although some of those performed by Jesus were of a peculiar and striking kind, yet there is nothing which he did, that they might not have accomplished. Indeed, the powers exercised by the prophets of old, and the disciples and apostles of Jesus, so nearly resembled those which were displayed by himself, as to render distinction impossible.

The fact of the resurrection of Jesus, however, is of a totally different kind. It is upon the basis of this all-important fact, that St. Paul rests the whole evidence of the Christian faith. "If Christ be not risen," says he, "then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." Notwithstanding all the miracles wrought by himself and his disciples, notwithstanding the purity of his life and the excellence of his precepts, all would be vain, as regards the doctrine preached in his name, if it be not true that he rose from the dead. Now, why is this rising from the dead so strong and peculiar an evidence? Simply because it proves that "God hath made that same Jesus, who was crucified, both Lord and Christ" (Acts ii. 36).

It is remarkable that St. Paul should thus peril the whole of the Christian doctrines on the fact of our Lord's resurrection, of which he enumerates the proofs in 1 Cor. xv. 3—8; the last being the appearance of the risen Saviour to himself. Before this crowning proof, he was doubtless aware of the other previously existing evidences, and of the strong array of oral testimony which could be adduced, to attest the several appearances of Christ after his resurrection. All these proofs however he had resisted; and he was not convinced of the fact until the appearance vouchsafed to himself. His testimony is thus of great value, as an addition to that furnished by the narratives of the four Evangelists.

It is well to bear in mind, however, that we have good and sufficient testimony only, in regard to our Lord's appearances after his resurrection. In this inquiry the Evangelists must be viewed simply as historians, and we are not entitled to take for granted their inspiration. For our belief in their inspiration rests on the evidences of Christ's resurrection; insomuch, that if the resurrection could not be proved without assuming inspiration, neither could the inspiration be proved without assuming the resurrection.

Viewing the evangelists simply as historians, then, it is remarkable that the whole of their statements relate to what occurred *after* Christ's resurrection, and not to the act of his rising itself. The nearest approach to anything of the kind is the description given by St. Matthew, which is, however, not supported by the other three evangelists. But even he does not affirm that our Lord's actual emergence from the sepulchre was witnessed by any human eye. In examining the evidences of the resurrection then, it is needful to restrict ourselves to those which refer to our Lord's appearances after he had risen, without attempting to penetrate the secrecy in which the act of his rising has been veiled. Even as regards these appearances, the testimony is of a very peculiar kind; and it is far from an easy matter to unravel and reconcile the various evangelical statements. It is doubtless possible to compile a consistent narrative out of the accounts given by the sacred historians. But even after this has been done, it is needful to help out the narrative by not a few suppositions. This circumstance renders the incidental evidence of St. Paul all the more valuable, and places in a more striking point of view his confidence in the truth of the fact, as exhibited in his hazarding upon it the entire system of Christianity. The incidental allusions to the resurrection found in the epistles of the other apostles are for the same reason of great value, as cumulative evidence corroborating the gospel narratives.

With reference to his approaching death and resurrection, our Saviour himself says, "Therefore doth my Father love me; because I lay down my life, that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me; but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." "This commandment (or commission) have I received of my Father." It was in virtue, then, of this power which he claimed—not to have possessed *inherently*, but to have had committed to him by the Father, that Christ rose from the grave. The same spirit which had animated his body, during his sojourn upon the earth, but had entirely withdrawn from it at the moment of his death,

did on the third day from that event, in the exercise of this conferred power, re-enter and re-animate that identical body. This fact stands out single and alone, in the history of the world, and proves in the clearest manner that Christ was something more than man; for "there is no man that hath power over the spirit, to retain the spirit; neither hath he power in the day of death; and there is no discharge in that war" (Eccl. viii. 8).

While it thus appears, that, in the raising of Christ, no intermediate agency was employed, but that as he himself avers, he rose in virtue of a power committed to him by the Father; it is worthy of note, that his apostles, when they refer to the event, always declare, that it was God that raised him from the dead. It was not in virtue of any *inherent* power possessed by his human soul, that it was enabled to re-animate his body; but it was in virtue of a superhuman power, conferred by God, and resulting from the intimate union subsisting between the human soul of Christ, and the divine fountain of life. It is always affirmed moreover, that, in thus raising up Christ, God acted as the Father, and that it was by his resurrection that Jesus Christ was declared to be the Son of God endued with power; see Acts xiii. 33; Rom. i. 4.

There is, however, in the event of Christ's resurrection more than at first meets the eye. The spirit must have re-animated the identical body of flesh and bones, which had been suspended on the cross; for it retained the holes pierced by the nails in the hands and feet, and even the wound made by the spear in the side; yet it lived and walked, and spoke, and tasted food. This shewed a sustaining power over the human organism, which no human soul alone could exercise. But the spirit, which animated the risen body of Christ, would appear to have exercised over it a still more peculiar and striking power. For it seems necessary to suppose that it could instantaneously resolve that organism into its constituent elements, and disperse these in the air; and that it could as instantaneously re-assemble them again, so as to constitute the same body as before. At least such an inference seems fairly deducible from the expressions employed in Luke xxiv. 31 and John xx. 19, 26. Now this is still more manifestly a power which no human soul alone could exercise over its own body. This then constitutes the evidence on which rests our belief, that Jesus was the Christ of God; and it is accordingly not surprising, that St. Paul should hold it to be the fundamental fact on which the Christian faith is based. The spirit then, which animated the body of Christ, *in conjunction with* his human soul, must have been either the divine spirit itself, or some created spirit inferior to God, but superior

to man; and the question is thus brought within a much narrower compass.

There remains to be yet considered the other fact mentioned, viz., the *peculiar paternity of Christ*. In the origination of a mere human being, there is a twofold act of divine power—the *absolute creation* of the mind, and the formation of the body out of previously existing materials. The latter is a duplicate process, the human genesis, and the assimilation by which the organic being is perfected. Now, the Scriptures indicate that, in the case of Christ, there was no human genesis, but a *germinal origination* by an immediate act of divine power. Hence the man thus born of a virgin called no man father. The name which he himself assumed was the “Son of Man,” indicating that he was not the son of any particular individual man, but that, being clothed with the nature proper to humanity, he was the representative of the whole race. From this fact then, it follows, that while Christ was more than man, he was nevertheless a true man, possessing a true human soul.

In order to account for his resurrection then, are we to suppose his nature to have been a compound of the angelic and the human? Had it been so, the Scriptures would undoubtedly have given some intimation to that effect; but the man Christ Jesus is nowhere called either an angel, or the son of an angel. On the contrary, we find it recorded, that on several occasions angels attended on him, and ministered to him as to a superior. The angels are in Scripture called the sons of God; and had the appellation given to Jesus been merely “a Son of God,” or “one of the sons of God,” there might have been ground for holding that he and the angels had one common nature. But he is called by pre-eminence “*the* Son of God,” and “the *only-begotten* Son of God;” thus clearly indicating, that his nature differed essentially from that of any other being.

The ground is thus further narrowed; and the only possible suppositions that remain are, that the nature associated with that of man in the person of Christ, was either a *peculiar* spiritual nature superior to the angelic, but inferior to the divine, or that it was the divine nature itself.

It is a rule in philosophy, that of two suppositions whose probabilities are nearly balanced, the more simple is to be preferred. Now of the two suppositions to which we have been reduced, the former is the more complex; because it involves the necessity of supposing the existence of a nature intermediate between the divine and the angelic—a necessity which can be admitted only upon its being proved that there is an impossibility in the more simple supposition, that the divine nature

itself was in intimate union with human nature in the person of Christ.

That the divine nature may enter into a certain kind of union with the human is evidenced by facts. God may be present in the human mind, exerting on it peculiar influences, and conferring on it extraordinary powers. Now, if God can be present in the human mind in one mode of being, there seems to be no abstract reason for thinking it impossible that in another mode of being he can not only be present in human nature, but in actual union with it.

There are one or two additional facts recorded in the Scriptures which throw an important light on the question as it now stands. Seeing that, during the ministry of Christ, there were strong reasons why his true nature should remain concealed, the best evidence upon that point may be expected to be found in the events which occurred after his resurrection, when his true nature became as it were unveiled. After his ascension, there is only one instance of Christ's having made any manifestation of himself, and that was to St. Paul. This manifestation was not in human form, nor in the form of an angel, but by a visible glory and audible voice, resembling those which had been manifested to Moses and others. On this occasion, then, Christ manifested himself in a manner similar to that in which the Deity had manifested himself in former times. This manifestation shews that Christ is in some manner connected with the perceptible mode of being of the Deity.

If we take this his manifestation by a visible glory and audible voice in connexion with his various appearances after his resurrection, but before his ascension, it will be seen that the difference was merely in the medium of manifestation—the risen body. In both cases there was an audible voice, declaring the person present to be Jesus Christ; but in the one case, all that was seen was a brilliant light; in the other it was a material body. Now, it is a striking fact, that, during the ministerial sojourn of Christ upon the earth, there was one remarkable occasion on which those two modes of manifestation became united in his person. This was on the mount of transfiguration, when his face shone as the sun, and his raiment became white as the light.

Thus we see that the superior nature which was associated with the human nature in the person of Christ, assumed four distinct modes of manifestation, but all involving a perceptible mode of presence:—1st, the simple human body of the man Jesus; 2nd, that body irradiated with a luminous glory; 3rd, that body in an altered condition capable of undergoing an

instantaneous dissolution and reassemblage of its constituent materials; and 4th, the luminous glory accompanied by an audible voice, but without the material body.

It is chiefly by this last manifestation that we are led to perceive the identity between the superior nature which, united to the human mind of Christ, was embodied in his person, and the Logos, which spoke to the prophets of old, and which constituted the medium of communication between the Deity and his intelligent creatures. We thus arrive at the conclusion, that the higher nature, which in union with the human mind dwelt in the person of Christ, was not a nature intermediate between the human and the divine, but the divine nature itself in its perceptible mode of being, called in Scripture the Logos, or Word.

This identity of the higher nature of Christ with the divine manifestation by audible voice, may appear at first sight to be discountenanced by the fact, that even while Christ was on earth, the audible voice was on more than one occasion manifested as from heaven; but it is not really so. It has already been shewn that in the same manner as the indwelling mode of being may be manifested in many minds at once, so may the perceptible mode of being be manifested in many localities at once. It would be unphilosophical to suppose, that whenever the perceptible presence was manifested on earth, it was withdrawn from every other point of space, or that it could not be manifested to various individuals at once in separate localities; consequently, the perceptible presence of the Deity might continue to be manifested by an audible voice from heaven, while it was, at the same instant, manifested in the person of Christ on earth. It is not a little remarkable, moreover, that Christ plainly asserts his possessing this property of being present in more than one locality at the same time; for he says to Nathaniel, "Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree, I saw thee,"—a statement which instantaneously impressed Nathaniel with the conviction, that he could be no other than "the Son of God." Hence the manifestation by audible voice, during the presence of Christ on the earth, proves no more than the distinctness of those two modes of manifestation, and cannot be regarded as indicating that these were two distinct Divine Beings, any more than the audible voice and the luminous glory can be regarded as manifestations of two distinct Divine Beings.

One other apparent objection remains. Did not the voice from heaven appear to speak of Christ as a distinct being from the speaker, when it said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I

am well pleased?" But the difficulty will be removed, if we consider this to be spoken of Christ's human nature only—of the man Jesus—not of the *superior* nature, which was embodied in his person. As this point, however, will fall to be more fully considered in the sequel, we shall here do no more than indicate this explanation, as being the most obvious solution of the difficulty.

We have thus, by a pure induction from the facts recorded in the Scriptures, and without resting on any mere doctrinal passages, or any particular modes of interpretation, arrived at the conclusion that, looking to all these facts, it is impossible rightly to conceive of the Deity otherwise than as one, but having three distinct modes of being, possessing separate modes of presence and manifestation. Nor can we rightly conceive of that superior nature, which subsisted in intimate union with the human nature of Christ, otherwise than as Deity in one of these modes of being,—possessing all the modes of presence and manifestation by which it is characterized.

CHAPTER 6.—*Facts and Doctrines compared.*

"Comparing spiritual things with spiritual."—1 Cor. ii. 13.

HAVING proved from the mere facts recorded in the Bible, that the superior nature associated with the human in the person of Christ must have been the divine, it remains for us to determine how far the results of the induction which has been pursued tally with those deducible from a due consideration of the doctrinal passages of Scripture which bear upon this subject.

In maintaining the divinity of the superior nature associated with humanity in the person of our Saviour, care must be taken not to assert for him a godship different, either in kind or degree, from that which he claims for himself. Now the terms in which Christ asserts his claim are very clear and precise. They involve no unintelligible propositions; they are no mere assertions which he puts forth on his own authority, and for which he demands an implicit unquestioning and unreasoning belief. But he sets before his disciples certain evidence, and on that evidence alone does he require them to believe his averments. He says, "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not; but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him" (John x. 37, 38). Again, he says to Philip, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father, and how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father? Believest thou not, that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? The words that I speak unto you, I speak not

of myself, but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works. Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me, or else believe me for the very works' sake" (John xiv. 9—11).

Thus it will be perceived, that the evidences to which Christ appeals are the purity of his life, the excellence of his doctrine, and the divine power displayed in his works; and on these evidences he claims our belief, that the one divine mind was so united to his human mind, as to constitute it a medium through which the former spoke and acted. He disclaims all power and credit for himself—for his human mind, which he denominates "the Son;" and he claims all the glory for the divine mind, acting in him and through him; which divine mind he calls "the Father." Thus he says, "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do; for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise; for the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him all things that himself doeth; and he will shew him greater works than these, that ye may marvel" (John v. 19, 20). In so expressing himself, it is evident, that what our Saviour here denominates "the Son" is not a *filial Deity*, but simply his human mind, of which he affirms, that it could do nothing of itself, but that all its workings were prompted and produced by the Divine Mind, which he calls "the Father," acting on and through the human mind.

He reiterates the same truth in the sequel of the same discourse, saying, "I can of mine own self do nothing; as I hear, I judge, and my judgment is just; because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me" (John. v. 30). Here it is plain, that he speaks of his human will as distinct from the divine will, but deferring to it; and that he describes the divine will, not as that of the Son, but as that of "the Father." To the same effect he says, on a subsequent memorable occasion, "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless not as *I* will, but as *Thou* wilt" (Matt. xxvi. 39). Here again he plainly speaks of his human will—that of the Son, as being distinct from the divine will—that of the Father; but of the former as being entirely resigned to the latter. Furthermore, with respect to knowledge, Christ speaks of the knowledge communicated to the human mind—that of the Son, as distinct from the divine knowledge—that of the Father, saying, "But of that day, and that hour, knoweth no man—no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father" (Mark xiii. 32). Here it is evident, that the divine attribute of omniscience is disclaimed by "the Son"—the human mind, and attributed only to "the Father." Still

further, our Saviour speaks of his human soul, as being that of "the Son," and as being distinct from the divine mind, saying, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death" (Matt. xxvi. 38); and again, "Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour! nay, for this cause came I unto this hour" (John xii. 27). Once more, our Saviour speaks of his human spirit, as being that of "the Son," and as distinct from the divine spirit, that of "the Father," saying, immediately before he expired on the cross, "Father! into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Luke xxiii. 46).

We thus learn, from Christ's own lips, that "the Son," viewed as distinct from "the Father," is a *human* spirit—a *human* soul, having no knowledge but such as was communicated to him by "the Father;" no power but such as was conferred by "the Father;" as having a *human* will distinct from the divine will of "the Father," but rendering to it an implicit deference and obedience. This distinctness of the human spirit and will of the Saviour from the divine spirit and will, is by no means inconsistent with what he himself avers with respect to the *union* subsisting between his human mind—"the Son," and the divine mind—"the Father." His claim to divinity amounts to no more than this—that "the Father," or divine mind, subsisted in such intimate union with "the Son," or human mind, that all the Son said or did might be regarded as the word or deed of the Father—speaking and acting in and through "the Son." He asserts that the Father dwelt in him, insomuch that his body might be regarded as the temple or sanctuary of God—a medium of the divine presence (John ii. 19); while his human mind was so much in unison with the divine mind and character, that he might with truth affirm, as he does in another discourse, "He that seeth me, seeth him that sent me" (John xii. 45); and again, "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father" (John xiv. 9). Nay, so intimate is this union that he says in another place, "I and the Father are one" (John x. 30). But that this oneness is *union*, and not *identity*, he makes very clear by subsequently asserting, "My Father is greater than I" (John xiv. 28). Still farther to remove all doubt on this point, he, in the sublime prayer which he addresses to the Father on behalf of his disciples, says, "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be *one*, as thou, Father! art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be *one* in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them; that they may be *one* even as we are *one*: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in

one" (John xvii. 20, 23).^b These passages render it very plain, that the averment of Christ, "I and the Father are *one*," does not amount to his saying, "I am the Father," or "I and the Father are the *same*;" but it means simply, that the *union* subsisting between the divine and human minds, in his person, was so intimate, as to constitute a perfect *oneness* of sentiment, feeling, and desire; so that there was not one point of discord between them. It was not *identity*, but *unanimity*, in its most perfect form.

If we take the doctrine of the divinity of our Saviour, as taught by himself, there will be found in it nothing either to shock our understanding, or transcend our belief. All that Christ asserts is a simple fact—namely, that the divine mind acted in and through him; and as evidence of that fact, he appeals to the sublime doctrines which he taught, and to the works of beneficence which he wrought—the latter involving a power which God alone could confer.^c Now, as no one has ever ventured to assert that Jesus Christ was other than perfectly good, benevolent and truthful, we must give him credit for the assertions which he makes. If we withhold that credit, we stamp him as a wicked impostor—setting up a claim to a divine authority and power which he did not possess, but for which he obtained credit among a credulous people, by practising upon their credulity. This indeed was the sole accusation which his enemies could bring against him; and had there been any other charge, we may rest assured it would not have been withheld.

This is a case in which we can take no middle course, and entertain no middle opinion. We must either hold, with the Jews, that Christ was an impostor who deceived the people, and that he justly suffered the death of a malefactor, or we must believe that he was perfectly a just and holy man, who taught the most sublime doctrines ever propounded to the human race, and who was endowed with miraculous powers, which he wielded for the most benevolent ends, and to which he appealed, as evidences of the Divine authority which he claimed. Any supposition, such as that Christ was a good and holy man, but that, in claiming to be possessed of Divine power, or to have the Father acting in and through him, he was himself labouring under a

^b See also 1 Cor. iii. 8.

^c It is remarkable that this same idea is brought prominently forward in the first Christian sermon:—"Ye men of Israel! hear these words. Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, *which God did by him* in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know," etc. Here the apostle Peter plainly declares, that it was God who wrought the miracles through the instrumentality of the man Jesus—thus shewing in what sense he understood the averments made by our Saviour himself.

delusion, is excluded ; because he appeals, for evidence in favour of his claim, to certain works which he performed, transcending human power. Now these works must have been either realities or mere deceptive tricks. If they were the latter, then he that performed them could not be a good and holy man ; for no deceiver can be so characterized. But if the works were real, then they were unimpeachable evidences of the verity of his claim to Divine power ; for they were even by his enemies acknowledged to be such as could not be performed by mere human skill. Now as all testimony goes to prove that Christ was a perfectly good and holy man, the rules of evidence require us to believe that, in performing his miraculous cures, he did not practise deception ; and we must give credit to his own statement, that he wrought his works by virtue of a *divine presence* acting in and through him.

While we admit his claim, however, to the very fullest extent, we are not only not bound, but we are not entitled to go beyond this point, and either to imagine to ourselves, or endeavour to persuade others to imagine, that the Divinity of Christ was altogether different from that which he himself claims. We are not permitted to fancy to ourselves a godship of the Son, distinct from the godship of the Father ; because the Son himself disclaims all such affirming explicitly, that there is only one godship,—that of the Father (John xvii. 3) ; that it was this one godship that was present in the Son, in intimate union with his human mind, and that it was entirely owing to this union that the Son was enabled to perform all his works, and to teach all those sublime doctrines which fell from his lips.

Thus understood, the godship of our Saviour, viewed as a simple fact, is not incomprehensible by the human understanding. For it has already been shewn to be necessary to our conceptions of the Deity, to admit that the Divine mind has more than one manner of existence in space. For, while the Deity exists throughout all space, universally present, yet it is impossible to deny to Him the power of being *peculiarly* and *perceptibly* present, in a limited portion of space, so as to render His presence manifest to the created mind, and to convey to it intelligible ideas. Now it is quite as conceivable that the Deity might thus make himself perceptibly present through the medium of a *human mind*, as through the medium of a luminous glory, or an audible voice. In the latter case he would act directly on matter ; and by the effects thus produced he would convey certain external impressions to the minds of his creatures. In the other case he would act directly on *mind*, and through the medium of that mind on external matter. But the peculiar mode of exist-

ence in space, thus manifested, would in both cases be the same.

It is impossible for us to form to ourselves any distinct conception of the *manner* in which the Divine mind was thus united to the human mind of Christ: but our inability to understand the *mode* of union should be no bar to our believing in this union as a *fact*. We do not understand the *manner* in which mind and body are united in our own persons, and how these two act and react on each other; nevertheless we have no hesitation in admitting the *fact* upon the evidences of our consciousness and experience. In like manner, if the evidence of the *fact* be sufficient, we should have no hesitation in admitting the union of the Divine and human minds in the person of Christ by reason of any preconception as to the impossibility of such an union, or of our inability to comprehend, how it could be formed or subsist.

P.

HUPFELD ON MODERN THEOSOPHIC THEOLOGY.*

BY PROFESSOR HUPFELD, OF HALLE.^b

It is a phenomenon often repeated in the course of history, and continually recurring of necessity in certain circumstances, that when a sacred writing or tradition is in its natural meaning found to be contradictory or inadequate to advanced knowledge or the prevailing tendency, effort is at once made so to widen the too narrow sacred text by hermeneutic and other artifices, that it may

* *A Review of the Modern Theosophic or Mythological Theology and Exegesis*, By Doctor Hermann Hupfeld, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Halle.

The following are the works referred to:—

T. Chr. K. Hofmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung*. Nordlingen, 1844. *Der Schriftbeweis*. 2te Aufl. 1859.

Mich. Baumgarten, *Theol. Commentar zum Pentateuch*. Kiel, 1844.

Joh. Heinr. Kurtz, *Geschichte des alten Bundes*. 2te Aufl. Berlin, 1858. *Bibel und Astronomie*. 4te Aufl. 1858. *Die Ehen der Söhne Gottes mit den Töchtern der Menschen*. Berlin, 1857. *Die Söhne Gottes in 1 Mos. vi. 1—4, und die sündigenden Engel in 2 Peter ii. 4, 5, und Jud 6, 7*. Mitau, 1858.

Fr. Delitzsch, *Commentar über die Genesis*. 3te Aufl. Leipzig, 1860.

^b A distinguished Biblical scholar has asked us to admit the following article by Professor Hupfeld, of Halle, lately published in Germany, and which has been reprinted in a separate form. This article, on the Theosophic and Theological direction of a certain German school of divines, is one of considerable ability, and has attracted attention. Though we cannot accept every opinion of the author, we think an article of this description calculated to be of great service among ourselves at the present moment. We must be delivered from the vhrldom of vague speculations, and also from the uncritical criticism of accommodation.—*Eds. J. S. L.*

take in the new views and shield them with its authority. The expedient for thus widening the simple literal meaning is in all times and religions partly *allegorical interpretation*, partly *hidden tradition*, which together produce a mystical sense or secret wisdom (*γνῶσις*); the privilege at first of narrower esoteric circles or distinct schools, then spreading over widening circles, and at last becoming the prevailing one. In this way the later Judaism has cultivated itself to its characteristic form, in its different tendencies leading so far away from the simple Old Testament standpoint, and by degrees has settled down in a monstrous literature, which, under the title of a commentary or an oral tradition, steps to the side of Scripture as its text (*אגדה*), and summons up the most subtle expedients to fasten upon it. Christianity also was originally based upon the Old Testament, then the only "Bible," and was demonstrated from it according to the current hermeneutic principles of Jewish theology. It has happened similarly in the growth of Mohammedanism and Heathenism, in the east and in the west, where no holy books were extant, by means of spiritual interpretation and symbolical re-clothing of the traditional mythology. In the Christian church this inclination makes its appearance periodically stronger, and as if epidemically when the given cause recurs; i. e., when the existing Bible interpretation no longer satisfies: be it in consequence of the influx of new ideas, as in the time of the earlier Greek fathers, who applied their philosophic culture to Christianity as the Alexandrine Jews did before to Judaism; or as the result of reaction against the prevailing torpidity and barrenness, as among the mystics and fanatics who preceded or accompanied the Reformation. Wherever the phenomenon appears, it is the sign of an inward strife with what is established; of a need that can only be satisfied in a more or less artificial manner.

Much as these endeavours apparently have in common, there is withal a real inner difference not to be overlooked. On the one hand, they prove themselves *healthy* or *organic*, i. e., corresponding to the laws of natural mental development, depending upon a real advance in knowledge, and so far, well authorized expressions of religious truth-seeking; which indeed is mistaken in the means adopted to harmonize itself with the sacred text, upon the present stage of intelligence, but which, if through these false accommodations it remains true to itself, can always ripen with advancing knowledge. On the other hand, these endeavours are unmistakeably *morbid excrescences* and *aberrations* of the religious energy, which, having inwardly degenerated, seeks from a merely outward necessity to harmonize itself with the sacred text, by means of forced and often false

expedients : excrescences that must be called *inorganic*, because grown upon a foreign stock. In order to understand how these can not only penetrate into the sphere of sacred things, but continually come forth afresh, and keep their ground so pertinaciously, we must go back to the lowest foundation of the distinction between them in the opposition, through production or cultivation, of the active impulses or powers to the religious conceptions.

The real and legitimate source of religious ideas is the SPIRIT or God effectually working in the man. This, as an innate faculty of human nature, forms at first only a common *capacity* of mankind to apprehend God and a divine order, an impulse to seek God as its life, and to find in him alone rest and satisfaction. As a witness of God and his government felt in the inner man, *conscience*, it begets a general obscure knowledge of God, our origin from him, and the higher order to which we belong. Yet it is sufficiently clear and strong, like the magnetic needle, to direct human life on earth, and significant enough to influence the *understanding* ; and, educated by this in the various earthly relations, it may be gradually perfected to a science of divine things—*theology*. On this self-attestation of God in the hearts of men, the conviction of Old Testament prophets rested, that the heathen world would some day be brought into the kingdom of God ; and to this the apostles dared to appeal among the heathen (as Paul, Acts xvii.). Outward revelation is designed only to evolve it, that is, to awaken, to animate, to guide, and to perfect it.

But with this genuine spring there mixes a spurious one, ever busy to make turbid and to adulterate what flows from the other. This consists of the *lower instincts* and propensities with which the Spirit of God shares its abode in the soul of man ; sensuousness, feeling, imagination, and the speculative reflection ; these have to interpret the witness of the Divine Spirit, to translate it into their language, that it may be received by the understanding and work upon the will. They cannot however accommodate the voice of God to their nature, nor render their passions and inclinations acceptable to the voice of God, nor confound it with the voices of "the flesh." These lower faculties have been mainly operative in the manifold forms of heathenism, which agree in the following points. Man had fallen from the Creator to the creation and to the creature ; the pure idea of God witnessed in conscience was supplanted by the world with its appearances and powers ; the pure holy and free First Cause of all was converted into a physical existence, subjected to the laws of gradual development, and the

strife of contending powers, and divided into a plurality of beings—with or without a common head, with or without opposition, *i.e.*, dualism; and thus heaven was peopled with a host of divinities in graduated ranks. In opposition to this followed the *revelation* of the *Mosaic* covenant, with the firmest *monotheism*; that is, the idea of the one God as a pure immaterial Spirit and a free Will, with a spiritual and imageless worship corresponding thereto; with severity and consistency warding off all that would exalt itself against God, as well as idolatry and enchantment (*δαισιδαίμονια*, recourse to superhuman existences and powers out of God). This was requisite to lay a foundation for the fuller revelation of the true God and his worship, in opposition to the mighty heathenish instinct in men.

Not only in the groundwork of Old Testament revelation in relation to heathenism, but within revelation in the wider historic development of religious ideas, we recognize the same contrast between the genuine and spurious sources of religion; the two different currents that flow through all history down to our own day. The Old Testament prophets and poets possess an organic culture, flowing from the pure source, and widening the foundation laid in Mosaism. They so subdue the realism and particularism of the Mosaic law—in itself a bare means of tuition for the holy people—that it becomes a spiritual religion, a kingdom of God embracing all mankind, and thus a preparatory school for Christianity. Linked on to this Jesus and his Apostles came, following in the same spirit, but with far wider and loftier views; and if they, conforming to the customs then prevailing, strain the sense of the sacred text by allegorical or free interpretation, that concerns only their means of proof, consequently the form merely, which was natural and appropriate to the time, and vanishes in the great body of their doctrine. The spiritualizing and enlarging of Old Testament notions, especially among the Grecian Jews in the Apocrypha and Philo, and similarly in the Greek Fathers, may be traced to the same source and current. Though partly owing to the influx of Greek philosophy, it must be contemplated as the organic widening of the Old Testament basis; because the Greek philosophy itself resulted from the same prophetic and kindred effort to surmount the narrowness of national beliefs, and to reach the universal religion of mankind.

Out of that spurious religious source an essentially different stream flowed; diverging from the comprehensive development-movement on the part of the Prophets, yet forming a counter-acting current in the later Judaism. On the one side, this assumed only the character of a reaction, indicated in the atten-

tion paid to the letter of the law, in the anxious legalizing and trust in works, and in the fanatical narrowing of national hopes. But on the other side, it appeared in the establishment of a theology akin to mythology, directly contrary to the Old Testament monotheism, and in the spirit of the Orientals among whom the Jewish people lived. This manifested itself in the mythological transfiguration of superhuman forms, in the fiction and poetry of the Old Testament—which there, however, are but the symbols and personifications of divine attributes and operations, or of ethical ideas—in personal and even material intermediate existences or demigods, and in the creation of a graduated host of such existences, together with the dualistic division of the kingdom of God. It is the consequence of a displacement of the central faculty of religion, whose seat is in conscience, transferring it to imagination and idle speculation, which creates such forms and feeds upon them. This false theology, like a tree that squanders its productive power from want of proper pruning in spreading excrescences and parasitic growth, shoots forth exuberantly in a monstrous apocryphal literature, whether Jewish or Christian, in double-slaughtering Gnosticism, in the Jewish Kabbalah, and in the Christian theosophy thence derived. It shoots forth with increasing strength in all times, and bewitches the mind; when the prevailing theology, stiffened into dry formalism, promises no satisfaction to deeper and livelier spirits, or when, through the weakening of moral motives and inward degeneracy, the blunted taste no longer finds the simple bread of life palatable, and thinks that it will mount up to the *haut gout* of theosophy.

Of this character is the theology which has again become fashionable among us. How this was possible after all the acquisitions of our newer German theology, acknowledged as these are by all parties; as for example the principles of grammatical and historical exigésis, historical development in the sphere of revelation, the recognition of human elements in the Bible, together with the abandonment of the incongruous mechanical theory of inspiration, and so forth—wider things than ever the old theosophy ventured to dream of—may at first sight appear inconceivable. Yet the causes that always have engendered theosophy and mythology may be also pointed out in our day. There is again a displacement (*μετάσταςις*) of the central faculty of religion, in virtue of which all religious energies have thrown themselves on the imagination, and wasted themselves in idle speculation. Formerly, and still on into the eighteenth century, this degeneracy was easier and more excusable; the historical ideas and hermeneutic principles, which are a common

boon to the new theology, were wanting then ; whereas now they form wide barriers that must be somehow removed before the old mythology can with impunity be revived. In fact, so much straining and artifice is required, such denial of sound reason and conscience, that the relapse has more than ever a destructive character, and is manifest by a *rebound* towards an earlier one-sidedness or excess.

This rebound is part of the great reaction against the rationalism of last century ; against the abstractions and subtilizations into which the understanding—the crude intellectual light—had dissolved the form and substance, not only of revelation, but of history and poetry generally ; and against the great refrigeration and vacuum thus originated in the hearts of men ; a reaction in which we have for a long time been engaged. We have now, by penetrating the living forms of all times and peoples, learnt to conquer this abstract bloodless rationalism in poetry and history, and have attained a more solid and comprehensive judgment. In *sacred* history and poetry also we have been upon a good track since Herder's time. By a separation of the human and national in it, and by the employment of the general analogy of legend upon it, we have learned better to understand and estimate its concrete forms. These forms—holy persons and their words, deeds, and adventures—had been till then, according to the literal inspiration theory, looked upon only as automata in the hand of God without individual life, and passed before us as misty forms, strange and incomprehensible. By rationalism they were dissipated into empty shadows of some abstract ideas. Now, however, they have received actual life, flesh and blood as it were, out of ghosts become living men, who must have spoken and acted as some theologians in this country, and at this present time, think they should. But in truth, wherever poetry has a greater or less share in the history, or the history itself, regarding times to which no tradition reaches, can only be the expression of human thought thereon, these forms are in any case products of the national mind, which reflects and imprints itself in them. Since we gave up that standpoint, and were freed from the tormenting and partly unanswerable question, "Whether and how far that which is related must be taken for historical reality?" as well as from the continual attempt at a reconciliation with it, undivided attention was directed to the ideas and characteristics of the national mind reflected therein. The result was an increasing fulness of new references and distinctions, the recognition of a significant course of training of the people of God ; and where all before had been only a huge uniform *grey* of cloudy forms, the grand

drama of a divine course of education of humanity was unveiled, which is the great acquisition of our time. But this course of healing in the nobler faculties was soon again disturbed by the preponderance of the lower impulses and propensities which are accustomed impatiently to hasten on and to overshoot the mark. In general history and poetry the acquired capacity to support and prize the strange and concrete under the name of the romantic, was transformed into a distorted fancy for the crude, proximate, historic forms of the middle age, accompanied by a fantastic effort to recall such forms. I say *fantastic*, because only according to one-sided interests, and without regard to the historical conditions of their life then, as well as that of the present. Ghosts were thus called forth instead of living reality. In the Biblical department the historic sense, or the effort after historical ideas of Biblical antiquity, was confounded by a new change of a different kind.

The change which next ensued arose from more *practical* motives, and consisted in the effort to re-establish the *old Church doctrine*, and the old ecclesiastical view of the Bible itself and of the Jewish tradition; as well as in the endeavour to annihilate the results of more recent historical criticism, at least of that which affected the origin of the books of Scripture and the legendary character of its history; for the Jewish traditions and Protestant dogmatic postulates, with regard to the divine origin and unchangeableness of the text of Holy Scripture, so stubbornly defended by the old orthodox party against the earliest criticism, were found of course no longer tenable. *Hengstenberg* particularly, with his school, Keil, Hävernick, etc., occupies this standpoint, as the old supernaturalists in general did before in a more moderate way.

Another phase of this kind of reaction has recently appeared, with the same pretensions to ecclesiastical and particularly Lutheran orthodoxy, and upon the like ground of Jewish and Church tradition, regarding the formation of the canon of Scripture. It has entered upon the same struggle against the more recent criticism and the mythic view of history, but withal bears upon its escutcheon the watchwords of modern science, speculative and historical. At the head of this system there stands as a formal principle the law of *organic development*, according to which history is viewed as a living organism, and each particular is consequently susceptible of a double meaning, historic or typical. The object and intent of this historical development is the *incarnation* of God, who in order to the realization of the *world-aim* fixed in his eternal purpose, has put his inner relation of the everlasting unity in Trinity, that of Father

to Son in the unity of the Spirit, into an inequality, and has cast it into an historical process of development. He sets forth the Son as the ideal of the world-aim, by creation out of himself in an image, man and the world created for him. The history of this gradually advancing incarnation of God by Christ is divided into two parts. Up to the time of the historic incarnation, there is the manifestation or appearance of Christ in his several relations, partly among the Israelites and partly in the heathen world ; so that each element of history is, as it were, a ray of Christ, and all converge in him as in a focus. From his historic manifestation onwards there is the gradual glorification of his body the Church, or the completion of the humanity of God in Christ, and the transformation of the world to be its suitable abode, the "thousand years' reign" of the Jews, wherein also converted Israel shall at last find its destination, and humanity shall be taken back into the essence of God ; which shall be the consummation of all things. The agent or instrument of this historic development is the Spirit of God, who has fashioned both creation and history, and actively operates in the human mind, but who also goes forth in individual manifestations divided among a plurality of good and evil spirits, through whom, and not by a firmly established order of nature, God accomplishes his universal government. All the causes, then, and motive-springs of what takes place on earth, lie neither in natural laws nor in human will, but in heaven, in the government of heavenly spirits ; and the whole is in a certain manner a continuous range of wonders. Certain turning-points in history, moreover, as the fall of the first man, are the consequences of heavenly precedents, of certain *calastrophes in the spirit-world*, of which the later Jewish literature has much to tell, that give to all history its direction. History thus draws its events round *Christology*, *Demonology*, and *Eschatology* as its poles ; about Christ as its centre ; about the demons with their chief as turning-points or impulses to new developments ; and about the kingdom of glory as its goal. A great divine world-drama is thus established, a kind of *divina commedia*, embracing heaven and earth, God and men, the people of God and the heathen, this world and the next ; and so widely extended, that not only the fables of the heathens, but even their gods, find place in it, and far from being mere forms of error, are verified and become realities. But how does theology know all this that lies beyond all human intuition and experience, and is as little the declaration of conscience ? In a perfectly legitimate and scientific manner. Mainly from a certain principle of the present, from the *Christian consciousness* belonging to the subject standing in

the Church ; the same source from which Schleiermacher drew his theology ; the consciousness, I say, of communion with God mediated through the person Jesus ; out of which everything else flows partly as historical supposition and partly as more distant results. It must further of necessity be assumed, that the same Holy Spirit who has produced the history has also created a *written testimony* or memorial of the same, and such a witness we find in the Holy Scriptures, which, when given to the Church and ratified by the witness of the Spirit or inward experience, is already of itself and without further proof established, both in its genuineness as the work of the Holy Spirit in detail and in the whole, and in its integrity or sufficiency for all human needs. From this is established the self-exhibition of Christ in history, in his many-sided relations to mankind and through all stages of development ; to be understood not according to the letter, but according to the spirit by allegorical interpretation.

These are the views of HOFMANN in Erlangen, stated first in outline in his *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, and afterwards in systematic form in his *Schriftbeweis*,—books which have become symbolical of a numerous party (Baumgarten, Kurtz, Delitzsch, Nägelsbach, and many others). The system has its roots partly in the old and especially in the new theosophy, but partly too without doubt in the soil which was first fructified there by Schelling's activity ; in which Protestantism borders closely upon Catholicism, and a rich crop of Catholic as well as Protestant philosophy and theology has sprung up. The tone has long been heard in kindred ways from the same key-note, as it now lies authentically expressed in Schelling's *Philosophy of Mythology*.

At first sight, the system appears undoubtedly scientific, Christian, and ecclesiastically orthodox ; but in reality it is none of these. It is not Christian either biblically or ecclesiastically, for according to the Bible idea the essence of God is strictly unchangeable, and the world is created not *out of* God, as in the heathen pantheistic cosmogony, but *by* God, a free operation of his will ; and the ecclesiastical doctrine recognizes only an ante-mundane relation of Father and Son in God, and only one historical incarnation of the Son in Christ. But in this system God appears not only inwardly but outwardly, in an opposition and formal process of development by creation from unity to plurality, as in all organized nature, while he developed out of himself the Son,—an image representing man and the world,—began the process of a gradual incarnation, unfolded his Spirit in spirits, and will take back the perfected manhood into his essence, by which consequently he shall first attain to the

fulness of his Being—"that God may be all in all." Thus there is a becoming not only of Christ but of God, a conception of God and the world, if not pantheistic, yet borrowed from the formularies of the pantheistic philosophy, not absolutely different from Hegelianism, and still less from modern Schellingism. This conception of history, moreover, is not scientific, but directly the perversion of the real idea of science. For science bespeaks an historical development of humanity by the hand of God, a divine education of mankind. But in Hofmann's system this is transferred from man, who alone is capable of development and needs education, to the unchangeable absolute God; carried away from earth, the only theatre of history, into the unseen heaven, of which nothing is known but by imagination; and thus a changeling is substituted for the scientific idea.

The doctrine of angels or spirits which plays such a conspicuous part in this system has a certain foundation not only in the apocryphal Jewish literature, but also in the Bible itself, especially the New Testament; and has hitherto assumed a place in Biblical and ecclesiastical doctrine; but it has no independent basis, it is only an adjunct to other doctrines. It has also been recognized in modern times more and more, that the government of these beings has not the significance of a doctrine, but only of a *popular belief*, which is to be derived from the universal human craving of the imagination to embody the government of God or the powers of nature; that they even in the Old Testament do not yet, or at least very faintly, appear above this poetical character of mere *personifications* of divine operations, or of the powers of nature in God's service; not excepting the figure of Satan which does not emerge till late; and that they had not developed themselves into the form in which we find them in the Jewish literature and in the New Testament till a comparatively late time. This applies particularly to Satan and the evil spirits, which in the course of their development passed through a series of transitions (which we can fully trace in the existing literature,) not without foreign influence. Such a result of historical interpretation has lately found recognition even with decided super-naturalists and theologians otherwise unfavourable to the new criticism, as Steudel^b and Hävernicks;^c and Lücke has shewn how impracticable it is to educe a doctrinal significance out of the use which Jesus and his apostles make of the popular belief regarding evil spirits, in its fluctuations between dogma and parable or symbol. Even Hofmann has not denied that the existence, origin and activity of angels, good as well as

^b *Theology of the Old Testament*, pp. 215, 231. ^c pp. 78, 81.

bad, appears in Scripture not as doctrine, but as a primeval popular belief not different from the heathen conceptions, and that Satan is mentioned in the Old Testament late and seldom. These admissions, however, have not hindered him from elevating the belief to the rank of a scriptural doctrine, and making it an actual element instead of a mere appendage; while he conditions all the operations of God in the world to it, and hands over to these spirits the entire government of the world. For he has in his theory of holy Scripture (according to which it constitutes a joint and separate whole) a convenient method of using the latest texts as witnesses for the earliest times. Conformably with this he maintains respecting Satan (in opposition to the late mention of him), that it must be assumed that he was active from the beginning, and is so seldom mentioned because by "subsequent intelligence" one might have discovered him in the serpent of paradise, Genesis iii., and might therefore have "waited for further actual confirmation," which there was hardly occasion for, and which was first introduced historically in the temptation of Jesus. For the ante-historical fall of the angels, which used to be adopted as an axiom according to the apocryphal Jewish literature, and even without the witness of the New Testament, he has even succeeded in exhibiting an explicit New Testament evidence; not in the usually quoted declaration of Christ, John viii. 44, which he rightly rejects, but in Luke x. 18, where he hesitates not to take the fall of Satan from heaven described by Christ—as no other interpreter hitherto has ventured to explain it,—in a literal sense as an historical fact of which Christ was the witness in his ante-mundane existence! Accordingly the popular and even the heathen belief, in its entire extent and in its later cultivation, has received through the New Testament its doctrinal verification, and Christ has added nothing except that he has summed up the operations of the evil spirits, physical as well as ethical, under the one Antichristian will of Satan, as a kingdom of evil in contrast with the kingdom of God. In this reasoning it remains incomprehensible that Satan and his company, equally with the good angels, act only in the service of God and His kingdom, as powers hindering or aiding new developments. This holds good of the Satan of the Old Testament, but not of the devil and demons of the New. It is moreover irreconcilable with the opposition of God's kingdom and the devil's, which latter is the incorporation of absolute wickedness, as it has been taken hitherto even in theology. In fact it is a postulate requisite only for the theory of good and evil spirits here advanced. So now the old Gnosticism which conditions all God's workings by such spirits as emanations from

himself, and thus keeps him far away from immediate contact with the world, is fortunately restored and shewn to be "agreeable to Scripture!" The divine system of the world is given up to creatures of the imagination, as energetic demi-gods endowed with almighty power, whose poetical origin and symbolic character are exegetically and historically established. Yet in popular belief, and in received doctrine, they appeared only in extraordinary circumstances, and contributed in some measure to the liveliness of the scene. It naturally follows that the prayers and efforts of men should be directed to these to make them propitious or to avert their evil influence, according to the custom of popular religions of all times; and thus the heathenish superstition, *δαισδαίμονια*, which the Old Testament so decidedly combats, is scientifically grounded and correctly perfected. It is hard to understand how the wisdom and rectitude of the divine government can consist with the administration of it by such instruments as these; because persons gifted with individual and fixed malignant wills must continually cause arbitrary interferences, and law or natural order is virtually nullified. The analogy of good and evil men endowed with freedom, which Hofmann adduces, is no proof, inasmuch as the might of these spirits is infinitely greater than that of men. Still harder is it to understand what room is left for human freedom beside these physically working powers. But generally speaking, there is no real freedom in this system any more than in actual pantheism. All persons in it are only mock forms, embodiments of general ideas and abstract categories. Christ is an incarnation of the "original world-aim;" man and humanity together with the world, only an embodiment of Christ; mind is inspired, not only by God's spirit, but also by evil spirits; and natural existence is altogether controlled by spirits which, proceeding thence, operate also on the mind. All history, as the history of the gradual incarnation of Christ, is but a course of appearances, in which one of the relations of Christ is shadowed forth, a biography of persons who do not will for their own sake, but have meaning in their words and actions only as unconscious types of Christ; and as bubbles, rise from an invisible abyss and descend into it again.

As to the scientific *method* of the argument, it advances like a strong complete phalanx, but its logical sequence is in appearance only, and lacks real demonstrative force. It is continually thwarted and paralyzed by new positions and assumptions concerning history, made without the shadow of an inner foundation; mere oracular sayings with mockery of all historical pragmatism, i.e., psychological or natural connexion; so that in spite of the

strong dogmatic tone and concatenation of propositions, it jingles on the reader like a continual playing of fantasies or raving. That it cannot answer its design of supplying a really historical development of revelation, or of biblical ideas and institutions in harmony with modern science, is plain on the very face of it, by the form in which it appears; namely, an exclusive system of doctrine is taken for granted, after which the evidence of Scripture harmony follows in particulars. But what makes it quite impossible, because nullifying all historical interpretation of Scripture, is the Scripture theory of the author, as of the whole party; in virtue of which the Bible is treated and handled as a compact whole, as the work of one author, the Holy Ghost; so that it matters nothing where a Scripture proof lies, the latest witnessing for the earliest times, and serving to make up the gaps in the evidence. Consequently, all recognition of a progress or course of education in ideas and institutions is fundamentally excluded. We are again upon the standpoint of the ancients, except that they knew how to value it for the sake of the doctrine, though not to gain by it as we now-a-days can. We now see the work of the invisible Spirit in its depth, who makes these simple declarations in utterances or facts, but who has his secret reasons for directly manifesting Himself in this or the other text, which it is not given to any one to divine, except to them who have found the right key to penetrate into the mystery. The Scripture evidence, therefore, for the presupposed system is conducted with every possible expedient of ingenuity and refined art; now by allegorical explanation of historic facts and single words; now by taking a figure literally, not according to analogy and natural symbolism as general hermeneutics require, but torn away from its historical connexion, the sport of the freest association of ideas and gratuitous mock-reasoning, just as is practised in the *Talmud* and the *Kabbalah*. Often for the sake of the theory, Bible statements are directly contradicted, and an opposite assertion made;—*e.g.*, that the serpent was not punished; that the first human birth was not by generation;—but especially a multitude of mythological facts or hypotheses are propped by quite absurd premises and gratuitous exegesis. For instance, the absence of sex in the first man, as in the heathen fables is proved upon the universal ground, *à priori*, viz., that he must have been created as *one* because he represented humanity in its unity, and was the type of Christ; and that both sexes could not have been created together, else in that case the distinction of sex must have been eternal, whereas it is to end at the resurrection, and it does not now exist in our relation to God in Christ (Gal. iii. 28). It is argued exegetically too from 1 Cor vi. 13, where

the restoration of the body without the *κοιλια*, that is the *pudenda*, is taught. In like manner, that the creation of the woman out of the man must have been connected with the formation of the *pudenda*, because the eating of the fruit which, according to the threatening should have brought death immediately to the man only, merely opened the eyes of both to see their nakedness. Again, that God after the creation established his abode in Paradise, because the cherubim which guard paradise (Genesis iii. 24), indicate the presence of God on earth; and because it is said of Cain (Gen. iv. 16), "he went out from the presence of Jehovah (*הוּיָהוּ*); that after the deluge He returned to heaven and paradise disappeared, because the burnt-offering of Noah is called *עֶלְיוֹן* from the smoke ascending to God, and because in Psalm xxix. 10, it is said, "He sitteth throned upon the flood;" that the return of God was hoped for from Noah's blessing upon Japhet (Gen. ix. 28); that the angels (Gen. vi. 1), in spite of their incorporeality, were prolific, argued from the generation of Jesus by the Holy Ghost; that the pillar of cloud came from heaven, and was, in fact, suspended between heaven and earth, because it was a representation of God and a type of Christ; and so forth; all in perfect rabbinical fashion, which indeed, from of old, has been at home in theosophy. The tendency to the mythological has so distorted and corrupted the exegetical taste and the perception of the simple and natural, that the interpretation continually falls into the strange and fantastic, and mistakes the simplest poetical or ethical meaning. Thus in the profoundest part of the Hebrew record (Gen. ii., iii.), the origin of sin and its consequences, together with the causes leading to it, are again apprehended quite physically, (which even Melancthon reproached the scholastics for, in his *Apology*); it is argued that the forbidden tree derived its name from the *noxiousness* of its fruit, *עֵץ הַדַּעַת* meaning not morally good and evil, but physically good and bad; it physically worked upon the sexual organs, and so shame was produced. Thus the entire doctrinal value of the narrative, by which it stands so high over the myths of the heathen, is altogether nullified. So also the current prophetic images of the restoration of nature, which mention its transformation and invigoration (especially in Isaiah) are understood in a literal sense of an actual renovation of heaven and earth, nay, even of the Holy Land, at the end of the world. The absence of teaching regarding the life after death, the blessed life, is explained by the supposition, that it was not then existent, but first began with the resurrection of Christ; and the movements of presentiment (Psalm xlix. 73), as the hope of this final deliverance from death by the Messiah.

As the idea of prophecy is taken *à priori* altogether as a postulate derived from the idea of organic history, and transferred without regard to fact to the Old Testament, so also the conception of the inspired record as its authentication is determined *à priori*, and its genuineness in all its constituent parts is presupposed and accepted in the mass. The postulate is that God or Christ must have authenticated by documents His workings in history, and must have entrusted these to the Church in which they are. There is no need of any proof—criticism meets with a rebuff beforehand as unjustifiable. Yet an experimental ground for the maintenance of the notion is urged; namely—mark it—De Wette retracted much of late, and Ewald and Hitzig differ so often in their views. So Baumgarten reasons; because Bertheau, who is also a critic, has contradicted much or does not go so far. As if criticism were embodied in a couple of to-day's critics, and were answerable for their shortcomings; or as if it were a mischievous game that one might turn aside from himself and transfer to another, and push the responsibility from his own to other shoulders! And yet in details, in minutenesses, criticism is again called into requisition especially against the established Messianic interpretation, and a series of Messianic prophecies are got rid of on trivial grounds, in places where the Church has hitherto sought them; for instance, all in Genesis, and most in the Psalms and in the Prophets; also in the frequent expression *יהוה* commonly referred to Christ. Generally too, and in conformity with the prevailing tendency, personal inspiration is humanly limited in its bearing, and prophecy is put more into history than into utterances. Otherwise there is no lack of critical and exegetical observations in opposition to the customary explanation. Hence Hengstenberg^d reproaches the system, that it is rationalistic, and differs from De Wette only in its ecclesiastical veiling and the manner of expression! That is the profound category into which Hengstenberg casts all that is opposed to himself, although he has in his own case sufficiently experienced how easily one may fall into it, and how insignificant it has become. Indeed he has a broken sword against the main points in the system—the mythological Christology, Demonology, and Eschatology—because he has himself certain premises in connexion with it. But the fact is, this mythological theology is much more supernatural, and a much more decided abnegation of sound reason and genuine history, than the reaction substituted by Hengstenberg; for it has its life altogether in the element of the marvellous, which he on the contrary does not admit without various limitations; and

^d *Christology*, Second Edition, iii. 2, p. 150 ff.

the moral simplicity and severity of the Old Testament monotheism, which his interpretation esteems and renders prominent, is for the other become too insipid and vapid, and it therefore craves a more piquant fare. Instead of making the right position of conscience towards God and the way of salvation the chief thing, it seeks in religion above all things the satisfaction of the speculative desire after hidden knowledge, *i.e.*, the secret relations of earthly phenomena to heavenly precedents; the same which first brought forth the Gnostic *μῦθοι γραῶδεις*, the *γενεαλογίαι ἀπεράντοι*, and so forth (1 Tim. i. 4; iv. 7; Titus i. 13; iii. 9 ff), which the Apostle so decidedly combated and for ever condemned.

To the theology delineated in the foregoing pages belong also the writings of Kurtz, which have given immediate occasion to the preceding discussion. Judgment has already been pronounced upon them; yet there is need of a brief description of their particular style, and a few instructive examples given of this modern handling of Biblical history under the name of *Biblical belief*, in order that we may have a clear idea of it generally.

Kurtz is no independent enquirer, but a partizan who cleverly works up for convenient use whatever is put forth by the leaders of the party; to which he brings a not unimportant gift and facility in popular apologetic book-making. He can exhibit clearly and in good order; he can use vigorous and tempting piquant expressions which sometimes indeed border upon the frivolous, and notwithstanding the unction, betray the rogue; he is an adroit dialectician and energetic disputant, who occasionally does not spare his own party and friends, and is only too much inclined to throw off all restraint in the employment of his weapons, and putting out of sight all considerations, not only to refute, but (with rich supply of double and treble notes of interrogation and of admiration), even to outrage his opponent.

This cleverness in fighting and pugilistic disposition has shewn itself especially in the two polemic treatises against Keil and Hengstenberg, which only the love of such practices and the proneness to leave nothing unanswered, and to have the last word, could have made possible; and the tone of which against Keil particularly—a colleague not only in party but in office—goes to the utmost limits of courtesy, and not seldom transgresses them. Having before followed the banner of Hengstenberg, he has now (like Baumgarten), gone over to Hofmann, whose principles stand at the head of the first work, and whose expressions he puts into a popular form, as if “from the buskin to the sock;” supplying the gaps, smoothing off the corners, adjusting, etc.;

yet not without abandoning and even combating his leader, and following his own view, or that of his former master; so that his apologetic historical misrepresentations are mixed from both sources. Yet he is frequently liberal as well as critical, and goes in his avowals to the utmost limits of what is allowed by the party standpoint. The inner illiberality and wantonness of this apologetic however, which contends for its object not from individual pressure of conviction or of the scientific conscience, but upon given conditions, and with calculation of the consequences of an avowal (*e vinculis sermocinatur*), shews itself in the continual use of political party epithets, "destructive," "conservative," and in the copious negotiations and bargains with criticism, or with an antagonist for a decision. The continual assurance that he then could and would maintain the opinions in question, "the worst come to the worst," at least up to a certain point; that he is no longer necessitated to an avowal, or makes it with protest against some prejudice concerning it (just as lawyers in court deal with each other), indicate the same disposition; in fact, he changes the standpoint of his arguments according to the altered position of the witnesses, and in matters of truth follows the highest bid.

Thus he assures us (§ 20), that he is quite secure and at his ease about the critical question as to the author of the Pentateuch, since the verification rests upon the divine co-operation; he would himself allow that Ezra might be named as the author because he was a divinely-enlightened man; but he is not by any means necessitated to this avowal, because the Pentateuch is the basis of the whole Old Testament literature, and Christianity is the fruit. But then friend Delitzsch's view of the merely partial record of Moses is referred to, and recommended with strong inclination to its reception; yet the difference between *משה* and *מור* is invalidated since Delitzsch and others declare all pains about it lost; and then he avows that he never concealed the difficulties in his earlier writings (though no trace of them can be found there). The site of Paradise he is prepared with Bertheau to acknowledge to be irreconcilable with geography, and to be derived from the then prevailing ignorance; yet without prejudice to revelation, whose province was not to anticipate geographical knowledge centuries ago; but it has not yet been convincingly enough proved; and other interpretations are possible, as that of Reland. Even then again difficulties are found, especially that of the stream which divides itself into four arms, and at the end it is proposed to take *נחל* collectively, in the sense of "the spring system of the garden." Especially characteristic of his combativeness is the attitude he assumes in the contro-

versy about $\pi\alpha\rho\ \alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (i. 144 ff), whether Christ or an angel is to be understood. He informs us that, with Hengstenberg, he earlier fought very firmly and zealously for the first view, but now he confesses that he was in error, and, with Delitzsch, must go over to Hofmann; that Hengstenberg's comparison with $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ in the New Testament never fully satisfied him; but he has, notwithstanding, so much pleasure in his combative art that he still inserts it, and then the view is refuted with the same dexterity with which he had defended it.

Quite different is the tone and manner of Delitzsch, who, with overweening fancy and feeling, possesses much suavity of language and genuine enthusiasm, but thinks withal that he can by means of these fly over or fill up all gaps in argument, and is in perfect self-delusion regarding his position as well as his critical capacity. He takes many liberties with the sacred text, as a son of the house to which Kurtz acts as attorney, but in reality there is the same inner servility, the being fettered to the old Jewish and ecclesiastical tradition, and to otherwise foregone conclusions, which he, indeed, like Hengstenberg, contradicting himself, reproaches criticism for, and seeks in vain to authenticate. And, notwithstanding all the concessions he makes,—for instance, the acknowledgment of different documents in the Pentateuch, and the employment of the idea of legend in the most ancient history; yet because he has made it straight as the “theology of ecclesiastical confessions,” he considers himself all the more bound to ward off the consequences, and for the sake of maintaining the strict historical veracity of the Pentateuch to neutralize it. This servility is glaringly manifest in the arguments by which he endeavours to avert the results of his concessions; *e. g.*, that the original document of the Pentateuch must have spoken of the fall of the first created, because otherwise the victory of Christ over the tempter could not be historical; that the wrestling of Jacob at Jabbok must be an actual fact, because it is a divinely wrought type of the agony of Christ in Gethsemane; that the offering of Isaac must have belonged to the original document, and not to a higher development of the religious ideas of the Hebrews, because it is a type of the sacrifice of Christ (John iii. 16); because also the whole is the foundation of New Testament saving truth, that is, according to the typical theory of Hofmann! Really one cannot push *naïveté*, to use the smoothest expression, further.

After this general description of the fencing art of this Apologetic, a few examples may now give us a correct idea of its spirit. For this the history of the creation is particularly suitable, the contradiction of which by the facts of modern physical

science, I mean geology, has already elicited so many attempts at reconciliation. The new schools have this in common with each other; they with great effort vindicate the character of the *Biblical* narrative as *revealed history* in opposition to the mythical apprehension of it. But individually they by no means so treat it; on the contrary, through love of natural science, they indulge in the most arbitrary admissions at variance with the literal meaning and the spirit of the narrative, by which means the explanation becomes an historizing of it. They firmly maintain, instead of natural days, great periods of indefinite duration, the respective creations of which they make to correspond with the succession of strata in the earth's crust, and the Sabbath is of course abandoned. Each advances assumptions in favour of physical science, especially the work of John Pye Smith in England, in this respect possessing a classical reputation; while some pious naturalists in Germany (Schubert, Wagner, whom Keil follows) hold that the organic remains found in the earth were created on the first day, and not destined for active life, but only "the play of the powers of nature, making essays at creation;" and destroyed by the arranging of the strata! This is indisputably the wildest and most unscriptural view that has ever been devised on this subject. Kurtz (in his *Bible and Astronomy*) looks upon the narrative as a legend of remote antiquity, handed down by tradition, and kept pure or purified by the Holy Ghost;⁴ a legend which lies at the basis of the creation fables of other nations, but was revealed anew to the author in a series of prophetic visions, wherein the objective is mixed with the subjective, and the clothing is distinct from the thing itself. To this subjective prophetic view the seven days or periods of development belong; consequently also the Sabbath. Delitzsch energetically opposes it. He protests against a prophecy which regards the past, against dividing the subjective covering from objective truth, and in confutation of it he adduces the Sabbath command (Exod. xx. 31), and the harmony of the Scripture narrative, with general cosmogonic tradition; the very points from which Keil argues the subjective view. But how does Delitzsch himself explain it? He takes the narrative likewise as a legend from the family of the first man, not certainly as the expression of the impression made upon him by his original view of the world, as Hofmann, but as divine revelation to him; because his relation to God presupposed this knowledge, which was impossible without revelation. Yet (and here comes the bad news) as God did not speak Hebrew, his revelation

⁴ Page 16, note 9.

must first have been translated into Hebrew, and must have undergone a transformation in language, or several transformations gradually. Also it would seem it must have undergone a transformation in sense, for, says Delitzsch, "the original text was broken up and dispersed by God, and the substance of the remaining remembrance passed into a new process of thought and expression;" it was therefore abridged from a much richer original, as other cosmogonic fables teach, which contain much that is wanting in it. The myths of heathenism then contribute to the enlargement and correction of revelation! Although, however, there is no subjective element of poetry and reflection in it, all is objectively true; in spite of all transmutations, "in essentials" he holds, it remains the same, and "so much of the true as was conducive to piety" was retained. This is now-a-days called historical Bible faith, and defence of it against the mythical view! The two, Kurtz and Delitzsch, are however again one (and this time against Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i., 276) in regarding chaos (verse 2) as a re-desolation of the original creation by the fallen angels,—an idea allowed to be undemonstrable exegetically, but argued out of chapter iii., where Satan makes his appearance standing at the head of a kingdom, and by inference he must have had necessary influence upon the creation. Accordingly, it is inferred by Delitzsch that creation was in continual conflict with the devil, as if wrested from him, and a triumph over him; and verse 31, "Behold, it was all very good," is taken as a triumphal expression of this victory. It follows further, that the tree of knowledge of good and evil was also a creation of the devil!

In the history of Cain (Gen. iv.) there are many difficulties for the historical apprehension, among which is the question, where did Cain get his wife? Delitzsch calls this a scornful question of learned and unlearned vulgarity, and conjectures a daughter of Adam (chap. v. 4), who accompanied him into banishment, or was brought to him later. But (1) chapter v. 4, is in another document, the difference of which Delitzsch himself acknowledges. (2) No scorn can lie in the question which he himself thinks it necessary to answer; for any man of honour would think it beneath him to reply to a question prompted by vulgar scorn. How many similar inquiries have these apologists themselves raised and sought to satisfy! Scorn is felt here only because one is in embarrassment to find an answer. In the mythic view, on the contrary, the question itself, as well as all scorn about it, passes away; we take the narrative as it is, without speculating about its causative connexion, well knowing that these primeval histories are not thus adjusted; but we hold en-

tirely to the significance and doctrine of it. (3) To brand a critical question in knowledge, and by no means "savouring of the ale bench," with vulgarity, is a very convenient and common, but not equally honourable, method of getting rid of inconvenient questions by means of an abusive word; ridiculous indeed on the part of an apologist who needs so much sagacity and so many thick books to answer such enquiries. He should recollect what abuse his predecessors heaped upon questions and results of the most serious research universally recognized now. The critical or mythical standpoint upon which one would be justified in pronouncing this question and its answer, if not "vulgar," yet foolish and ridiculous, would rather be after one is convinced by closer examination of the unanswerableness of such questions, and of the necessity of separating from the oldest mythical histories their poetical halo. That criticism is in the true sense of the word "vulgar" (κοινόν), which, without reverence for the sacredness and unimpeachableness of an honourable memorial, frivolously shapes for itself the holy text according to taste or fashion, and obtrudes upon it self-devised views and facts of which no trace is to be found in it, and which are in full contradiction with its spirit. Even the "city" that Cain built (Gen. iv. 17), at so early a period, is defended against "mockers" on four or five different grounds, which neutralize each other. 1st. Its origin is totally lost in "mythical" antiquity (but this analogy upon which criticism relies is, notwithstanding, always excluded from the Bible). 2nd. Centuries may have already elapsed (time it seems is asked for). 3rd. It may be only in opposition to a shepherd's tent,—an enclosed place and fixed abode (as nearly as possible not a "city"). 4th. It was a type of Rome, which also was founded by a fratricide (a mere conceit which overleaps all history, and therefore abandons the proof of it). 5th. They were men in those ages of Titanic strength, who wrestled against the divine curse (and yet, according to No. 3, accomplished so little: and where is Cain called a Titan)? This miserable defence of a proportionately insignificant point, is characteristic of the scrupulousness and consistency of this whole Apologetic; which is quite bewildered in the views it *ex professo* combats, and piles argument upon argument, without asking what they prove, or how they harmonize with one another.

Another part of the Apologetic concerns the vindication of the conduct of the patriarchs against the condemnation of it that results from a moral point of view. Kurtz does not hesitate to condemn the conduct of Abraham in Egypt, and he is supported by Hengstenberg, Baumgarten, and even Calvin, who

had preceded them with disapprobation. The same judgment is also applied to the similar behaviour of the patriarch towards Abimelech, which is beset with greater moral difficulties. But Jacob's conduct, as well towards his father and his brother as towards Laban, though blamed as deception and breach of faith, is yet in the main justified. The behaviour of Rebecca and Jacob is argued out as a work of faith, divinely approved and blessed; but, on the contrary, that of Isaac and Esau, as opposition to God's will and even scheming for the heirship,—exactly what hitherto we had been wont to accuse Jacob and Rebecca of. Even the non-retractation of the blessing, which in the realistic view of antiquity was generally considered irrevocable, is taken as an indication of the sense Isaac had of his guilt, and the pathetic lamentation of Esau is sneered at as mock sentimentality;—the whole a masterpiece of sophistry and perversion of moral principle. The artifice described in Gen. xxx. is acknowledged effective, blamed as weakness of faith, but found to be in the right against Laban. The golden and silver vessels stolen from the Egyptians are looked upon as a *present* extorted by higher influence, yet the transaction is considered a "spoiling" because it was indemnity for past injustice, and because it would have been contrary to divine "decorum" for the Israelites to leave without booty: it was at the same time a triumph over the whole of heathendom, and hence the gold was used afterwards both for the sanctuary and for the golden calf! We have here every conceivable form of plea, and we may choose which we like, for it would be impossible to take all of them together. But there is no explanation that satisfies conscience; at least only what squares with the case in question and the Divine Omnipotence—not reconcilable with universal moral principles.

There remains to be brought forward an especially characteristic example of the mythological spirit of this newest Apologetic—the topic of two dissertations of Kurtz—namely, the marriage of the sons of God with the daughters of men (Gen. vi. 1—4). Here we find in the text something specifically mythological—a fleshly mixing of divine and human existences, and the generation of giants, half and half beings of neither sort; just as in the mythology of heathen nations, and even corresponding with the idea of the Greek heroes or demigods, according to the definition of Plato (Cratylus, Apol.). The conception is otherwise unheard of in the whole of the Old Testament, and is altogether foreign to its spirit of stern monotheism. For the angels of the Old Testament are not physical intermediate beings, but only in a spiritual sense "sons of God," as men only of a higher order and of

doubtful personality; and the giants of the Old Testament (in all other places) are merely men of higher physical size. But the mythological spirit of later Judaism has made physical intermediate beings of them, and has eagerly laid hold of this passage—the only favourable one there is—and spun it out to a rich legend about the fall of the angels through fleshly lust. Thus a second set of evil angels is introduced besides the first before the world was, according to the plan of the Persians. We find this in a series of apochryphal books; the book of Enoch, for example, which is quoted in Jude 6—8, and 2 Peter ii. 4. With correct moral feeling the later fathers, and almost all theologians, repudiated such a meaning and the corresponding Jewish fables as offensive. Some of them have spoken against it in the strongest terms, and explained it as a rude superstition; for instance, Calvin says, “*Commentum de angelorum concubitu cum mulieribus sua absurditate refellitur, et mirum est doctos viros tam crassis et prodigiosis deliriis fuisse fascinos.*” The attempts by another interpretation to remove the difficulty, namely, that by “sons of God” are to be understood pious Sethites, and by “daughters of men” Cainites, are exegetically untenable; and so far the newest and cleverest explanation in opposition to this (that of Kurtz against Keil) is completely supported. But now, Kurtz with Hofmann and his disciples, whose inclination the fable in its literal sense suits, seizes it and defends it as *an actual historic fact*; so that it is still upheld in spite of the weighty opposition of the fathers, the Reformers, and all cautious theologians; and we cannot strongly enough express (with Keil) our abhorrence at this base relapse into Judaism and Paganism. Regarding the appeal to the authority of Jude and Peter in the passages quoted, all that is needful has already been said. Nor need we add more regarding the real ground of this fondness for such precedents—this appetite after flesh in religion, after a physical fixing of the idea of God and of human motives; in a word, after heathenism. Hofmann, Kurtz, and Delitzsch refer especially to pagan myths in order to confirm the truth of the Biblical legends; nay, they even use them to supplement and correct Scripture. The only plea by which they endeavour to distinguish the one from the other, and thus to save themselves, is the empty and continually repeated assumption that the heathenish mythology only disfigured the event, and has misemployed it for the divine worship of its established heroes—“of which let every one hereby be warned!” The possibility, already denied by the fathers, of such a promiscuous mingling of angels and men, is briefly proved, according to Hofmann, by reference to the conception

of Jesus by the Holy Ghost; and thus "the mystery of grace" meets its direct opposite in "the mystery of iniquity."

But Kurtz further assumes that the angels condensed their spiritual forms into bodies, and sexually polarized them as the first man by sin; and he dismisses the question as to the possibility of this as rationalistic! Here is the acme of controversial impropriety. First, he devises, for the explanation of an incomprehensible and monstrous theory, a kind of physiology of angels, makes this as it were a shrine, and he then censures any doubt, for the sake of which that theory had been invented, as a mark of a "weakness for scepticism." Indeed, if there were no other choice except between the old devout explanation of texts and this new credulous theology—between Hengstenberg and Hofmann, between Keil and Kurtz—I should unhesitatingly turn to the former, and willingly accept the reproach of an arbitrary exegesis in order to be able to remain a Christian theologian! But upon the mythical standpoint we are raised above that alternative, above all speculations and subtleties regarding the history too. We need neither to distort the unmistakeable meaning of the text against all hermeneutics, nor to acknowledge it as historical fact against all analogies of faith. We find in the passage before us an old fable of the later (Jehovistic) tradition, which here transgresses the Old Testament character. That this was possible one may easily understand. The Hebrew record of antiquity rests upon the general Asiatic tradition, and has been moulded from it with marvellous consistency in harmony with the Hebrew monotheistic and theocratic principle. Yet here and there it may transgress this principle, as no human manner of contemplation is so firmly perfected as never to fall from the height of its principle; and it is, on the contrary, only to be wondered at that this so seldom has happened.

It would lead us too far were we to illustrate by further examples the character of this modern theology and apologetic,—its numberless constrained allegorical and typical explanations of the text, mythological insertions, arbitrary hypotheses, arguments, theoretic deductions, the necessity and absolute perfection of certain historical relations argued from a pretended law. There is a general disfiguring and falsifying of history, perversion of the natural connexion, in order to remove at any price the innumerable physical and ethical difficulties and contradictions which the literal meaning offers. The course followed is like a path beset with obstacles at every step, which can only be removed by the most artificial means. And the object is not to defend the dignity of the Holy Scriptures, which is not threatened at least by genuine historical criticism, but only to

defend certain traditional opinions regarding it. What would become of the Holy Scripture if it really required such artifices in order to be understood and appreciated? and what sort of Scripture belief is that which has to withdraw so far from the plain meaning of the word, and to interpolate so much in order to make it palatable? The ancients had their simple faith because they did not know the contradictory difficulties; but, now, since they have been brought forward from all sides, and the apologists themselves, in full consciousness of them—nay, having their standpoint in modern science—carry on their work by their means, since the standpoint of defence is quite changed through so many concessions to criticism, the unquestioning faith of ignorance has lost its inward condition and truth. One may be beguiled by it for a time, especially in seasons of reaction, in the winds and currents of which the apologists are sailing amid the applause of a large approving public, especially ecclesiastical; but at last the delusion must and will retreat, and truth shall triumph, perhaps, among many of themselves. But I do not retract my former call upon their conscience, though it has only been met with scorn; I rely entirely on a higher tribunal that goes beyond all human wit and will.

THE POSITION AND MEANING OF THE APOCALYPSE.

It would be bold to assert that the time has arrived for attempting a thorough explanation of the hitherto so-much misunderstood book, the Apocalypse of St. John; but that day cannot be far distant, and it is our object to contribute something to this desirable result.

We crave the attentive consideration of the reader to the following facts, firmly convinced, that if he will allow them to have their due weight, the issue will be, that he will look at the book in a very different light from that in which it has been, hitherto, almost universally regarded.

It cannot but have struck a thoughtful student of the volume of Divine Inspiration, that the Apocalypse, as ordinarily interpreted, bears no relation whatever to the rest of the sacred documents; and that this wondrous, closing portion, might be even taken away without injury to the rest, or weakening in the slightest degree the evidence of the facts proclaimed by the apostles. A glance at the books of the New Testament will prove this.

The gospels establish, in the fullest manner, the claim of the Lord Jesus, as Messiah, the Prince (Dan. viii. 25), and supply the facts of his life from A.D. 1 to A.D. 33. The Book of Acts and the Epistles, which, during the years following, viz., A.D. 34 to A.D. 67, proceeded from St. Paul, St. Peter, St. John, St. James, St. Jude, furnish us with an account of the mission of the apostles to all nations throughout the then known world; and their success in proclaiming that the Divine Person long promised had appeared, and that "the mystery hid from ages and from generations had been made manifest" (Col. i. 26).

During this interval of time, the apostles went into all the world and proclaimed Christianity to every creature (Matt. xxviii. 19; Col. i. 6, 23; Rom. x. 18; Matt. xxiv. 14), so effectually, that during the lifetime of the first preachers, the Gospel, announced by the angels, told by the shepherds, rejoiced in by Zacharias, Simeon, and Anna, became in the words of St. Paul, a great revealed *fact*, "God, manifested in flesh, justified in spirit, seen of His messengers, proclaimed unto the nations, believed on in the world, received up into glory (1 Tim. iii. 16). It was this which St. Peter declared to the Jews (Acts ii.), which St. Stephen announced (Acts vii.), which St. Philip communicated to the eunuch (Acts viii. 35), and St. Peter to Cornelius (Acts x. 34); St. Paul proclaimed at Antioch (Acts xiii. 16), asserted before Festus and before Agrippa (Acts xxv. and xxvi.), and in A.D. 62 at great length, testified to the chief of the Jews at Rome (Acts xxviii. 23)

It was the subject of his two letters to the Thessalonians, A.D. 52; of that to the Galatians, A.D. 57; and of those to the Corinthians, and that to the Romans, A.D. 58; of that of St. James the same year from Jerusalem; and of St. Peter from Babylon, in Egypt. To the same effect, four years later (A.D. 62), St. Paul wrote from Rome to the Ephesians, the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Philippians; the year after (A.D. 63) to the Hebrews; in A.D. 65 to Timothy; in A.D. 66 to Titus; and in A.D. 67 his final epistle to Timothy. These letters thus extend over a space of 35 years; and as they make mention of the principal cities of Greece, of Italy, and of the East, they provide that the proclamation of the facts of Christianity had been made throughout the Roman empire.

It will now be evident, that on the supposition of the Apocalypse being a prediction of events to take place in the decline of the Roman Empire, and during the rise of the European nationalities, its contents bear no relation to the establishment of Christianity. All the other documents bear a common relation; the Epistles assume the facts recorded in the Gospels,

and the facts of the Gospels are corroborated by the Epistles. The historical passages in the Acts, are reflected in the Epistles, and the Epistles, are elucidated by the history in the Book of Acts. The evident belonging of these documents to the same space of time, and their intimate union with each other, utterly excludes the Apocalypse, as ordinarily interpreted, from any connection with the rest.

Further, the connexion of these twenty books with the writings of the Old Testament is equally close and equally clear. Compare our Lord's declarations (John v. 39, 46; Luke xxiv. 26, 44, 46), the words of the disciples (John i. 45), of St. Peter (Acts iii. 14), of St. Stephen (Acts vii. 52), of St. Paul (Acts xiii. 27, and Acts xxiv. 14) with Deut. xviii. 10; Isa. lx. to lxvi.: Jer. xxiii., Joel, Micah, Obadiah, and Zechariah.

In agreement with the declaration of the angel (Luke i. 33), "He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever," Zechariah recognized in the child Jesus the "horn of salvation in the house of David" (i. 69), and Simeon (Luke ii. 32) as "He who was to enlighten the Gentiles, and be the glory of his people Israel." The fact that many in Jerusalem "waited for" "redemption in," and "the consolation of, Israel" (Luke ii. 25, 38; Mark xv. 43; Luke xxiii. 51); that the Samaritans looked for the Messiah (John iv. 25), and that the people were held in suspense (John x. 24) whether He were the Christ or not; together with their salutations in Jerusalem; shew that the traditions of the nation were in accordance with what we read in the sacred books.

Again, the facts in the gospels and the epistles shew the fulfilment of predictions in the Book of Daniel. Between A.D. 1 and A.D. 33, the seven heptads, or forty-nine years had long passed, for prophecy had ceased B.C. 409. Not only so, but also the sixty-two heptads, at the close of which, transgression was to be restrained; an end put to the sin-offerings; reconciliation made for iniquity (Isa. liii. 10), and everlasting righteousness brought in (Dan. ix. 25; Jer. xxiii. 5; Heb. ix. 12; Rev. xiv. 6), were drawing to an end; and, precisely at this juncture, John the Baptist appeared, proclaiming that the kingdom of the heavens was "at hand;" that the kingdom which was not to be transferred like the other kingdoms (Dan. ii. 44) was about to be set up; and that He was about to come, "whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and whose kingdom shall not be destroyed" (Dan. vii. 14).

During the interval of time covered by the books of the Gospels, the Acts and the Epistles, the stone which was cut out of a mountain without hands, became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth (Dan. ii. 35); "the mountain of the Lord's

house was established on the top of the hills, and all nations flowed unto it" (Isa. ii. 2); the prophecies contained in Isaiah lx.—lxii., in Jeremiah xxiii. 1—7, began to be fulfilled; and the Jews, affirming that by them alone was the Lord rightly worshipped, "cast out their brethren as evil" (Isa. lxvi. 5; John ix. 34; xvi. 2; 1 Thess. ii. 15); the foundations of the temple predicted by Ezekiel were laid, the structure began to be erected, and the healing waters to cleanse all lands; and all the predictions of the prophets to find their accomplishment; so that there arose an intimate relationship between the Old Testament and the New, as close and complete as that subsisting between the several parts of the New with each other; every part of both portions of revelation mutually depending, entwining, corresponding and fitting in, and being adapted in a wondrous manner to the rest, and the whole established on a basis of historic truth, as undoubted as the existence of the human race.

But, while these mentioned, and others of a kindred character, have been fulfilled, there is a class of prophecies of the fulfilment of which, according to commonly received views, the volume says nothing,—prophecies uttered by our Lord Himself (Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii.; Luke xxi.), viz., that in Jerusalem,—the scene and centre of almost every event in the Old Testament, where David sang, Solomon reigned, which his successors alternately polluted and cleansed, which Nebuchadnezzar burned, Jeremiah lamented, and Nehemiah rebuilt,—there should not be "left one stone upon another that should not be thrown down" (Matt. xxiv. 2).

It does not appear from the book of Acts or the epistles, that the destruction of the Jewish state and polity formed a *prominent* part of the teaching of the apostles, but that it was an integral part of Christianity is unquestionable. In A.D. 52, about twenty years after the resurrection, St. Paul, affirmed it (1 Thess. ii. 16); St. James also (A.D. 58) foresaw the approaching destruction of Jerusalem (chap. v. 7, 8, compared with Matt. xvi. 28; xxiv. 32); and St. Paul ten years later (A.D. 62) contemplated the speedy cessation of the daily sacrifice (Heb. viii. 13); and five years later (A.D. 67), St. Peter, when he was about 70, regarded the destruction as close at hand; and the same year is called by St. John (1 John ii. 18), "the last hour."

That the old covenant was to be superseded by another, was predicted by Jeremiah (chap. xxiii. 1—8), and seems to be the subject of the prophecies of Isaiah (chap. lxiii.—lxvi.), and of portions of Joel, Obadiah, and Zechariah. But the clearest of all these predictions is that of the prophet Daniel (chap. viii. 24). He declares that the Jews should "be no more his people" (see

mar. ver. 26), and that the "Prince's future people (*i. e.*, the Romans) should destroy the city and temple" (Dan. viii. 25, 26); and so it took place: "The Lord came with fire, and his chariots like a whirlwind; and rendered his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire" (Isa. lxvi. 15); and it came to pass on that generation (in A.D. 67—70) that their worm did not die, neither was their fire quenched; and they became an abhorring to all flesh (Isa. lxvi. 24).

If we turn to the New Testament we shall find something exactly parallel.

... "Waiting for the coming (revealing) of the Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. i. 7).

"When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven" (2 Thess. i. 7).

"At the appearing of Jesus Christ" (1 Peter i. 7).

"When his glory shall be revealed" (1 Peter iv. 13).

"The revelation of Jesus Christ" (Rev. i. 1).

"They that are Christ's, at his coming" (1 Cor. xv. 23).

"In the presence of the Lord Jesus Christ at his coming" (1 Thess. ii. 19).

"The coming of the Lord Jesus Christ with all his (angels)" (1 Thess. iii. 19).

"We which are alive, and remain unto the coming of the Lord" (1 Thess. iv. 15).

"Blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Thess. v. 23).

"By (or concerning) the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Thess. ii. 1).

"Shall destroy with the brightness of his coming" (ii. 8).

"Be patient therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord" (James v. 7).

... "The coming of the Lord draweth nigh" (ver. 8).

"The power and coming of the Lord Jesus Christ (2 Peter i. 16).

"Where is the promise of his coming?" (chap. iii. 4).

"Not be ashamed before him at his coming" (1 John i. 28).

Thus the apostles expected this "coming" before that generation had passed away (Matt. xxix. 34; Mark xiii. 30; Luke xxii. 32), St. Paul earnestly desiring (2 Cor. v. 2, 3) that the "coming of the Lord" might overtake him in this life.

Can it be considered then as at all probable that the divine volume of inspiration should contain nothing shewing that these declarations and expectations were fulfilled? The Christians of that age had been kept in a state of painful suspense for about forty years, because there was no intimation in the prophecy

of Daniel that the "one heptad" should be separated by an interval of forty years—the forty years during which the Lord bore with that generation (Heb. iv. 1—11), as He had formerly with their fathers in the wilderness. (That there was to be some interval, is stated by our Lord; "this gospel of the kingdom shall first be proclaimed among all nations, and *then* shall the end come," Matt. xvi. 28); but their suspense came to an end, and as their redemption drew nigh, they looked up and lifted up their heads (Luke xxii. 28). Was there then no authoritative declaration of the fact that there was, at the appointed time, "great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people;" that they "fell by the edge of the sword," were "led away captive into all nations;" and that "Jerusalem was trodden down of the Gentiles" (Luke xxii. 23, 24)? What! if the book, which seems to have no connexion with St. Peter and St. Paul, should be an inspired utterance of the events of the "day" of the Lord (Rev. i. 10).

To this conclusion we are irresistibly drawn by the facts of the case; and, after what has been adduced, no other is admissible: and this is the view taken by the Rev. P. S. Desprez, in his work on the Apocalypse;^a—a work of extraordinary merit, the most original, thorough, and eloquent exposition of the Apocalypse in this or any other language. Grotius, Dr. Hammond, and Bishop Pearce, have, we suppose, as well as the writings of Dr. Samuel Lee and Professor Moses Stuart, furnished the hints which are in this volume expanded into a series of eighteen lectures, of great force, clearness, and beauty; and with a warmth, grace, earnestness, and power at once admirable and convincing; and, whatever difference of opinion there may be, as to particular portions of the book, it cannot be doubted that Mr. Desprez has presented us with the true key to its interpretation generally.

Our endeavour to prepare our readers for the perusal of this instructive volume would not be complete without endeavouring to account for the prevalence of the ordinary interpretation.

It would appear that what *we* regard as the true and *necessary* interpretation of the Apocalypse was, very generally, early lost to the Church; in consequence of which the Book fell into neglect, and in the third and fourth centuries many hesitated to receive it. But the right interpretation seems to have never been wholly absent from the Church. Andreas, Bishop of

^a *The Apocalypse Fulfilled, in the consummation of the Mosaic Economy and the coming of the Son of Man.* By the Rev. P. S. Desprez, B.D., Curate of Emmanuel, Camberwell.

Cæsarea in Cappadocia, in his Commentary, chap. vi. 16, says, "*John received this revelation under the reign of Vespasian;*" and on Rev. vi. 12, "*There are not wanting those who apply this passage to the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus;*" and on Rev. vii. 2, he says, "*Although these things happened in part to Jewish Christians who escaped the evils inflicted on Jerusalem by the Romans, yet they more probably refer to Antichrist.*" Arethas (A.D. 540), successor to Andreas, says, that "*he who gave this revelation to the evangelist declares that those Jews which believed (Acts xxi. 20) should not share the destruction inflicted by the Romans. For the ruin brought by the Romans had not yet fallen upon the Jews when this evangelist received these prophecies.*" Both these writers say that "*others*" had interpreted the Apocalypse as they have done. To some one of these we owe the superscription of the Philoxenian Syriac version of the Apocalypse, made by Polycarp at the beginning of the sixth century, . . . "*which was made to John the evangelist in the isle of Patmos, whither he was banished by the emperor Nero.*"

This is the opinion of Grotius, Schleusner, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Lightfoot, Sir Isaac Newton, and the late Dr. Samuel Lee.

The statement of Epiphanius, quoted by Dr. Lardner, that "*St. John prophesied in the isle of Patmos in the days of Claudius,*" is either a mistake, or he meant Nero, who, according to Suetonius, bore the name of Claudius; and the statement of Irenæus,^b that "*the Apocalypse was seen at the close of the reign of Domitian,*" must be understood either that St. John himself was seen, or that he also means Nero, who, according to Suetonius, bore the name of Domitius Ænobarbus; or it is a mistake of Irenæus, analogous to his mistake^c that "*Christ lived to be near fifty years of age.*" But even if the words of Irenæus could be cleared from their ambiguity, and the similar statements of Clement, of Victorinus, and of Jerome, could be proved not to be derived from him, this would avail nothing toward establishing the Domitianic date of the book, against the internal evidence in favour of the Neronic. His statement has misled commentators in their attempts to explain the book, but the book itself refuses to be so explained.

The remains of ecclesiastical literature on the Apocalypse are very scanty, consisting of the fragments of about twenty authors. There is nothing whatever in them to shew that they understood the language and figures of the book. The ritual of Judaism ceased to be observed after the destruction of the temple A.D. 70, and allusions to it soon became unintelligible. But no book is

^b Euseb., *Ecc. Hist.*, iii., 18.

^c *Con. Hær.*, v., 26.

so full of this as the Apocalypse; and it is absolutely incredible that predictions of events in European history should be clothed in the language of Levitical ceremonies, the use of which had utterly passed away; while nothing could be more appropriate in a book, speaking "*of the breaking up of a dispensation;—the close of a religion which for two thousand years was the only religion vouchsafed to man—a religion established by miracles and a thousand manifestations of the Lord.*"⁴

The first eleven chapters of the Apocalypse are evidently the composition of one perfectly familiar with the ceremonies of the Jewish Church. The Person who is seen in the sanctuary (chap. i. 10; comp. Dan. x. 15) is clothed in the vesture of the priests, whose garments reached down to the foot; He has the linen mitre (ver. 14), He is girded under the breasts with a girdle of the purest white. The inferior priests wore a white garment in their daily ministrations; but the white robe of the high priest was appropriated to the services of the great day of atonement. None but a priest could, without breach of the law, enter into the sanctuary where the candlestick was placed; none but the high priest could put on this superior mitre and girdle; and to him it was permitted only on one solemn day in each year. This was such a day; on all others, the courts were filled with priests, Levites, and suppliants; but St. John saw Him alone: the divine radiance resting on Him, as a high priest, with naked feet (ver. 15), just come out from the most holy place (comp. Lev. xvi. 4).

On this day, the offices of the high priest were many, laborious and awful; and he was careful to observe all the preparatory appointments to approaching the residence of God's visible glory.

When he had slain the stated sacrifices, he proceeded to burn the incense in the most holy place, and to sprinkle the blood between the cherubim. The atonement made (comp. Rev. i. 18), he gave notice by sound of the silver trumpet to the priests and people without (Rev. iv. 1), who then took their places. The ceremonies proper to the scape-goat, the burning of sacrifice, the confession of sin, and other duties peculiar to the day, followed in their order. The service was concluded by a solemn blessing.

The "seven stars" (Rev. i. 16) correspond to the seven lamps of the candlestick. It was placed by Moses (Exod. xl. 21) on the south side of the sanctuary. The high priest coming out of the most holy place, and facing the east, the seven lamps ap-

⁴ Desprez, p. 159.

peared to be in his right hand (chap. i. 16); looking N.W., he seemed to be "in the midst" (ver. 13), and also to have them "in his right hand" (ver. 16).

The "door" (chap. iv. 1) had respect to the temple, in the opening of the gates and the drawing up of the vails, and especially to the raising of the second vail for the admission of the ark. The "voice" is that of the high priest. The "throne" (ver. 2) was the mercy-seat (Eze. i. 27), and the "lightnings, thunderings, and voices" (ver. 5) correspond to the manifestations of the divine presence (Exod. xl. 35; 1 Kings viii. 11); the "twenty-four elders" to the heads of the twenty-four courses. Compare "seven" lamps (ver. 5), "seven spirits" (ver. 5), with "seven angels" (viii. 5). The "sea of glass" (ver. 6) answered to the brasen sea, and the four living creatures, each with six wings (comp. Is. vi. 1; Eze. i. 26), to the two cherubim shadowing the mercy-seat; St. John saw no ark of the covenant, nor altar, because our Lord Himself is at once the covenant and the sacrifice. The song of the twenty-four elders (ver. 9) corresponds to the anthems of the Levites (Exod. xl.) The taking of the prophetic volume in chapter v., corresponded to the office of the high priest, in consulting it, and receiving responses; the "harps" (ver. 8) to the musical instruments of the Levites; the four angels (vii. 1) to the keepers of the four gates of the temple; the other angel (ver. 2) to the high priest entering by the east gate, prepared for the offices of the day.

The first day of the feast of tabernacles was celebrated by a general procession of the tribes bearing green boughs (Lev. xxiii. 40). The first column entered the courts, shouting Hosanna, made the compass of the great altar, waving their boughs, and retired by the opposite gate. Having embraced the atonement on the tenth day, the persons in the vision were sealed as the property of God on the fifteenth (comp. Ephe. i. 13). Those sealed few from the tribes of Israel could be numbered (Rev. vii. 4), but the numbers of the others could not be expressed.

In chap. viii. 1, the high priest is seen to approach the great altar, having a golden censer in his hand, where, receiving the quantity of incense proper to the occasion, he bore it with fire taken from the altar into the holy place. So soon as the people saw the smoke issue from the sanctuary, they fell prostrate in prayer (comp. Rev. viii. 1—4; Luke i. 9, 10).

The casting fire into the earth (land) (Rev. viii. 5) corresponds to the high priest coming from the sanctuary to the altar, taking fire from thence, and giving it to the attendant Levites to kindle the wood, prepared without the gates of the temple, for

burning the sin-offering proper to the second day of the feast of tabernacles.

The sounding of the first angel (chap. viii. 7) corresponds to that time of the morning service when the sacrifice was prepared for the fire, over which the officiating priest was commanded to sound the silver trumpet (see Lev. xxiii. 36). The scene in chap. xi. corresponds to the high priest coming out from the holy place, taking from thence the book of the Law, and reading it to the people. The cloud reflected light (ver. 1) on to the pontifical habit of blue, purple, and scarlet. A portion of the Law was read every weekly sabbath; on this day (the 8th), the last section for the year gone out, was read by the high priest, and then immediately he began the first section for the year come in, that the reading of the Law might make the circle of the year, without breach or pause, beginning from the point where it ended. The last section began with the thirty-third chapter of Deuteronomy; the first with the first of Genesis. The year gone out concluded with the blessing pronounced by Moses on the sons of Israel; the year come in opened with the record of God the Creator. This significant ending and beginning was named "the feast of joy of the law" (comp. chap. xi. 15—17). He was obliged to read in his loudest voice so as to be heard; the trumpet ceased to sound; the sacrifice was laid upon the fire; and the sections were read while it was consuming. Acclamations of Hosannah followed, together with songs of thanksgiving, accompanied by trumpets and various musical instruments.

The regulation of the temple service required the daily attendance of seven priests in the courts, though but one ministered. To these the seven angels who bore the trumpets correspond.

The high priest having read the stated sections, and joined in the anthems of praise, the service of the temple ended for the day: the obligation of the feast was performed; they were at liberty to break up their booths, and return to their dwellings.

With the services of the morrow, when the "seventh angel shall begin to sound," the dedication of the new temple was to be finished. On the fourteenth and last day of the feast of tabernacles, the sanctification of the temple was completed, it was rendered fit for the prescribed forms of service, and all things were prepared for solemn, continual, universal worship (comp. xi. 19). The temple is now opened to all the sons of men, the mountain of the Lord's house is established on the top of the mountains, and all nations flow unto it.

Is it possible to resist the conclusion, that, in these eleven chapters of the Apocalypse, the subject is the Jewish and

Christian Churches, and not events in political and material Christendom? It is perfectly incredible that pictures full of allusions to the Jewish ceremonial service, can have been intended by St. John to set forth the history of Mohammed or the Pope; when the book itself affirms that it refers solely to things which were "shortly to come to pass." "Our Lord appears," says Mr. Desprez (p. 36), "to St. John, and directs him to tell the churches that He is about to come immediately, and then details the object and nature of his coming: this is the key to the whole book." "The grandeur of the Apocalyptic symbols (p. 159) is not overstrained. The coming of Christ, the gathering of the elect, and the desolation of the once-favoured people, is a theme worthy of its magnificent descriptions: the subject is the grandest which has rolled along the stream of time (Josephus, *Preface*); and the evidence of its truth, is the Jew as he is at this day,—a never-dying witness that his temple, his city, his nation, his religion, have perished, never to be restored." "The true tabernacle" (p. 237) will yet be thronged by spiritual worshippers, and its altar will abound with the spiritual sacrifices of the Israel of God; but the earthly tabernacle, "the pattern of things in the heavens," shall never be rebuilt. "It is," says Mr. Desprez (p. 206), "a thoroughly ascertained and most deplorable reality, that no small portion of the aggregate of our fellow-Christians are taking it for granted, that in giving ear to visionary conjectures respecting a personal reign of Christ on earth, and the splendours of a millennial paradise, they are being instructed in the things which belong to their everlasting peace."

"Nothing can be more evident (p. 429) than that our Lord's disciples implicitly believed the declarations which He had made respecting his advent during the life-time of their then existing generation. . . . They never dreamed of thousands of years intervening between his first and second coming, . . . never spoke of this coming, in connexion with the return of the Jews to their own land, . . . or of a personal reign of Christ on earth, but with the destruction of the Jewish people;" and this took place (p. 305), "not only Jerusalem and the temple, but the dispensation became a wreck; and upon this wreck, arose that superb, that everlasting kingdom, stretching away from land to land, and from sea to sea, which, like the light and air, is to infold all nations in its universal embrace, and to cover all nations with its ever-increasing shade. No end, no diminution of its glory, no curtailment, no lessening of its grandeur, awaits that kingdom,—no new kingdom shall arise on its everlasting foundations." "It will be for those," says Mr. Desprez (p. 355),

"who examine this volume, to say how far it is a correct interpretation of the book; it clings from first to last to the great truth, revealed in the preface, and at the close of the Apocalypse, that **THE PROPHECY RELATES TO IMMEDIATE EVENTS**: and therefore it does not look in the distant future for the accomplishment of that which the Spirit of God declared must shortly come to pass." "A more momentous subject," says Mr. Desprez (p. 398), [than the true character of the second coming] "both in itself and in its consequences, does not exist in the whole range of theology. If [the views here advanced are] true, the belief in an advent yet to take place must be erroneous; if false, they ought to be refuted, and their incompatibility with the general tenor of God's holy Word demonstrated. If true [the views advocated] ought not to be held in silence; if false, no punishment is too great for so daring an innovation. If Christ has come the second time, He cannot come again; and if his kingdom is now set up, it is folly to look for the establishment of another."

N.

ARIOCH AND BELSHAZZAR.

1. It will doubtless appear strange that we should combine in the title of our paper the names of one of the earliest and of the very latest kings of Chaldea who are mentioned in the Bible. Our reason for doing so is, that we believe both names to be recorded in the same cuneatic inscription; the one, as that of the original builder of the temple which the author of the inscription restored; the other, as that of the eldest son of the author of the inscription, for whom he addresses a prayer to the god of the temple. With respect to the latter of the two names we believe there is no difference of opinion; but we have a good deal to say, which will be new to most of our readers, respecting him and the other kings who followed Nebuchadnezzar. In identifying the builder of the temple with Arioch we suspect that we stand alone, though it is several years since we first announced this identification.

2. The inscription in which we find the two names is that on the cylinders of Nabonadius, brought from the temple of *Shin*, at Mugheir, and now in the British Museum. We will begin with explaining the mode in which we represent proper names and words found in cuneatic characters. If we have occasion to use a name which occurs in the English Bible, or which is a

transcription of a Greek name occurring in Ptolemy's canon, Herodotus or Josephus, or which is now in use among the inhabitants of the country, we use the ordinary Roman character; as in the instances of Belshazzar, Nabonadius, Mugheir. On the other hand, we use italics where we represent words or syllables found in cuneatic characters. When the value of each character has to be given separately, we interpose dots; but in general we prefer representing entire words. Of the twenty-two Hebrew letters, we represent fourteen by the ordinary letters *b, g, d, v, z, y, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, and t*. For the other eight we use combinations of *h*; and, in order to guard against the possibility of mistake, this letter is never used alone, and always follows the letter or sign with which it is combined. The eight combinations, arranged in the order of the Hebrew alphabet, are '*h, 'h, kh, dh, sh, nh, zh, and gh*. Thus, the name given above, *Shin*, will be understood to represent *ש*, the first element in the name of Sennacherib. If a portion of a word only be in italics, and the remaining letter or letters be Roman, it is to be understood that an uncertainty exists in our judgment as to the Hebrew letter which is so represented. For the sake of brevity, we use at the beginning of words *a, i, and u*, for '*ha, yi, and vu*. The nunnation which is sometimes met with at the end of nouns is expressed by — over the final vowel. We desire that this mode of transliterating the Semitic alphabet should be considered as purely conventional. It by no means represents our own views as to the proper pronunciation of the letters; but it seems to us a better mode of supplying representatives for those letters which have no English equivalents than the introduction of new characters, or the application of diacritical points to the old ones.

3. Having made these preliminary remarks, we proceed to consider the royal names which occur in the inscription, which will be found in plate 68 of the collection of cuneatic inscriptions, recently published by the Trustees of the British Museum. The first line contains the name of the author of the inscription, who is called by Ptolemy, in his canon, Nabonadius; by Josephus, in the fragment of Berosus which he cites, Nabonnedus; and by Herodotus, Labynetus. In the Persic cuneiform inscription, at Behistun, the name is *Nabunita*. In the so-called Scythic version it is *Nabbunida*; there being, however, in this writing no mode of distinguishing between *d* and *t* in the last syllable. The name will be found written in Babylonian characters at full length in the first line of the short inscriptions of plate 68, numbered 3 and 4. It consists of two elements, *Nabi'hū-na'hid*, "Nebo is glorious."

4. The two elements of which the name, as thus written, is composed, are both written in strict conformity with Assyrian etymology. The root of the first element is 𐎶 *enunciavit*. It is the regular *nomen agentis*, not in construction, as this form is generally found, but with the case-ending of the nominative, and with the nunation added, because it is used definitely. It signifies "the proclaimer," and this Babylonian deity has always been identified with "the herald Mercury." Although, however, the etymological spelling of the name of this god is always preserved, when a name of a totally different origin is not substituted for it, we have good reason to think that it was not thus pronounced. It appears from Assyrian tablets in the British Museum, that the contracted form *Nabu* was in general use.* Of this contracted form the Biblical Nebo is as close a representative as we could expect to meet with. It is also what the first part of the transcriptions given in § 3 was intended to represent. The liquids *l*, *n*, and *r*, were very apt to be confounded by the Assyrians and Babylonians; and in comparing their language with the other Semitic languages, frequent instances will be met with in which one of these letters is used in Assyrian, and a different one in Hebrew or Aramaic. Thus, *Laby* represents *Nabu*.

5. The second element in the name is *na'hid*, the third person singular of the root 𐎶 in the tense which we have called the continuative, used when a permanent state or condition has to be expressed, while the tenses with preformatives denote transient action. It seems at first as if the third person of the continuative was identical in form with the masculine singular of the *nomen agentis*. The form of each is *pakil*, using the typical root 𐎶 . There is, however, a material difference between the two forms. In the *nomen agentis* both vowels are protracted, and therefore immutable. It answers to the Hebrew נָהַד , and the corresponding Arabic form would be نَاحِل . The *i* is retained

through all the changes of termination of which the noun admits, and the *a* keeps its place, whatever be the letters of the root. In the continuative, on the contrary, neither vowel is immutable; and therefore we may presume that neither is protracted. In the declension of the continuative the forms of the third person singular feminine, *paklat*, of the third person plural, masculine and feminine, *paklu* and *pakla*, and of the first person singular, *paklaku*, all drop the *i*; and when the first radical is

* Sir H. Rawlinson in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xviii., p. 27.

, the *a* at the beginning disappears. The root 𐎶 gives *uzhbaku*, "I remain stationary." The *nomen agentis* of this verb would be *vazhib*, the first syllable being expressed by 𐎶. The usual value of this character is *a* or '*ha*', but it appears to represent also *nha*, *ya*, and *va*, unless indeed we can suppose that *a*, that is, '*ha*', was substituted for the two latter combinations. We always, it will be observed, express 𐎶 by *v*; but at the beginning of a word, or between two vowels, we suppose it to have been pronounced as our *w*.

6. Having treated fully of this king's name, as expressed in what may be called the Semitic manner, we proceed to consider the variations of it which are met with in different inscriptions. These respect both elements. As to the first element, the name of the god is most frequently written *Ak*. This we take to have been his proper name, for which the Assyrian noun, denoting his peculiar office, or rather a contracted form of this noun, was usually substituted. It has also been supposed that he was called *Pa*; but this we consider to be a mistake. We suppose that in the group 𐎶𐎶𐎶 the first character is not a determinative (as it is when prefixed to *Nabu* and *Ak*), but a portion of the name, or rather title. We read *An pa*; and suppose these to be two words of the Accadian or old Chaldean language, signifying "the god of power, or authority," just as *gis pa* is "the wood of power, or authority," that is, "the sceptre."

7. For the latter part of the name, there are also two equivalents in use. One of these will be found in line 19 of the second column of our present inscription, and also in the Behistun Babylonian inscription. It is the character which ordinarily represents *i*. The fact is certain that this represents *na'hid*; and the reason why it does so we must suppose to be that this syllable, or some other syllable as yet unknown, which the character also represented, signified "is glorious" in the Accadian language.

8. The other equivalent for *na'hid* is found, among other places, in the first line of this inscription. It consists of the two Accadian words *iv tuk*, which signify "has glory," the former of the two words being the noun. Both these Accadian words are met with in other contexts. The former occurs in the agglutinated adjective *iv-ga*, "glorious" (glory-full), which is interchanged with *na'hdu* as an epithet of *rubu*, "prince;" and is analogous to *kal-ga*, "powerful," where the Accadian and English elements exactly correspond. The latter element appears in the standard inscription at Nimrûd, pl. 1, l. 2, where we have this passage, "who, in dependence on Assur his lord, went forth

repeatedly, and among the kings of the four regions *sanin la'ha* (*tuk*) '*hu*—had not a rival, or adversary." At first sight, this passage does not seem to have any bearing on what we adduce it as proving; but a little explanation will make the matter clear.

9. The first word in this clause is a *nomen agentis* in the accusative indefinite, which is the same form that is used in construction. If a definite adversary were spoken of we should have had *saninā*; and this might have been used without the nunnation for the indefinite form. Thus, we have in the following line, where the construction is parallel, *makhira*. The two verbal nouns are nearly synonymous. The primary sense of the root *mw* seems to us to be "face." As a noun, it signifies "presence;" as a preposition, "before;" and as a verb, either "to confront," as in battle (cf. 2 Kings xiv. 8), or, more frequently, "to receive personally" a tribute, or present. *pw* we are disposed to connect with *sin*, "a tooth." Its primary meaning as a verb would then be "to meet in opposition," as the teeth of the upper and lower jaws do. However this may be, the meaning of the root is completely established by a passage on the Tiglath Pileser cylinder, col. i., 55, where the king says, "With a sixty of kings *altanan*—I contended, and imposed upon them tribute," etc. The verb here used is from the root *pw* in the form *aptakal*; *st* being, as a general rule, changed by the Assyrians either into *lt* or into *sh*. In our paper on the Assyrian verbs,^b we considered this form to be a tense of the conjugation *kal*, which we called the second aorist. We now think that it is the first aorist of a new conjugation, which properly denotes iteration of the action expressed by the verb in *kal*. The difference between this form and that of the aorist of *kal* is, however, in many instances scarcely, if at all, sensible. In the present instance, to contend in war implies repeated opposition, and the frequentative of *kal* is therefore properly used. We may here remark that not only the first but the second, third and fifth conjugations admit frequentatives, formed in a similar manner by the addition of a dental to the root or to the preformative. We need scarcely observe that *la'ha*, often contracted to *la*, is the negative adverb, used when a negative assertion is made absolutely.



10. But it is for the sake of the verb which terminates this sentence that we have adduced it. In the variants of the standard inscription *isu'hu* is substituted for (*tuk*)'*hu*; and this form is also used in the Tiglath Pileser inscription, i., 44. In all these instances, the verb is in the third person singular, the

^b *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Vol. III., p. 152, etc.

nominative being a relative pronoun, through the influence of which *u* is added to the root. On the other hand, in this last inscription, i., 58, where the king speaks of his actions in the first person, we have *makhira* (in a variant, *sanina*) *la'ha isa'haku* —“an adversary I have not.” From this last form it is evident that *i* is not a preformative of the third person. It represents the first radical yod. As in a verb in 'w we had *uzhbaku*, the *pa* of the first syllable becoming *u*, so here we have it becoming *i* in a verb in 'v. Our present verb is, however, doubly imperfect. It is defective in 'n as well as in "v. Now it is characteristic of verbs of this sort that a short vowel before the last radical is assimilated to a vowel that may follow it. In regular verbs this would not be the case; it would either be retained or dropped altogether. Thus from the simple third person masculine singular *pakil*, we should have after a relative *pakilu*, and in the first person singular *paklaku*. In verbs in "n the *i* is assimilated in the two last instances; we should have *isi'h*, *isu'hu*, *isa'haku*.

11. The Assyrian root signifying “to have” is thus w; and the Accadian root *tuk* has this same sense. This follows from the equivalence of *isu'hu* and *tuk.hu*, according to a law which we discovered in 1854. In *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, for October, 1855,^c we explained it in these words. We make no change except in omitting certain numbers by which we designated characters; substituting for them either the characters themselves or their phonetic values. “We may as well digress here to explain the nature of these monograms which occur pretty frequently in the inscriptions from the north-west palace at Nimrûd, and occasionally in others. A certain character, which had for the most part one or more syllabic values, represented also a root. It was sometimes used for it alone, but a character was often added to it for the purpose of indicating the tense or other form of the root. To give one example out of many, 𐎶 in addition to its syllabic values, represented the root w. If *ud* were added to it, it was to be read as some form of the aorist in *kal*, which the context would define. If *ad* were added, it was to be read *aktashad*, or some form of that tense or of the present. If *ti*, or, as we believe, *tu* were added, it was to be read as *kishitti* or *kishittu*. The former of these two words is certainly to be read as we have written it; for it is so transcribed in inscriptions to the same purport; it means “acquisitions.” The latter means “mines,” being followed by the words for “silver” and “salt” (Obel., 106, 107), and this may very well be the same word. Some of these monograms, we must

^c Vol. II., p. 155.

add, express two words. It is expressly stated in the tablet that we have been quoting that  denotes both $\text{p}\omega$ and $\text{ṭ}\omega$; (*gar*)*nu* is indeed interchanged with *shaknu* in different copies of the same inscription, as is (*gar*)*un* with *ishkunu*." A year and a quarter before we wrote this, in a manuscript which we delivered to the Trustees of the British Museum, and which will be found numbered 22,097 in the catalogue of additional manuscripts, vol. ii., p. 1, we transcribed  (in line 47 of p. 18, in the British Museum Inscriptions lately published), literally (*gar*)*nu* (*kur*)*ud*, by *shaknu*, *akshud*; and so in other instances. At this time, we expressed ω by *sh* and ν by *s*; the reverse of what we now do. It appears from this that the discovery of the nature of phonetic complements to the characters which represent roots, as well as of the fact that there are characters which represent roots were made by us. We do not claim the discovery that the syllabic values of the characters which represented the roots were the equivalent roots in the Accadian or old Chaldean language. This we believe to have been made by Sir H. Rawlinson. All these discoveries are, however, claimed by Dr. Oppert, though the first paper of his which contains any reference to them is not dated till December 4th, 1855, and was not published for several months after. Indeed, Dr. Oppert is so far from having perceived the nature of *tuk* as an Accadian or (as he terms it) Casdo-Scythic root, to which '*hu* was appended as a complement, that he has converted the two Accadian words *iv*, *tuk*, *gloriam habet*, into an imaginary Semitic word "*im-touk*;" that is, *imtugh*, "*is sweet*." He supposes that Nabouimtouk reigned during the last revolt of the Babylonians from Darius, between 508 and 488 B.C. This, however, is in plain opposition to the testimony of Herodotus, who places the conquest of Babylon before the expedition of Darius to Scythia, which preceded by many years the first expedition against Greece. This last was in 494 B.C.; and yet these are dates of the sixteenth year of the supposed *Nabouimtouk*. The king to whose reign these dates belong may not have been *Nabu-na'hid*, the last king of Babylon, the author of our present inscription; but that he lived not later than he, and that he bore the name of *Nabuna'hid* are facts which appear to us to be perfectly established. We will return to this subject in § 26.

12. We now proceed to consider the names which occur on the cylinders from Mugheir, beginning with that of the king's son. This consists of three characters, exclusive of two determinatives which are not sounded, with which the name commences. It will be found in line 24 of the second column of

the first inscription in page 68. The first determinative is a vertical wedge, which is prefixed to names of men. The second is prefixed to divine names, and it is here combined with the following character into a monogram, as is very often the case when it precedes this and some other characters. This monogram and the two following characters denote as many words. We read them *Binhlu-sar-yuzhur*, which we suppose to signify "Bel has formed a king." Of this name the biblical Belshazzar is an abbreviation.

13. The first name is an appellative, signifying "the lord;" but it was popularly used to designate a particular god; and the name Bel or Baal, as used in the Bible, is its representative. In like manner, *Binhiltu*, "the lady" was a popular designation of a goddess of which Beltis is a representative. Each of these is represented by a character, the syllabic value of which would be the Accadian word for "lord" or "lady." The latter is *nin*; the former we read doubtfully *'hin*. These titles are, however, seldom used alone. A word usually follows denoting that of which this god and goddess were specially the lord and lady. Its syllabic value is *ghit*. In the inscription plate 1, No. 8 of the new British Museum inscriptions, we have at the beginning *Nin-ghit nin-ani*, "The lady of blood (or slaughter) his lady." "His" is expressed in Accadian by the suffix *ni* after a vowel, and *ani* after a consonant.

14. We are inclined to think that *ghiti* was used as an Assyrian genitive, the Accadian noun being adopted by the Semites. If so, the name of this goddess would be in Assyrian *Binhilit-ghiti*, and that of the god *Binhil-ghiti*. If this be the fact, we should certainly connect with it the aorist of the fifth conjugation *'husamghit*, "I caused to bleed to death, that is, "I slaughtered," specially applied to killing with arrows; and also the corresponding infinitive of the sixth conjugation *sumghut*, "the being caused to bleed." It is true that initial *m* is not dropped in forming the derivatives of roots; but the root may be *ṛṇ*, *mgh* being sometimes used for *ngh* or *ghgh*; as in the case of *Nhamgharuna* for *ṛṇṇ*, where the *ṛ* should have dagesh. Whether the first radical be *ṛ* or *ṇ*, there is, we believe, no trace of this root in any other Semitic language; and it is, therefore, the more probable that it was adopted by the Assyrians from their Turanian neighbours.

15. However this may be, we are persuaded that another genitive was used by the Assyrians as a translation of the Accadian *ghit*. On the cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar, the inscription on which was published by Grotefend, col. 2, l. 48, we have *Binhil zharbi* (see p. 65 of the recent British Museum inscrip-

tions), which we take to be the title of the god before us. The root 𐤠𐤫, "to redden," is pretty common in Assyrian inscriptions; it is used in such expressions as "with their blood the waters (or as the case may be) I reddened, *azhrub*." The root is found in Hebrew, and the sense of *redness* suits it fully as well as that of *burning*, which the authorized translators have given it. Some cuneatic translators also have confounded *azhrub* with *asrup*.

16. Instead of *Binhlit zharbi* (or *zhirbi*, which would be equally proper) the goddess of slaughter was called *Zharbanitu* or *Zhirbanitu*. This is the nominative singular feminine of an adjective, the crude form of which would end in *an*, an addition which implies when the derivative is an adjective, "full of," and when it is a substantive, "a collection of." From *zharab* or *zhirib*, "blood," we have *zharban* or *zhirban*, "full of blood, bloody; from *abub*, "ripe corn," we have *abuban*, "a parcel of ripe corn." In the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* (vol. xxiii., Pol. Lit., p. 417), we gave this explanation of the name, leaving it an open question what the primitive noun *zharab* signified. It had previously been supposed that the name consisted of two words, of which the former was *zir* (rather *zirinkh*) "seed," that the title applied to Bel himself, and not to his wife, and that it was in some manner connected with Zoroaster! These fancies, we presume, have been abandoned before this.

17. Hitherto we have been speaking only of the titles of these deities; we must now speak of their names. As *Nabi'hu*, "the proclaimer," had a name *Ak*; so *Binhlu*, "the Lord," or distinctively *Binhil ghiti* or *zharbi*, "the lord of bloodshed," had a name, which we believe to have been *Dagan*. We adopt this name from Dr. Oppert, but we must reject the compound name Bel-Dagou which he gives him as inconsistent with the Assyrian idiom. The name of his wife was *Ri*, which has been identified, and we think with much probability, with the Rhea of the Greeks. We believe this identification is due to Mr. Fox Talbot. She had several other titles also, connected with other of her attributes, and was known as the goddess of Arbela, being thus distinguished from Istar, who was emphatically "the goddess," "the lady," who presided over Nineveh.

18. The second element in the name of Belshazzar is *sar*, "a king." We write the first letter of this name *s*, because it is represented by *ṣ* in this name and in that of Nergal-sharezer. It appears to me that these are more reliable grounds for determining it than the Hebrew spelling of the proper name Sargon. There could be no reason for changing *ṣ* into *š*, and it is exceed-

ingly improbable that such a change should be made accidentally. We have, however, every reason to believe that, after the sound of v had passed from sk (whence the Greek ξ , which represents this Semitic letter both in figure and in its position in the alphabet) to simple s ,—a change which took place a good while before the Babylonish captivity,—some recensor of the spelling of the Hebrew words in the Bible substituted v for v , when the latter was pronounced in the mode which was afterwards indicated by the Masoretic pointing v . Hence arises the v in such proper names as v , v , and v , and in such appellatives of foreign origin as v and v .

19. The third element of the name, which occurs with the syllabic value *sis* in the inscription on Lord Aberdeen's stone, (iv. 22 and 34) must be read *yuzhur*. It is the last element in the names of Nebuchadnezzar and of his father, occurring on many of the Babylonian bricks; while on others of the bricks, and in the great inscription formerly at the India House, it is written with syllabic characters which admit no other reading than the foregoing. Now this word is the third person singular of the verb v regularly formed; and it can come from no other verb of any form, or in any conjugation. The same tense of v , from which Sir H. Rawlinson and Doctor Oppert affirm that it should be deduced, would be *izhzhur*; the imperative of this verb, which some have fancied it to be, would be *nazhir*. The three imperative forms, *pakil*, *napkil*, and *supkil*, belonging to the first, second, and fifth conjugations respectively, are well established, and no other form should be admitted without the strongest evidence.

20. We have next to consider the signification of this last element. Now there is a very simple process of reasoning, which determines it with a very high degree of probability. The word comes from the root v ; consistently with the rules of grammar, it can come from nothing else. The v of other Semitic languages at the beginning of a root is invariably v in Hebrew. Hence the corresponding Hebrew root is v ; and the meaning of this, "to form," makes as good sense as could possibly be desired. The present name would be "Bel has formed a king;" the name Nergal-sharezer would be of like import. It is not a name which would be given to a private individual; but the person of this name who reigned was the son of a king, as appears from his inscription; and we have no reason to suppose that the person of this name mentioned by Jeremiah (xxxix. 3.) was other than the same individual; he is spoken of as first of the princes of the king of Babylon. His father was probably a brother of Nebuchadnezzar whom Nabopolassar admitted to a

share of the kingdom during his life time, but who died before him, when Nebuchadnezzar took his place; and as nephew and son-in-law of the king he would rank next after his own son. The name *Nabu-pal-yuzhur* would be "Nebo has formed a son." This name might be given to a private individual, as this king was till he usurped the government. The meaning of Nebuchadnezzar, *Nabu-kudur-yuzhur*, we suspect to be "Nebo has formed a soldier, or a warrior." The last word, the second element in the Babylonian name, is of doubtful signification; but we see reasons, independent of this name, for assigning it this signification. Upon these, however, we will not now enter.

21. It must be admitted that there is strong presumptive evidence in what we have just adduced, in favour of translating the last character "has formed." We will now consider the counter-evidence in favour of translating it "defend," or "has defended." So far as we are aware, it is comprised in a statement made in a philological tablet in the British Museum, numbered K 110. We have not a facsimile copy of this inscription, but we have notes of its contents; and where there is a doubt we will take the reading that most favours the views of our adversaries. We admit then that the present character stands between a pair of groups, one of which must be read *sis*, and the other *akhu*. The latter is the Assyrian noun for "brother;" the former is its Accadian equivalent, and the syllabic value of the middle character. As to *these* points there can be no question. Under this line is another in which the same character is found between two other groups. Under *sis* is *nhuru*, and under *akhu* is *nazharu*. It seems a fair inference, when we take into account that the form *pakalu* is that of the *nomen actionis*, that the character before us expressed a verb as well as a noun; and if we read *nazharu*, which we *may* do, though the second radical might with equal propriety be taken for 𐎶, we have for the translation "protecting." It would seem most natural to consider the word which is under *sis* as an Accadian verb; but we rather think that it is another Semitic *nomen actionis*, *sis* being in Accadian both verb and noun. The root may be 𐤱, which, judging from the Hebrew, might signify "watching;" but the first consonant is uncertain. It may be any other of the weak letters, 𐤬, 𐤨, 𐤩, or 𐤰; and indeed it is not impossible, though scarcely probable, that we ought to read *samaru*, "guarding."

22. We do not, therefore, deny that the character before us *may* mean "to protect;" but we deny that it does so in a case like the present, where we know that its Semitic value was *yuzhur* from 𐤢𐤆𐤇. The explanations given in the philological tablets are by no means exhaustive. Even if we were sure that

the Semitic equivalents of the Accadian word *sis* were exhausted by the Assyrian noun signifying "brother," and verbs signifying "defending" or "watching;" it would by no means follow that there were not other Accadian words, having different Assyrian equivalents, for which the character might also stand. Supposing that the character properly represented "brother," it might suggest the idea of a rival and adversary, as well as that of a protector. It is probable that there was some ideographic connexion between the Hebrew roots of which the immutable part consists of the letters ש and כ. Gesenius deduces the significative *formavit*, which the root כ most usually has, from *pressit*, its primary signification, which it had in common with ש and כ. We will not attempt to explain the connection of these roots, but we think enough has been said to shew that the arguments which seem to prove that the last character in this word signified "has formed," are by no means set aside by the evidence which tends to shew that the character, being read differently from what it is here, might signify "to guard, or protect."

23. Having now discussed the name of Belshazzar as fully as we think it necessary, we proceed to consider the passage in the inscription in which he is mentioned. He is not styled king there, nor is there anything which implies that he was more than the heir-apparent to the crown. At this time, however, he was probably very young. The evidence that he was king in conjunction with his father exists only in the book of Daniel, the statements in which it enables us to reconcile with those of Berosus, and with the succession in Ptolemy's Canon. We have three facts established by the Cuneatic inscriptions and in accordance with profane history, 1st. Nabonadius, *Nabu-na'hid*, was king of Babylon till the conquest of the city by Cyrus. 2. His eldest son was named Belshazzar, *Binhlu-sar-yuzhur*. 3. The impostors in the time of Darius, who headed the Babylonian revolts, styled themselves Nebuchadnezzar, *Nabu-kudur-yuzhur*, son of *Nabu-na'hid*. This last fact leads by fair inference to two others. 4. Belshazzar, the eldest son of *Nabu-na'hid*, died in so public and notorious a manner, that no impostor could pretend to be he. 5. *Nabu-na'hid*, having called his younger son Nebuchadnezzar, and not being himself a member of the family of that king, was in all probability married to his daughter. An usurper would not be likely to perpetuate the name of a king whose descendants he had dethroned, and with whom he had himself no connexion. The daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, the widow of Neriglissar, would be very likely to be married by *Nabu-na'hid*; and this would explain all the family history, so far as we have it in the inscriptions, and in profane history.

24. *Nabu-na'hid*, on coming to the throne of Babylon, in 556 B.C., married Nitocris, the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, by whom he had at least two sons, the eldest Belshazzar, who died in some notorious manner, at the close of his father's reign or shortly after, and Nebuchadnezzar, a younger son, who survived, or was supposed to have done so. When Cyrus took Babylon, in 539 B.C., *Nabu-na'hid* was in Borsippa, where he submitted to the conqueror, and was allowed to retire to a distant principality. If Herodotus, however, is to be believed, there was a king of Babylon, a son of Nitocris, in the city when it was taken on the day of festivity. Herodotus tells us that the city was taken, but says nothing of the fate of its king. It is true that Herodotus says that the son of Nitocris was named, as his father, Labynetus, evidently a corruption of *Nabuna'hid*; but he makes many mistakes in treating of Babylonian affairs, and he may have erred in this matter of the name without his whole statement being false.

25. In order to reconcile the above statements with what we read in the book of Daniel, we have only to suppose that when his eldest son Belshazzar attained the age of fifteen or sixteen, his father gave him the title of king, and allowed him the use of the palace at Babylon. As his mother was of the blood-royal, while his father was not, and as her eldest son would be considered by many of the Babylonians the legitimate sovereign, it is by no means unlikely that Belshazzar would be acknowledged king as soon as he attained a suitable age. His father may, indeed, have been compelled to admit him to a share in the royal title and to the actual sovereignty of the city. And if so, and if he were notoriously killed at the capture of the city, the fact of none of the impostors having pretended to be *he* is fully accounted for. While, therefore, this inscription does not, as some have represented it to do, directly establish the fact of Belshazzar having been king of Babylon, it certainly, in conjunction with other profane documents, renders this fact an exceedingly probable one,—one, the assumption of which in the narrative in the book of Daniel by no means discredits that narrative.

26. A more serious difficulty occurs in reference to the date in Dan. viii. 1. According to the view here put forward, Belshazzar could not have been more than sixteen years old at the time when Babylon was taken. It is not very probable, though it is certainly possible, that he was given the royal title at the age of thirteen or fourteen. It is much more likely that this took place very shortly before the capture of the city. Besides, if the year 539 B.C. were the third of Belshazzar, the year 541 B.C. must have been his first; and yet Ptolemy, in his canon,

reckons the whole seventeen years which preceded 538 B.C. as years of Nabonadius; and there are also two tablets in the British Museum, which (apparently at least) bear date in the 16th year of *Nabuna'hid*. It seems strange, and it appears to us, we admit, unaccountable, that if Belshazzar were then king, in conjunction with his father, he should not be named with him on these tablets.

27. There are two modes of getting over this difficulty. What at first appeared to us the only one, is to assume that the king in whose sixteenth year these tablets are dated, was not the Nabonadius of the canon, but another king who bore the same name;—in other words, that the Nabopolassar of the canon was also called *Nabuna'hid*. There is something to be said in favour of this interpretation, independently of its removing a biblical difficulty. Herodotus gives the name of Labynetus, which is manifestly *Nabu-nahid*, not only to the king of Babylon who married Nitocris, and to her son, but also to the king who reigned at the close of the war between the Medes and Lydians, and who mediated between them. The works which Herodotus ascribes to Nitocris are, as we are credibly informed, proved by the inscriptions on their bricks to have been executed by *Nabuna'hid*, who must therefore have been the husband of Nitocris, and not her son. He was not son of a king; and if he were not the husband of Nitocris, Nebuchadnezzar must have been so. Nabonadius was not her son by him, and as he did not die till 561 B.C., while Nabonadius came to the throne in 556 B.C., he could not have been her son by any one else. Nitocris was, as we suppose, the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar by a wife of the Egyptian royal family, whom he took when he overran that country, or who was given to him previously. We know from the Egyptian inscriptions that this name was borne by more than one princess of the twenty-sixth dynasty. Herodotus then would have spoken correctly if he meant *Nabuna'hid* by the Labynetus of whom Nitocris was the wife; and it is quite clear that *he* could not have been the Labynetus who reigned at the close of the Medo-Lylian war. Some other more ancient king must consequently have borne this name; and who so likely as Nabopolassar? Being unexpectedly called to the throne, it is more likely that on his accession he should assume a new name than that a king who succeeded his father should have a second name. We are not aware that the name of Nabopolassar, which occurs so frequently in the inscriptions of his son, has been met with in any inscription of his own. If this king had any inscribed monuments, they must bear a different name from that by which he was called by his

son, and by subsequent historians; and the only spare name, if we may so speak, is *Nabuna'hid*. We find it very hard to believe that the tablets in the British Museum, dated in the seventh and sixteenth years of *Nabuna'hid* belong to the same reign as that of the ninth year. The former we attributed in 1854 to the Nabopolassar of the canon, the latter to Nabonadius; and though the reasons which we then adduced were not such as we would now stand by, we still think that the conclusion at which we arrived was correct.

28. The other way of overcoming the difficulty respecting the biblical date of the third year of Belshazzar is to suppose that Belshazzar is a corrupt reading for Nergalshazzar, which would be according to analogy, the biblical mode of writing the name of the king to whom the canon of Ptolemy assigns four years, 559 to 556 B.C. Considering the number of transcriptions which must have intervened between the sacred autograph and our present text, this corruption does not appear impossible; and few will doubt that parallels to it are to be found in the historical books of the Bible. Still we prefer the other mode of accounting for the difficulty, having no faith whatever in the astronomical calculations, which are supposed to indicate that the Lydian war was not terminated till 585 B.C.

29. We have said that the mention of his son Belshazzar in this inscription occurs in a prayer. We will give the material part of it, as transcribed by us and translated. The passage begins in Col. ii., line 21,—

Sunhziba-nni-va 22, *baladhu* ² *yumu rukhghuti* 23,
Save thou me and (as to) posterity, distant days
ana si'hrikti *su'hrkam*; 24, *u sa Binhlū-sar-yuzhur*
to an extending extend thou. Also, as to Belshazzar
25, *ablu* *ri'hstū* 26, *zhit lubbbiya* 27, *pulukhti*
the son, the beginning of the issue of my heart, on the worship
'hilutika ² *rabiti* 28, *lubbū* ¹ *suskin-va* 29, *aya*, etc.
of thy great godhead his heart make to abide, and let not

A few explanatory notes follow. The first syllable of the first word is *su*, nothing more being implied. The form, however, being *supkila* before an affix, the first radical has to be supplied, and the root *sw* "to leave," and in the fifth and sixth conjugation, "to save" and "to be saved," is easily recognized; *ana sunhzub napsa'hatisunu* "for the being saved of their lives," that is, "that their lives might be saved," occurs in the Tiglath Pileser inscription iii. 15, 16; and similar expressions are common (compare § 14). On the same principle that we might supply *nh* in this

word, we supply 'h after *si* and *su* in line 23; but in the latter instance perhaps we ought not to do so; for, while the *nh* is a substantial sound, doubling the consonant before *i*, and thus rendering its elision impossible, the 'h had, at the time when this inscription was written, become a mere nullity, so that the *i* is elided as after a single consonant. In this word, the addition of the augment of regimen, *a*, before the pronominal affix, the duplication of its initial consonant, and the addition of the copulative enclitic *va* to the affix, are all fully explained in our essay on the Assyrian Verb, in the three first volumes of the present series of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*.

30. The twenty-second line offers some difficulties. *Baladhu* is a noun, signifying family or posterity, either properly or through metonymy. As it signifies in Arabic a great house or palace, it is not unlikely that this is its proper signification in Assyrian; but Nebuchadnezzar praying for his successor to Marduk, says, "and may one of my family (*sa baladhiya*) who is well disposed towards thee (*sa nihilika dha'habu*) exercise that glorious pre-eminence," Great Inscription, i., 72; ii., 1, 2. This word is in the nominative singular absolute. The next word begins with a character which represents the sun, and was we believe pronounced *tam*, which would be the Accadian name of that luminary. In Assyrian it is used with the complementary characters *su* and *si*, and should then be pronounced *samsu* and *samsi*; compare § 11. In this word it is often replaced by the syllabic sign for *sam*. The same character is often followed by *um*, *mu*, and *mi*, with the signification "day;" and these must, we think, be read *yum*, *yumu*, and *yumi*; but, as we have never found them written with the syllabic sign for *yu*, this is not absolutely certain; *u*, 'hu, and *yu*, were expressed alike; and thus the first and third persons of the aorist were confounded in those forms where the vowel of the preformative was *u*. Dr. Oppert pretends that this character had the syllabic value *yu*, as well as *ud* and *tam*; but this seems to us inconsistent with the fact just stated; for if so, it would certainly have been used to distinguish the third person singular from the first. We are not aware that it occurs in any word but that for "day," where the syllabic value *yu* would be admissible. *Yumu* is the accusative plural; *rukhguti* is an adjective agreeing with it. *Ru* is written for the first syllable, but we supply *kh*, the root being known to be *pm*.

31. In line 23, we have the gerund, that is the *nomen actionis* with a preposition used along with the verb. This was a common idiom to express intensity of meaning, "extend to an extending," that is, "greatly extend." The infinitive and imperative are

both of the fifth conjugation; the forms being *sipkil* and *supkil*; and *supkul*, as we said before, being the infinitive of the sixth. The root is טן , "to be long;" and the forms are modified by the nature of the first radical, which may be considered to vanish, as it was not sounded (see § 29). Some have derived these words from תן , "to give;" but though the former might come from it, the latter could not, the first vowel in the imperative of *kal* being alway *a*. Besides, "giving" does not admit of degrees; so that the expression, "give for a giving," would be unsuitable. In other inscriptions the number of objects to this verb is considerable. We will quote the corresponding passage in the Birs Nimrūd inscription; and without comment we will give our own reading of it, and the translations of Sir H. Rawlinson, Dr. Oppert, Mr. Fox Talbot, and ourselves. The three last purport to be literal, and it is easy to tell what each word is supposed to signify; but in Sir Henry's, only a few words seem to have been known, or supposed to be known, and the gaps between them are filled up by conjecture. The original will be found in the new collection of Cuneatic Inscriptions, p. 51, No. I., Col. ii., line 20—22; and the three translations other than our own will be found in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xviii., pp. 32, 52, and 42.

	<i>baladhā</i>	<i>da'hira,</i>	<i>sibinh</i>	<i>littūli,</i>	
R.	may it last through the seven ages;				
O.	a race	in distant times,	the sevenfold multiplication of births		
T.	plenty	of years,	an illustrious progeny		
H.	a house (or family)	long-lasting,	abundance of tributes.		
	<i>kun</i>	<i>subti</i> (†)	<i>labar palī</i>	<i>sumghutu</i>	<i>na-</i>
R.	may the stability of my throne,	and the antiquity of my empire,	secure against	stran-	
O.	the solidity of the throne,	the victory of the sword,	the annihilation of re-		
T.	a firm throne	and a prolonged life,	a triumph over fo-		
H.	stedfastness of the throne,	continuance of regnal years	slaughterings of ad-		
	<i>kiri,</i>	<i>kasadā ma'hda</i>	<i>ayabi,</i>	<i>ana si'hrikiti</i>	<i>su'hrkam.</i>
R.	gers,	and triumphant over many	foes,	continue to the	end of time.
O.	bels,	the conquest of the countries of the enemies	for ever	grant me.	
T.	reign nations,	and a great victory over my enemies,	to overflowing	grant thou me.	
H.	versaries,	the copious taking captive of enemies,	to an extending	extend thou.	

32. There is one difficulty connected with the last word in line 23 to which we have not yet adverted; and we own that we cannot clear it up to our satisfaction. Why *su'hrkam*, or (as it ought perhaps to be read) *su'hrkū*, and not *su'hrik*, the regular form of the imperative? Mr. Fox Talbot, and apparently Dr. Oppert, have supposed that this addition implied "to me." If the language of the inscriptions were an Indo-European one, this explanation would be satisfactory; but in a Semitic language, it seems to us inadmissible. Can this *am* be an affix of the third person plural, referring to all the infinitives which precede the verb? If these infinitives or *nomina actionis* had

been in the nominative absolute, this explanation might be admitted, for there is such an affix in Hebrew, and an affix in that case would be required. As, however, the objects of the verb are in the accusative, this does not seem a proper explanation. It seems more likely that the augment *ā* was added to the imperative when great emphasis was intended; and indeed we have met with other instances which seem parallel to this. In the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, i., 69, we have from the root 𐎶𐎵 in the imperative of the third conjugation *surikhimavva* (form *supikkil*, with duplication of the second radical dispensed with on account of the guttural). The *va* at the end is the copulative enclitic "and," connecting this clause with that which follows; but the *a* which precedes it, and which must have been accented from its causing the duplication of the *v*, seems analogous to the augment in *su'hrkam*. Another instance occurs in the next clause, line 61, where we have *subsa'ha*, "cause to exist," from 𐎶𐎵, "to exist," the derivatives of which are pretty common. Here the augment *a* is added, and the preceding vowel assimilated to it (see § 10). As there laid down, the continuative of this verb would be in the third person plural *basu'hu*, which we meet with preceded by the pronoun *mala*, "as many as exist." Dr. Oppert, by a strange misconception, gives it the direct contrary signification.

33. And this leads to the explanation of the form of the imperative of the fifth conjugation, which is rather anomalous. In the third conjugation, the forms of the second person of the aorist, the second person of the imperative and the *nomen agentis* are analogous to each other, and nearly so to the Hebrew. They are *tupa* (or *i*) *kkil*, *supakkil*, *mupakkil*. In Hebrew they would be 𐤈𐤕𐤕, 𐤈𐤕, and 𐤕𐤕; the Assyrian *u* represents :, pronounced as the indistinct vowel, which begins and ends "America;" so does the Arabic *u* also. The preformative *s* of the Assyrian first becomes 'h in Hebrew and Arabic, and the preformative 𐎶 or 'hu is then dropped. In the fifth conjugation, the analogy fails, the forms in Assyrian being *tusapkil* *supkil*, instead of *susapkil*, and *musapkil*. The Hebrew has *tapkil*, 'hapkil, and mapkil, in all which the first syllable is evidently contracted from *te'hap*, 'he'hap, and me'hap. The explanation that we would give of the form *supkil* is this. The original *s* at the commencement of the pronouns of the third person, of the fifth and sixth conjugations, and of the imperative mood of the third and fifth conjugations, always becomes 'h or 'h in Hebrew and Arabic. In Aramaic it is often retained as a conjugational preformative; *tapkil*, for *te'hapkil*, and *tesapkil* being both in use. In Assyrian the *s* is most commonly retained in the aorist; in regular verbs it seldom, if ever, passes

into a breathing; but *yusdhib* and *yudhib* are both used as causatives of the root 𐎶 ; and though we have considered the latter to be an irregular form of the third conjugation, we are by no means sure that we were right in doing so. Dr. Oppert refers this to his conjugative *aphel*, a variant of *shaphel*, our fifth; and the Arabian grammarians take the same view of an analogous form, referring *yubinh* to the fourth conjugation, instead of the second (De Sacy, vol. i., p. 245). Properly, then, *supkil* is the imperative of *aphel*, contracted from *su'h* (or *'h*) *apkil*; but it is used for the regular form of the fifth conjugation, to prevent the concurrence of sibilants in two adjoining syllables, of which neither is radical.

34. Of the two words in line 25 we cannot say that we feel perfect confidence as to how either should be read. The former is the Accadian word for "child," and specially, though not exclusively, son, and we believe it was pronounced *tur*, though the first letter may be some other dental. The corresponding Assyrian word is in the nominative *ablu*; in construction this becomes *bal*, which may also be used for the indefinite accusative, the short initial *a* being dropped. *Ri'hsütü*, if that be the true reading, is a noun in apposition to *ablu*, and in the definite form of the nominative; it certainly cannot be an adjective. Although a definite noun before a genitive may retain its case-ending, it is then generally followed by *sa*; but this is a nicety of grammar which, at the period of decadence when this inscription was written, may have been neglected. We must at present suppose that it was so; though we should very gladly learn that the Accadian root *sak* had some other Assyrian equivalent than *ri'hs*, of which the last radical was *t*, in which case the second word would be an adjective. *Zhit* ought perhaps to be read *zhi'hit*. The root is 𐎶 , and it is the *nomen actionis*, in the feminine in construction. The regular form is *piklit*; and whether *zhit* or *zhi'hit* best represents this, when the first radical disappears, and the second may quiesce, is, it seems to us, a difficult question to decide. "The issue of my heart" is "my own issue," heart being used for self.

35. *Pulukhti* is the genitive case of the verbal noun *pulkhat*, in the definite form; the genitive that follows it is defined by the pronoun *ka*; the noun is *'hilut*, a derivative of *'hil*, "god." These words and the adjective offer no difficulty; they are an indirect regimen of the verb that follows, the direct regimen of which is *lubbis*, "his heart," for *lubbu-su*, which seems plural. The verb *suskin* is the imperative of the fifth conjugation, or its substitute as just explained, from 𐎶 . The copulative enclitic follows, and then *aya*, which may be considered as forming

the deprecativè tense, being used with the aorist precisely as *lu* and *li*, the formatives of the precativè are used. Of the verb which follows, and of the conclusion of the inscription, we confess that we do not know the meaning. The verb we read *irsa'hu*, but the third radical is uncertain. Without the augment it would be *irsi*, but on account of its preceding its regimen the *a* is added. The root can scarcely be anything but *רסא* or *רסח*, and we should conjecture that it signified "to yield;" the noun which follows is perhaps *khidhi'hti*, "sin." A line follows this of which we cannot even conjecture the meaning. We have thought it right to give what information we could as to this portion of the inscription, so as to guard against any misconception. Belshazzar was the eldest son of Nabonadius, and might have been taken into partnership in the kingdom, or on the strength of his birthright as descended from Nebuchadnezzar, he may have reigned as sole king for a few months; but this inscription does not state or imply that he was or did so.

36. We now proceed to consider the name which we suppose to be Arioch. This name is in Hebrew characters *אֲרִיחַ*; and if the word so pointed should be transcribed into Assyrian according to the recognized correspondences of Masoretic and Assyrian vowels, we should have '*Huriyak*. The first person of the aorist of the third conjugation, which begins with *א* in Hebrew, begins with '*hu* in Assyrian. The proper name *אֲרִיחַ* is in Assyrian, with the case ending of the genitive '*Hurardhi*; and, what is more to the point, the Hebrew word for "lion," which consists of the two first syllables of this name, is in the Assyrian nominative '*huru*. Now it admits no question that the name of the king who built the temple of *Shin* at Mugheir, and which is mentioned in line 8 of the first column of the inscription before us, begins with the monogram for "lion," the conventional representation of that animal. In the tablet in the British Museum, numbered K 144, there are four values given to this character, '*huru*, Assyrian; *lig*, Accadian, as we suppose, but connected with the Indo-European forms; *tas*, connected with the Egyptian *tasm*, an animal of the cat kind (as *sus* "a horse" is connected with *sasm*); and *libbu*, which is also Semitic, connected with *לִב*. The king's name in our inscription consists of this word and the name of a god. It must mean "such a god is a lion,"—strong and terrible as a lion; and this would be expressed by '*Huri*, followed by the name of the god. The one thing, therefore, that is needed in order to establish our position is to shew that the god here mentioned was Ak, which we have shewn in § 6 to have been the name of the god who was entitled *Nabi'hu*,

"the proclaimer." If this identification can be established, the identification of the king follows as a matter of course.

37. To establish the identification of the divine names we reason thus. In the Babylonian inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries before Christ, and in those of the Achæmenian kings, the syllable *ak* is expressed by characters which have manifestly a common origin. From the form of the character which follows the star on the bricks of Nebuchadnezzar, and in those of *Nabuna'hid*, numbered 2, 6, and 7 in the sixty-eighth plate of cuneiform inscriptions, all the other Babylonian forms may be deduced; and so can those of the second kind of Achæmenian writing. But, as it appears to us, it is impossible to trace the characters for *ak* which are used in the Assyrian inscriptions of different ages to this same archetype. And yet, as it is generally admitted to have been proved that cuneatic writing had its origin in Chaldea, and that the style of writing used on the Chaldean bricks was the earliest that was used, the Assyrian forms of *ak* must have had an archetype in the style used on these bricks. Now we think it will be obvious to any one who studies the forms of the characters that the character which follows the star in the name of the king, whose bricks are found at Mugheir (plate 1 of the inscriptions) is just such an archetype as is required. The cursive Assyrian forms are easily derived from it; and, while this is the case, the character for *ak* which was used on the later Babylonian bricks is not to be found on these early Chaldean bricks. From this we argue that this character represented *ak*, and that when preceded by the star it denoted the god *Ak*.

38. But there is an obvious objection to this, which it is necessary to remove. If the last character in the king's name on the bricks of the original builder of the temple at Mugheir, denoted *ak*, why did not *Nabuna'hid* substitute for it the Babylonian character for *ak*? Why did he represent it by a character which, though differing from the Assyrian character for *ak*, only by the omission of a single horizontal wedge, is altogether unlike the Babylonian character for it, and which, moreover, has in both Assyrian and Babylonian a different value; being not a syllabic character, but an ideograph, which, joined with *W* "water," expressed "a river, or lake?" It probably denoted "confined;" but so far as we are aware, it is only used in that group, and in this inscription of *Nabuna'hid*. Imaginative persons will easily find reasons why some god should be designated as "the confined god;" but if any god were really so designated, we should find the designation in some other inscrip-

tion. Still it will be objected—can we suppose it possible that *Nabuna'hid*, and the learned men whom he would no doubt have consulted, should not know the proper equivalent in their ordinary mode of writing to the archaic character that they met with on the bricks? It appears to us to be not only possible, but highly probable that they did not know it. Between the time when this temple was first built and the time of its restoration, above a thousand years, at the very lowest computation, must have elapsed. Tradition could not have preserved the name of the original builder for so long a period; and there were no records. Instead of the interval which elapsed being exactly stated, as it was in the Tiglath Pileser inscription, no estimate of its duration is given, but the king clearly intimates that he was completely ignorant of everything but what he learned from the bricks of the original builder and his son. In the fifth line of the first column, he describes the temple “which (he says, line 8—11) *x* king of *y* had made but had not completed, his son *z* completed its *deficiency*” (?) Then in line 12, he begins a parenthetic statement; “By the inscriptions of *x* and his son *z*, I found out that *x* had built this temple but had not completed it, and that *z* his son had completed its deficiency.” Then in line 19, he begins to speak of its decay and of his own restoration of it. From this it is plain that *Nabuna'hid* had no information as to the original builders of the temple, other than what we now possess. In the volume of inscriptions, plates 1 and 2, we have copies of the bricks inscribed with the names of these two kings, and there is no reason to suppose that *Nabuna'hid* had any other data. On the contrary, we have the knowledge of an important fact, of which he was ignorant;—the Assyrian form of the character for *Ak*, which is the clue to the interpretation of the Archaic character on the bricks of the father. In the time of *Nabuna'hid*, the Assyrian empire had been overturned for more than eighty years; the palaces which contained inscriptions in that character on their walls had been overthrown, and the inscriptions were buried in that state, in which they lay for twenty-four centuries and a half, till disinterred by M. Botta and Mr. Layard. It is, therefore, we repeat, highly probable that the most learned men about *Nabuna'hid* should have been mistaken in the reading of these ancient proper names, and that they should have, in copying them into a different character, mistaken the proper equivalents to characters which were no longer in use.

39. We therefore protest against the spelling of the names of these kings in the inscription of *Nabuna'hid* being taken as conclusive evidence of the proper mode of spelling them. We

appeal to the spelling on their own bricks. We appeal to any candid and competent judge to compare the last character in the name of the king who is first mentioned, with the Assyrian form of the character for *ak*, and to say if it be not more evidently the archetype of it than one half of the characters on these ancient bricks are of the forms of the same characters used in the cursive inscriptions. On this ground we rest our conviction that the last element in the name is *Ak*, the god called Nebo; and consequently that the king's name is the Biblical Arioch. Whether he was the same king of that name, who was cotemporary with the patriarch Abraham is another question, which it may be difficult to determine. The names of the Biblical cities of Chaldea have all been identified by Sir Henry Rawlinson with modern sites, and he makes Mugheir to be Ur of the Chaldees. It seems to have been the capital city of Arioch, though his bricks are found elsewhere. We cannot read the Chaldee name of the city; but we do not believe it to be the Biblical Ur. Indeed, we have very little faith in any of the alleged identifications of these cities. Nineveh, Calah, and Babylon must be considered as absolutely determined; but a doubt seems to hang over all the rest. Into the chronological question, raised by the supposed synchronism of the builder of the temple at Mugheir and Abraham, we will not enter. In our judgment, however, it offers no difficulties whatsoever.

E. H.

RECOLLECTIONS, EARLY AND LATE, OF JOSHUA WATSON.

HAVING read attentively Archdeacon Churton's life of Mr. Watson, I can bear testimony to the general truth and accuracy with which he has depicted the character not only of that eminent "surveyor-general" of our Church institutions for more than forty years (1810—1850), but also of the various able and excellent associates with whom he acted.^a There is, however, a little episode in Mr. Watson's life, which, perhaps, no man now living can so well relate as one who became acquainted with

^a There is a slight error (vol. i., p. 174) respecting Mr. James Cumming, who was not "an East Indian Director," but the senior clerk at the Board of Control. He was a man much respected for his sound judgment, and was the editor of a new and revised edition of *Feltham's Resolves*. It fell to him to indoctrinate every new minister who succeeded as president of the Board; and I well remember his telling me he had been engaged that morning in indoctrinating Mr. Canning.

him so long ago as 1811. In that year, I became minister and proprietor of Laura Chapel, Bath, which was then in its zenith of fashionable resort. My predecessor, a very accomplished preacher, had filled it with rank and beauty, and it was the rival of the Octagon in the number of the equipages which on the Sunday contributed to its fashionable audience. Though I had embarked a considerable portion of my property on this "*aura popularis*," I could not rest satisfied with the baubles of "Vanity Fair," and from the first resolved on the dangerous experiment of converting a private chapel into a public workshop. May the reader pardon some disagreeable, but unavoidable, egoisms!

Scarcely had I entered on my duties, ere the contest arose between Bell and Lancaster concerning the British and National System of Popular Education. Though not what is termed "a High Churchman," I felt it my duty to oppose a scheme, from which all distinctive creeds were rejected, and which was exclusively limited to the benefits of secular instruction. Accordingly, I published a discourse, *The Crisis of Religion*, which, to my surprise, was reprinted *verbatim* in the *Morning Post* of the same week. It was done, as I afterwards understood, at the expense of Lord Kenyon, Lord Radstock, and some other influential individuals, who had caught the *Lancasterian* alarm. But its main and lasting personal benefit consisted in introducing me to the friendship of Joshua Watson, who, from that period, I regarded as the model I was bound to emulate.

Though preaching in what had been denominated "an unconsecrated, sash-windowed conventicle," I was immediately welcomed by Archdeacon Daubeny, "the Guide of the Church," by Mr. Spry, and by all the leading clergy and supporters of Church of England principles. Our first effort was to establish a Bath National School, in which, with some difficulty, we succeeded. But it was the greatest desire of my heart to bring "The Christian Knowledge Society" into action on the public mind. Hitherto, it had existed in Bath, as in other parts of the kingdom, only in the form of "district committees," who privately distributed Bibles and Prayer-books and other religious books and tracts amongst the poor. I think the whole number of subscribers in and near Bath then amounted to about eighteen, and that the whole amount of books annually distributed did not exceed the value of £50. After holding counsel with some of the elder members, it was resolved to lay before our next meeting a scheme for developing the latent resources of the society, by throwing it open to *local* members, whose subscriptions were to be employed in the localities of Bath and its neighbourhood. We soon obtained the co-operation of several of the gentry and

the more eminent tradesmen, and we assumed the title of the Bath District Association of the S. P. C. K.

Our proceedings were watched with considerable jealousy at head quarters by many of the older and more timid members. But with Archdeacon Daubeney for our advocate in Bath, and Joshua Watson, Lord Kenyon, etc., in London, we gradually overcame these fears and prejudices. At length, we were summoned to the Board, to give an account of our views and designs. I shall never forget the day of trial. Ushered into a room in Bartlett's Buildings, where the Rev. Dr. Gaskin, the venerable secretary, was arranging his canonicals previously to ascending to the meeting, he received me with much dignified *hauteur*, and said, "Young man, be seated; I understand you have some novelties to propose for our discussion. Remember our motto, '*Stare super vias antiquas.*'" Scarce had I begun to tell him, we sought for no revolutions—we merely wished to enlarge the sphere of the society's operations, when two prelates knocked and entered—I was instantly pushed out like a bag of wool.

The meeting was unusually numerous, and our friends were at their posts. Lord Kenyon, Mr. Watson, and others claimed attention to what had been lately going on at Bath. They vindicated our proceedings, and urged, that though we might have exceeded the usual bounds of a district committee, there was nothing to blame, but rather to commend, in our provincial zeal and activity. I well remember Bishop Blomfield, then Dean of Chester, taking me by the hand after the meeting, and cordially thanking the Bath committee for endeavouring to inspire new life into our "*venerable*" society.

We returned only to devise fresh mischief. It was now discovered, that by keeping the society's books mixed with those of regular booksellers, we gave them no chance of publicity, as the "man of the trade" considered them only as pegs for the sale of his own publications. It was accordingly resolved, that we should engage a detached shop for ourselves, at which all the Society's Bibles, Prayer-books, religious books, and tracts, should be sold to the parent members, the local subscribers, and the public at certain reduced prices. Our great difficulty was to prevail on the Board in London to furnish us with *stock*, on the principle of sale or return. Even this obstacle was soon overcome by the aid of Messrs. Watson and Co., and they sent us down copies, bound and unbound, of all their publications, to the amount of £100. Meanwhile, the list of members to the parent society was rapidly increasing, and such was our success in trade, that, by the end of the first year, we were in possession of all our stock. Some years afterwards, when I quitted Bath,

the members of the parent society had increased to seventy or eighty, the local members to about the same number, and the business done amounted to upwards of £1000 annually. To account for this great increase, it should be remembered that a Diocesan Board had been established, and that we were connected with Wells, Frome, Bridgewater, and Taunton, where we alternately held our annual meetings.

We next turned our attention to the National Schools and the National Society. With much difficulty we prevailed on the S. P. C. K. to furnish a supplemental list of instructive and entertaining works, consisting of voyages, travels, biographies; and to render these still more available and portable, we placed them in cases of three different sizes. Hence the origin of those parochial lending libraries (1817), which are now spreading far and wide, not merely in our parishes at home, but throughout the Army and Navy, and the distant colonies of the British Empire.

But all these movements were more or less promoted and sustained by the zeal and talents of Mr. Watson. He was the mainspring of all this new machinery. It was Joshua Watson and Mr. Norris who kindly cheered and entertained us from year to year, when we went up to the London anniversaries; in short, without such men, and such examples, we could never have achieved the "Bath Revival."

At the distance, then, of more than fifty years, I can gratefully record the beneficial influence of this great and good man in stirring up both the clergy and laity in the diocese of Bath and Wells towards exertions for the Church of England, which were before unknown. It was his bright example which warmed every heart, and which encouraged and assisted all our endeavours. We laboured, one and all, clergy and laity, in the service of our Church, and never can I forget the unanimity and harmony which pervaded all our proceedings.

My interviews with Joshua Watson, after quitting Bath in 1826, were somewhat casual and occasional; but when the contests between the Committee of Council and the National Society (1840-2), arose, we again co-operated under the able superintendence of Archdeacon Sinclair. He sent me a copy of the Society's charter, and a brisk cannonade was kept up in the public journals. I have good reason to believe that a spirited parody, "Will you, will you, will you come and be killed?" was written by the fair hand of Miss Mary Watson. After her marriage, he occasionally visited Brighton, and I more frequently saw him. The infirmities of age were now hastening, but he was cheerful and resigned. I saw him on the solemn day of her funeral, and

his countenance was that of "grief petrified." Yet he gradually recovered much of his natural cheerfulness. I remember dining with him at the vicarage, when he expressed his deep sorrow at the Romanizing tendencies of the age. He called on me for the last time about two years before his decease; I felt it was the farewell visit, and expressed to him my deep sense of the benefits which I had derived from his bright example. He pressed my hand, and as he left the door, he whispered, *Sursum corda!*
E. W. G.

Brighton, July 20, 1861.

P.S. I have forgotten to mention that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was signally indebted to the zeal and activity of the Bath Committee. In 1824 we sent up a deputation to the Parent Board to represent the great need of a West Indian episcopate. Our archdeacon, Dr. Moysey, presented the address, which was very favourably received. Shortly after, Bishop Coleridge was consecrated as the first Bishop of Barbadoes, and some years subsequently, on a visit to England, he frankly acknowledged to me that he owed his situation originally to the representations of the Bath memorial. But it was Mr. Watson, as usual, who gave success to our petition; and without him we should have been very civilly dismissed. His influence was unbounded in ecclesiastical affairs, but he never used it for any selfish or unworthy purpose.

"Take him for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again."

CORRESPONDENCE.

* * The Editors beg the reader will bear in mind that they do not hold themselves responsible for the opinions of their Correspondents.

THE "TE DEUM."*

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—There is no relic of Christian antiquity that has more deeply engrained itself in the hearts and feelings of the English people than the venerable hymn commonly designated the "Te Deum," neither has any one ever ventured to say that it is in any wise undeserving of its popularity. As it stands in our English service books it appears at once a hymn, a creed, and a prayer, addressed in terms of the most absolute orthodoxy, and the most animated fervour, partly to the Triune Jehovah, and partly to the Son of God, the Saviour of mankind. But if we look at other old versions of this noble hymn, with the exception of the Swedish, which, as we find from Mr. Thomson, agrees in this respect with our own, or at the original Latin, a singular phenomenon presents itself to us, which suggests several questions that are not by any means easy to answer. Every one acquainted with the rudiments of Latin Syntax sees at once that "Te Deum laudamus" cannot mean "We praise thee, O God," but must have one of two meanings, either "We praise thee God," i. e., we make thee God by our praises, or "We praise thee God,"—"as God," i. e., we praise thee as being already God. As the former of these alternatives must clearly be rejected at once, we have only the latter remaining to us, and the questions arising therefrom, briefly treated, will not, I trust, be altogether unacceptable to your readers.

Many people have doubtless, from time to time, observed the discrepancy between the Latin heading, "Te Deum laudamus," and the English translation in their prayer books, "We praise thee, O God;" but we cannot find any allusion to it in any liturgical writer, or even magazine, till the year 1843. A letter then appeared in the *British Magazine*, signed with the Hebrew letter *lamed*, the greater portion of which I give *in extenso*. It ran as follows:—

"I suspect the versicles, 11, 'The Father of an infinite majesty;' 12, 'Thine honourable, true, and only Son;' 13, 'Also the Holy Ghost the Comforter;' to be an interpolation occasioned by the fraud or injudicious zeal of some firm believer in the doctrine of the Trinity. They appear out of place. The hymn is addressed to our

* Thomson's *History of the Te Deum*. London: J. Russell Smith.

Todd's *Account of Irish MSS. of the Te Deum*, *Cambridge Journal of Sacred and Classical Philology*. No. II.

Controversy in *Notes and Queries* respecting alleged interpolations in the "Te Deum;" vols. viii., ix., New Series.

Lord Christ, not, as our English translation would at first lead us to suspect, to God the Father. The first versicle in the Latin is 'Te Deum,' not 'Deus,' 'laudamus; te Dominum confitemur,' which should have been translated, 'We praise thee as God, we acknowledge thee to be Lord,' (Phil. ii. 2). (2). 'Te æternum Patrem omnis terra veneratur,' 'The Father everlasting,' is applied to Christ, (Isa. ix. 6). The 'Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth,' is addressed to Christ, (see Isa. vi. 3, compared with John xii. 41). All the versicles from 1—10, and from 14, *ad fin.*, are applicable to our Lord, and the tenour of the hymn appears to be broken and disjointed by the interposition of versicles 11—13. Again, the hymn, according to the venerable testimony of antiquity, is amœbæan; St. Ambrose (or with us the minister), led the first verse; St. Augustine (or with us the congregation), made the response. Now it will be found that, if these three versicles be retained, no response will be given to the last; if they are omitted, the alternation will be regular. There was no need on this occasion for the profession of faith in the Holy Trinity; it was already declared in the form of baptism by St. Ambrose, (Matt. xxviii. 19), and avowed by St. Augustin at his immersion in the 'laver of regeneration.' (See Tertullian adversus Praxean and De Coronâ.)

Now giving up, as I believe everybody does at the present day, the fable of Ambrose and Augustine, and rejecting the three versicles suspected by LAMÉD, it is certainly most remarkable that the remainder of the "Te Deum," considered as an amœbæan poem or hymn, corresponds exactly to the description given by Pliny the younger in his celebrated letter to Trajan of the *carmen*, which the Christians were accustomed "dicere secum invicem CHRISTO QUASI DEO."

The views contained in the above letter of LAMÉD were pretty fiercely attacked in *Notes and Queries*, when lately republished therein, but not the slightest damage was done to any of its arguments, except that from the amœbæan nature of the hymn, the arrangement of which was shewn to be somewhat doubtful. And Dr. Todd's Dublin MS. gives the hymn in very much shorter lines, clearly shewing that, though it is most probably amœbæan in some shape or other, yet we cannot discover for certain the original arrangement; and have, therefore, no right to base any argument as to the genuineness of any portion of it upon the modern amœbæan arrangement. But that interpolations of sacred writings in favour of the doctrine of the Trinity were not by any means considered unworthy subterfuges by the orthodox party, is manifest from the well known and now universally admitted forgery of the text enumerating the three heavenly witnesses in 1 John v. 7, 8.

Let us now proceed to consider the objections brought against LAMÉD's views in the pages of *Notes and Queries*, which we shall find exhibiting either a want of thought, or a want of scholarship, or both, which is scarcely credible. One correspondent denies the "Te Deum" to be a *carmen*, without condescending to give any reason for his denial, and also without taking the precaution of looking out the word *carmen* in Forcellini's *Lexicon*, or some other large Latin dictionary. Forcellini would have informed him that the unmetrical formulæ of the Roman jurists, fecials, prætors, and also those used by commanders besieging cities, or devoting themselves for the safety of their armies, were technically termed *carmina*. Cato, too, wrote a work which he called a "*carmen de moribus*," although it was not written in metre, because it contained brief precepts calculatedly learnt and recited by heart. And

perhaps the word "dicere" in Pliny's letter indicated that the *carmen* was rather said than sung.

The words *Te Deum laudamus* also give a great deal of trouble to those who are determined to escape at all hazards from contemplating the possibility of an interpolation in anything so old and venerable as the "Te Deum." It is stated that *Deum* is merely equivalent to *ὁντα Θεόν*, and does not necessarily mean, "We praise thee, as God," but "We praise thee God;" the only other possible signification of which with *Deum* (God), as a predicate of *Te* (Thee), we have given above; and surely no one could dream of accepting it for an instant. "The verb," it is amusingly stated, "has a double accusative, and that is all!"

The same writer objects to the statement, "Te æternum Patrem omnis terra veneratur;" "All the earth doth worship thee, the Father everlasting;" as untrue in Pliny's time. Much more, therefore, must he object to St. Paul's far stronger statements of the extent and progress of Christianity at an earlier period. In Colossians i. 5, 6, we find, "Whereof ye heard before in the word of the truth of the gospel, which is come unto you as it is in *all the world*, and bringeth forth fruit," etc. St. Paul also tells the Roman Church (Rom. i. 8), "Your faith is spoken of *throughout the whole world*;" 1 Thess. ii. 8, "For from you sounded out the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also *in every place* your faith to God-ward is spread abroad." Surely these passages of Scripture are a sufficient justification for an anticipatory hyperbole on the part of a fervid ecclesiastical writer.

We are also informed that the common people in Bithynia did not use the Latin language, and that, therefore, the "Te Deum" could not have been the *carmen* mentioned by Pliny. It would be a curious problem to ascertain what language the common people of Bithynia *did* speak at that time, and we certainly agree with LAMEN's opponent that they did not speak Latin. But we do not see how his conclusion follows from his premises. We do not find that St. Paul and the other Apostles preached specially to the common people and peasantry anywhere except in Judea, but that their congregations were generally formed out of Jewish synagogues, or that at any rate a first introduction was obtained by means of the Jews and proselytes, and that not among the common people, but among a kind of inferior mercantile middle class, of which Lydia, the seller of purple, Aquila and Priscilla, the tent makers, etc., may probably be considered as fair specimens. And if we consider the class of Gentile proselytes, among whom Christianity made its first converts, we shall see still greater reason for suspecting the existence of Latin congregations in Asia at a very early period. Who was the first Gentile convert?—*Cornelius*, a Roman soldier. What does St. Paul himself mention as one of the chief spheres of the effect of his labours at Rome?—The *Prætorium* (Philip. i. 13). Again in Philip. iv. 22, "those of Cæsar's household" are especially mentioned, and in Romans xvi. 11, "the household of Narcissus," clearly shewing that Christianity had begun to leaven the portion of mankind that spoke Latin, as well as that which spoke Greek. And surely it is no out-of-the-way supposition to make, if we assume that those Christians, whose doings were

best known to Pliny, and who would have least occasion to fear provincial informers, and would, therefore, least shrink from making their practices known to him, were of Italian extraction. The extent of Jewish proselytism among the Italians is so well known, both from the several centurions mentioned in the New Testament, and also from the works of profane authors, that it would be a simple waste of time and space to quote passages to prove the point.

I think, therefore, that on the whole, LAMÉ's two grand points, that the "Te Deum" was originally addressed to Christ as God, and that the three versicles naming the Persons in the Trinity are a later interpolation, are satisfactorily proved; and that a fair probability has been made out for the "Te Deum" having been in its original shape the very hymn alluded to by Pliny.

But a further difficulty may be raised on this latter point. It may be asked, how comes it that, if the "Te Deum" is so ancient, no mention of it is found till so very much later? The answer is a very simple one, and may be found in the pages of any ecclesiastical historian. Although the Scriptures and other sacred things were often delivered up by the *Traditores* under fear of persecution, yet no liturgy or book of set forms was ever thus obtained by the heathen. "We are not hence to conclude," says Bingham, "that therefore they had no liturgies or set forms of divine worship in those persecuting ages of the Church; but we are only to conclude that they did not so generally compile them in books as in after ages, but used them by memory, and made them familiar to the people by known and constant practice, as many now use forms of prayer at the present day, without committing them to writing. And this is another reason why none of those ancient liturgies are come to our hands perfect and entire, but only in scattered fragments, as the fathers had occasion to mention them incidentally in their writings. . . . The fourth and last reason is the *interpolations and additions* made to the ancient liturgies in future ages."^b Now what is true of the ancient liturgies may very well be true of the "Te Deum," and the year 530—when we find the first distinct mention of the hymn, according to Mr. Thomson,—may well have been the date of its interpolation, rather than that of its real authorship. But here we must remember that we are only dealing with probabilities, whereas in comparing the words "Te Deum laudamus" with the three suspected versicles, we have what almost amounts to a contradiction in terms to reason upon. And we can always consider with satisfaction that, whether accidentally or purposely, our Reformers have saved us by the mistranslation "O God," from the inconsistency that stares us in the face in the Latin in use in the Church of Rome.

Leaving the questions arising upon the face of the "Te Deum" itself, we will now proceed to some matters of interest connected with the variations of manuscripts:—

1. Several variations, not affecting the sense, are given by Dr. Todd, *e. g.*, in versicle 6, *honore* is the reading of his Dublin MS., instead of

^b *Antiquities*, book xiii., chap. v., sec. 3.

majestatis. In versicle 2, *universa* is substituted for *omnis*. In the suspected versicle 12, *unigenitum* is the Irish reading for *unicum*. In versicle 18, *sedens* is read instead of the common reading *sedes* in the "Antiphonarium Benchorensis," an ancient Irish MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. In 20, *nobis* is prefixed to *tuis famulis*. In 23, the Dublin MS. reads *in seculum*; and the "Antiph. Benchor.," *usque ad seculum* for *usque in æternum*.

2. The eighth versicle, "The noble army of martyrs praise thee," should undoubtedly run, "The *white-robed* army of martyrs praise thee;" "Te *candidatus* martyrum laudat exercitus."

3. The sixteenth, "When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man, thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb," should be, according to Mr. Thomson, "Thou, to deliver [us], being about to take up manhood, dreadedst not a Virgin's womb;" "Tu, ad liberandum, suscepturus hominem, non horruisti Virginis uterum." But Dr. Todd, from the Irish MS., gives the following as probably the original text:—

"Tu ad liberandum *mundum* suscepisti hominem,
Non horruisti Virginis uterum."
"Thou tookest upon thee man to deliver the world,
Thou didst not shrink from the Virgin's womb."

4. Both Mr Thomson and Dr. Todd agree in giving as the proper text of versicle 21, "Æternâ fac cum sanctis tuis gloria *munerari*," instead of the usual reading, *numerari*, "Make them with thy saints to be *rewarded* with glory everlasting," instead of "Make them to be *numbered* with thy saints in glory everlasting," where the common text also inserts the preposition *in*.

5. Dr. Todd's MSS. also omit what he "has little doubt are spurious additions to the original hymn," viz., 26, "Dignare, Domine, die isto sine peccato nos custodire;" 27, "Miserere nostri, Domine, miserere nostri;" and, 28, "In te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in æternum;" or, according to our version:—

"Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin.
O Lord, have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us.
In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded."

6. Neither Dr. Todd nor Mr. Thomson notice the mistranslation of "die isto" by "this day." It is clearly, "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us *at that* day without sin," i. e., at the day of judgment; compare Luke xi. 12; 2 Thess. i. 10; and 2 Tim. i. 12. But Mr. Thomson justly corrects "non confundar in æternum," from "let me not be confounded for ever," to "I shall not be confounded for ever." The man who hopes in God may be confounded for a time, as Job was, but he will not be "confounded for ever."

7. Dr Todd connects the latter part of versicle 20 with the following versicle, so that from versicle 19 to 21, the translation would run as follows:—

"We believe that thou wilt come to be our judge,
We therefore pray thee help thy servants.
Those whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood,
Make them with thy saints to be rewarded with glory everlasting."

In this he is clearly right, otherwise *fac* has no object, and *munerari* no subject.

Lastly, assuming the correctness of the conclusions arrived at above, from both internal and manuscript evidence, we subjoin the English version of the "Te Deum," corrected to suit them; when, of course, it will assume the form, not of a hymn to the Trinity, or to the Father, but of one addressed to CHRIST AS GOD:—

" We praise thee [as] God, we acknowledge thee [as] Lord,
 All the earth doth worship thee, the Father everlasting.
 To thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens, and all the powers therein.
 To thee cherubim and seraphim continually do cry,
 Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth;
 Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory.
 The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee,
 The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise thee,
 The white-robed army of martyrs praise thee;
 The holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge thee.
 Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ!
 Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father.
 When thou tookest upon thee man to deliver the world, thou didst not shrink from
 the Virgin's womb.
 When thou hadst overcome the sharpness (lit., sting) of death, thou didst open the
 kingdom of heaven to [all] believers.
 Thou sittest at the right hand of God, in the glory of the Father.
 We believe that thou shalt come to be our Judge.
 We therefore pray thee help [us] thy servants.
 Those whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood,
 Make them, with thy saints, to be rewarded with glory everlasting.
 O Lord, save thy people, and bless thine heritage,
 [And] govern them, and lift them up for ever.
 Day by day we magnify (lit., bless), thee;
 And we worship (lit., praise), thy name ever world without end.
 [Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us at that day without sin.]
 [O Lord, have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us.]
 O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us, as our trust (lit., hope), is in thee.
 [O Lord, in thee have I trusted (lit., hoped), I shall not be confounded for ever.]"

It is pretty clear that the substitution of "trust" for "hope" in translating *speravimus* and *speravi* is due to the importance attached to the doctrine of justification by *faith*, of which anything implying justification by *hope* would be deemed an invasion.

I have thus endeavoured to lay the subject of the criticism of this noble hymn before your readers, avowing myself thus far convinced by the arguments of LAMED that it has been interpolated, and hence deducing a probability of its being in some form or other of far greater antiquity than is generally supposed. But I should gladly listen to arguments, if any can be found, which shall rebut those suggested by LAMED, and shall vindicate its genuineness in its present form. Such arguments I have been unable to discover myself, and I am quite sure that LAMED's opponents in *Notes and Queries* have made exceedingly little progress in discovering them. If people have discovered and acknowledged a pious fraud in the interpolation of a book of Scripture in favour of an orthodox doctrine, which had been victoriously maintained without any such support, they surely need not shrink from acknowledging a similar

interpolation, when pointed out by an anonymous correspondent of a magazine, in an ecclesiastical hymn, however venerable. And at any rate a clear testimony to the belief in the divinity of our Lord at the time of Trajan is worth a great many pieces of evidence of the same doctrine, dating from the sixth century after the Christian era.

A. H. W.

P.S. It will be observed that I have confined myself to questions arising out of and relating to the "Te Deum" itself, without reference to other compositions. One writer in *Notes and Queries* mentioned some Greek hymns which might afford further information if given at length and carefully compared. Whether these also in their original form were addressed to Christ as God, and whether the great Arian controversy left its marks upon them or not, are questions well worthy of discussion in the pages of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*.

[We do not doubt some reply to our respected correspondent will be forthcoming in our next number. Meanwhile we hope the reader will compare the "Te Deum" with the "Morning Hymn" from the Alexandrian MS., which Mr. Cowper has inserted in the introduction to his edition of the New Testament.—EDS. J. S. L.]

THE BURDEN OF DAMASCUS.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—Amid the many woes pronounced by the Jewish prophets against cities and empires, and fulfilled as they were threatened, there is apparently one which has not received its fulfilment. I refer to the burden of Damascus (Isa. xvii. 1), "Behold, Damascus is taken away from being a city, and it shall be a ruinous heap."

I do not think that the capture of the city by Tiglath Pileser (2 Kings xvi. 9) fulfils this prediction. It was not destroyed (ver. 10) by his army. A few mounds of earth mark the sites of Nineveh and Babylon: some poor fishers dry their nets where Tyre once sat enthroned: the cities of Philistia and Moab have disappeared. In all these instances the predictions have been fulfilled. But Damascus, which was in being in the days of Abraham, is a flourishing city at this day, and has never, that I know of, ceased to be a city. If any of your learned correspondents could explain this apparent failure of prophecy, they would much oblige,

Sir, yours respectfully,
A. B. C.

THE BOOK OF JUDGES—WHEN WRITTEN?

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—Judges xviii. 30, 31, on which the writer in your Journal, of October last, on the above subject, relies for proof of the earlier date of

the last five chapters of the book, seems to prove very conclusively the later date.

"And the children of Dan set up the graven image: and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan *until the day of the captivity of the land*. And they set up Micah's graven image, which he made, *all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh*."

In these two verses there are evidently two different times referred to, plainly kept separate and distinct by the different events spoken of, and by the marked dissimilarity of the phrases themselves. The first event is the length of time during which Jonathan and his sons continued priests to the tribe of Dan. It continued down to the captivity of the land, *i. e.*, the Assyrian captivity of the ten tribes. The second event is the length of time during which Micah's image was an object of worship. This was a much shorter period. It only continued while the house of God was in Shiloh, and then ceased. This is the plain meaning of the verses, and frees us from any necessity of supposing for a moment that, by "*the captivity of the land*," one of the sacred writers means to describe the "*capture of the ark*." It also results from this that the last five chapters of Judges were written, or at least revised, after the Assyrian captivity.

J. H. N.

THE OMNIPOTENCE OF GOD.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—Permit me through your valuable Journal to give expression to thoughts which now and then rise in my mind upon the great subject of the Divine Omnipotence. I approach it, and would ever approach it, with the deepest awe, sensible of my incapacity to comprehend the infinite. Yet we must have thoughts, however inadequate, upon many things of which we can know but a very little part.

The idea that God has only to will in order to produce at once the exact state of things which is best, or which He wishes, is an idea often entertained, but which Scripture scarcely seems to sanction. It appears at variance with the notions which Scripture gives us of His goodness, and also with the notion of what real greatness consists in. *In matter* there seems to be nothing of what we call *difficulty* with God, but *in mind* there is apparently a capacity of resisting Him which is not in matter. To suppose that by an act of volition He could have produced a world of reasonable beings among whom moral evil could not come, *but that He would not*,—that He preferred that state of things which is, *viz.*, one fraught with moral evil and consequent misery,—seems at variance with what we conceive to be the statements of Scripture on God's loving mercy and goodness, as well as of His power. In His dealings with mind the Bible tells us that God suffers opposition, that mind has a power adverse to His, and can, in fact, defeat God's mind toward it.

Let us listen to a few of the many texts which seem to countenance our view. "My Spirit shall not always strive with man." "The Lord is a man of war." "Is anything *too* hard for the Lord?" "What could have been done more to my vineyard that I have not done in it?" "If it be possible, let this cup pass." "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, if they fall away, to renew them again to repentance." "There was war in heaven." "These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them." Numberless texts of similar kind will readily occur to every mind.

What do they say? They describe a great, real, difficult contest wherein God is engaged. To suppose that He strives with that which has no power of resistance, or that he pretends a struggle which is really only a pretence, is wholly unworthy of Him. Scripture then represents in the world of mind, as distinguished from matter, a great battlefield, where God's omnipotence is put to its full test, and where His real greatness of mind finds in the required patience, perseverance, and difficulty of the struggle, a proper field of labour. We do not think well of a man who spends a year in doing what he could have done in a day: nor can we conceive that God would spend thousands of years in doing what He could have effected in a lesser time. There is no hypocrisy in God. He has no make-believes of contest where there is no contest, of difficulty where none exists. Such is as foreign from His representations of Himself, as the idea of a pretended suffering and death of Jesus is from the narrative which the Gospels give us of His agony and dissolution. Omnipotence in God would seem to have its relation to the possibilities with which it is met, and surrounded, and thwarted, but which it finally overcomes, yet not perhaps in the way which other attributes would prefer.

We apply this reasoning to all God's works. Redemption took four thousand years in preparation: we cannot suppose it could have been matured on the day of the fall. God takes time to win a single heart: we do not think it could have been won in less. We regard every struggle and effort of God with moral evil as possessed of as much reality as a struggle of man with man.

The world of mind then presents a field in which the great Almighty mind finds its exercise, its difficulty, its real conquest. It does not pretend a struggle where there is none, or create a difficulty for the purpose of overcoming it. All here is genuine, real,—not fictitious, exaggerated, or hypocritical. The giant of moral evil resisting God's power for thousands—perhaps for hundreds of thousands of years—is not a monstrous pasteboard figure, but an actual, mighty, slowly yielding power, only inferior to God's, and scarcely submitting at last to Him. So far as we know, Satan is the highest person in whom this evil works, but beneath him are many moral agents striving with him against God. His contest is really hopeless; yet may we not conceive how to his mind, during the struggle of *Æons*, might have come hopes of success, and seasons when success seemed almost in his power. God's supremacy in the world of mind was not an undisputed fact: it is still in controversy: the struggle now going on in this earth may be requisite to

exhibit, to good as well as evil intelligences, God's supremacy upon that field, as creation exhibited his supremacy in the world of matter. But that God could by a mere volition have hindered the existence of evil, or extinguished it in a moment, assuredly Scripture nowhere teaches. It would convert into a miserable sham that which the Bible represents as a struggle tasking omnipotence.

Such a view as we have taken of the Divine Omnipotence certainly seems to remove many grounds of dissatisfaction from the mind. Why is this or that so, with a God to whom it had been equally easy to have had it otherwise? But if it were not equally easy; nay more, if it were not within the limits of the possible that it should be otherwise than it is, why should we complain? Where are we told that a volition of God could have made things other than they are? Where are we taught that the sin of the world is an evil which God could readily have hindered? Is not the scriptural portrait the picture of God striving to bring good out of inevitable evil,—to convert evil into good,—and where this may not be, to trample it beneath His feet? Such a view may seem to limit His power, to reduce it below the ideas of a might to which all things are easy, and all are equally easy; but if it does this, does it not remove from other attributes, yet dearer to God and to us, doubts and suspicions which else cleave to them? Does it not clear His mercy and His goodness,—yes, and His wisdom too, from insinuations which else can scarcely fail to fix themselves upon them? The poet's line, "And now a bubble bursts, and now a world," may seem a fitting tribute to Almighty power; but it detracts just as much from our ideas of God's goodness as it adds to our notions of his power, to suppose the one the same to Him as the other. If we must limit in some one direction, why not limit the power of God as soon as, or rather sooner than, any other attribute? Still call it what it is, Almighty, a power to which all is possible, but yet suppose that there are limits to possibility,—some things which even Almighty power could not effect,—and that within the verge of the possible are some things harder to God than other things,—some things which a word of His mouth effects,—some which call into exercise every attribute of power and wisdom on his part, just as with us are things and occasions which call into play the highest qualities of the greatest men, and are hardly accomplished even then.

Limits there are even to God; some things which He cannot do. He cannot lie, for instance. Is He the less for this? No; He is only the greater. And is He the less for those limits which lie in another direction, and which confine His power of action? No; He is the greater, as thus calling His actual power into exercise, which the idea of an Almighty power to which one thing is as easy as another never can by possibility do. To give God no other exercise of his power than a mere wish, is to do to Him as you would do to a man of mighty mind whom you would set down to the letters of the alphabet. But this latter demands something more; he disdains the lessons of childhood; he requires a subject which shall tax his powers, call them into play, put them to their utmost stretch, and give them the pleasure of a real

conflict and a real victory. Are we to suppose that God has nothing analogous to this? Are we to suppose that while His works are so wonderful, they are to Him no more than the letters of the alphabet are to a man who has mastered the mysteries of language? I cannot believe this. Michael Angelo required a St. Peter's for his mind to work on; he would not be satisfied with the stone wall which a mason's apprentice labours at. And so God has his great works,—works, not merely great to us, but arduous to Him; works which He beholds with pleasure in their conception, execution, and accomplishment. Is it not certain that the very same energy and delight which a great mind exercises and takes in some great human work, the Almighty exercises and takes in the formation, arrangement, and regulation of solar and starry systems? While *the great work* with Him is plainly found in that *world of mind* which bears too strong a likeness to Him to be ruled with ease:—

"Twas great to call a world from naught,
"Twas greater to redeem."

I certainly can cast myself with greater confidence upon one who does not needlessly afflict and try me, than on one of whom I could suppose that He might in a thousand other ways which gave me no pain have effected the same end. On this idea no doubt rises up against his mercy, his love, his wisdom; while on his power too I can fully rest as able to guide me through the conflict which I must endure. I say, "I am sinful,—weak,—wretched often,—but so it must needs be: I will not charge it against God; I will not dream that one wish on his part, costing him nothing, could have prevented all." Rather will I think,—what the Bible certainly does not contradict,—what it rather seems to teach, "as it is, so it must be,"—God could not have had it better; but He is with me in the necessary bitterness of my struggle; pitying me with a genuine pity; loving me with a love which, if it could, would spare me suffering; guiding me with a wisdom which has not involved me in difficulty in order to rescue me from it, but which exerts itself to raise me out of difficulty which was not to be avoided.

Considerations of this kind apply themselves to a great many of the problems of religion; for example, to the conflict of good and evil. Could we suppose a little Italian duchy to make war against France? The idea is absurd. It might take part with some other power against France; alone, the idea of resistance would not enter into its imagination. A king with ten thousand might perchance make war against a king with twenty thousand; but when you make the relative proportions as one to twenty, the idea of opposition is madness. Now in the great spiritual struggle there must be some proportion in the forces ranged on either side. Satan is not more foolish than a petty Italian prince. There must be in that contest some elements which made it appear to his mind not wholly hopeless. He fought with his angels against God; he enlisted on his side our fallen world; he must have supposed it within the range of possibility that, even if he could not dethrone God in heaven, he might himself reign somewhere over a portion of the world of mind. Has he been wholly mistaken? Is there

not a portion of that world subject to him,—always to be subject to him,—though subject too, in its misery, to the judgment of God?

Again; God can recall life. Can He recall *all life*? May there not be some which, once given, even He cannot extinguish,—*the life which is like his own*? Man was made in God's image. Must he not then be eternal in existence? Must there not then, if man will hold out against God, will refuse to enter his heaven, be an eternal punishment? Must there not be the same *necessity* for hell that there is for heaven?

S. I.

JEWISH ORTHODOXY.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR.—I do not feel called upon to say much in reply to Mr. Crossley's last communication. I am sorry I cannot agree with him in his favourable opinion of the Sadducees. It is the first time I have heard them spoken of in such high terms, and I cannot help thinking that, if they deserved his encomium, the notices of them in the New Testament are too severe. From John the Baptist, who, perhaps not a month after, upon Mr. Crossley's shewing, they had ceased to be orthodox, greets them with the title of a "generation of vipers" (Matt. iii. 7), down to the latest notice taken of them in the Acts of the Apostles, they are represented as the crafty and pertinacious enemies of the Gospel and of Christ. The character thus drawn of them seems to be inconsistent with Mr. Crossley's description of them, as sincere and enlightened "Israelites without guile," so ready to yield at the first summons to conviction, that they accept a bad argument from our Lord, and retire from his presence convinced and converted.

Their conversion on the memorable occasion to which Mr. Crossley refers, seems to have been as short-lived as it was sudden, for everywhere throughout the Acts they are brought before us as strenuous deniers of that doctrine of a resurrection which they then so modestly accepted (Acts iv. 2; xxiii. 6). I suppose that "consideration," in this case not "like an angel," came, and made them somewhat ashamed of having yielded to so poor an argument, and probably made them suspect that "special grace" which had made up to them for the badness of its logic. I confess, Sir, I cannot approve of Mr. Crossley's treatment of Scripture in this instance. I do not think the sacred writers would give us an unfavourable opinion of men who deserved a contrary character, or that our Lord would present to any one a "contemptible quibble," and impose it upon the understanding by the dignity of his person. Reflections of this kind would indeed, if accepted, lower Him and them in our eyes.

As to Mr. Crossley's objecting to my statement that "the doctrine of a resurrection *was taught by Moses*," I can only say that I find something strongly resembling this in the account which St. Luke

gives of our Lord's own words, "Now that the dead are raised even *Moses shewed at the bush*" (Luke xx. 37).

I will merely add, that "the law" had not been abolished so soon as Mr. Crossley supposes. It continued in its full force until the death of Christ. That it was in force during the time of his public ministry both he himself and St. Paul teach us (Matt. v. 17, 18; Gal. iv. 4). Consequently, whatever orthodoxy the Sadducees possessed before the time of His ministry, they possessed during it. Yet during it Christ felt himself obliged to warn his disciples against the false doctrines of what Mr. Crossley calls "the orthodox sect."

HENRY CONSTABLE.

October 4th, 1861.

THE ISRAEL OF UNFULFILLED PROPHECY.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

DEAR SIR,—The ensuing paper on "The Israel of unfulfilled Prophecy" was prepared some months back, and several friends have pressed me to publish it. I have therefore submitted it to you in the hope that you may allow it to appear in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*.

I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,

W. L. BROWN.

The numerous passages of Scripture which speak in varied language of the "gathering of Israel," the submitting of Jerusalem, the re-apportionment of the Holy Land to the twelve tribes, etc., have led many persons to expect with confidence a re-assembling of the Hebrew race in the land once given to their forefathers; and the restoration of the kingdom and commonwealth of Israel in some such state as that in which these formerly existed in the time of Solomon. We say *in the time of Solomon*, because the re-union of the ten tribes with the two—of Ephraim with Judah—is a very prominent feature in these prophecies; and the re-building of the temple being also a feature, we are restricted to the reign of Solomon for the combination of these two conditions of an adequate fulfilment. At no time before or after the reign of Solomon were the *twelve* tribes united to serve God in his *temple* at Jerusalem. It is necessary to determine precisely what the expectation is which a literal acceptance of the prophecies referred to would lead men to form, in order that we may the more plainly see how some one or other particulars of that expectation is found to be inconsistent with other passages of Scripture.

We may at once state our conviction that Scripture, correctly interpreted, gives no sanction to the expectation above mentioned—a conviction which has been much strengthened by a careful examination of the passages adduced in favour of the contrary opinion; which has been still more strengthened by a consideration of what seems to have been revealed to us of the general and comprehensive scheme of divine mercy for the salvation of mankind.

St. Paul frequently refers to the "mystery" of the gospel, a mystery "which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God" (Eph. iii. 9), but which mystery he declares to be this, "that the *Gentiles should be fellow heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel*" (ver. 6). It is impossible to doubt that by these words Gentiles are declared to be fellow heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of God's promise *with the Jews*, (that is, such of the Gentiles as should become Christians, for it is "by the gospel" that these privileges would be attainable,) and that such was the purpose of God; though a purpose long concealed, and therefore a "mystery" *from the beginning of the world*. The divulging of this mystery ("now revealed unto the holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit") plainly discovers to us the fact that the Abrahamic promise and covenant, just so far as it was restricted to one particular branch and family of mankind, was *temporary*. Every blessing and privilege, and all the laws and statutes which tended to distinguish and separate that particular family from the rest of the human race, could continue only so long as distinction and separation were to be maintained. To believe that God ordained them for longer continuance is to believe that he ordained them to thwart his own purpose—that purpose being, as we have seen, the *union and fusion in one body and fellowship* of his elect in every nation of the earth. If the Gentiles are to be "fellow-heirs," what is the inheritance of Jews to which they have not a title? If they are to be "of the same body," what is the body from which they are excluded? If they are to be "partakers of God's promise in Christ," what promise is there now of which they cannot partake? What promise had the Jews which was *not* "in Christ?" "To Abraham and his seed were the promises made . . . and that seed is Christ." "If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise" (Gal. iii. 16 and 29).

If any one would object that the Jews certainly had and enjoyed the promise of the land of Canaan, and that in this promise at least Gentiles do not share, we answer, Yes; and they had the *law* in which the Gentiles do not share (as was decided by the first council at Jerusalem). But St. Paul says, the law was "added," "till the seed should come to whom the promise was made." When the seed came the law was "disannulled" (Heb. vii. 18). And forasmuch as simultaneously with the *end* of the chief ritual observances of the law (in the cessation of all the temple services at the destruction of Jerusalem) there was also an *end* of the enjoyment of the land of promise; can any one fail to see that this promise was also, like the law, "added,"—"till the seed should come" to whom the *great and all important promise* was made—the promise that Abraham "should be the heir (not of Palestine) but of the world" (Rom. iv. 13). In other words, as the law was temporary, so also the occupation of the Holy Land, on which in great measure the observance of the law depends, and where alone many of the precepts of the law can be obeyed—this must be temporary, and the period of its duration has expired. The extreme difficulty, not to say impossibility of amalgamating Jews and Gentiles

during the continuance of the temple worship before the destruction of Jerusalem, was seen in the case of St. Paul, who for the sake of the many thousand believing, *i.e.*, Christian Jews, who were "all zealous of the law" (Acts xxi. 20), was obliged, as a measure of prudence, to "walk orderly" and "keep the law," though he had preached to the Gentiles the utmost freedom. And a thoughtful person can perceive the *wisdom*, as well as the righteous vengeance of God, in not leaving off that temple "one stone upon another." It was necessary that the "middle wall of perdition" should be literally as well as figuratively "broken down," in order that "of twain" Christ might make in himself "one new man," "reconciling both in *one body* on the cross" (Eph. ii. 14, 16). We know that it was long before this *oneness* was accomplished. And what would not be the difficulty of preventing a separation again, and the undoing of one chief end of St. Paul's special commission if the "middle wall of partition" were to be again built up? if there were to be again a visible temple of the Lord in Jerusalem, and if the twelve tribes, carefully proving by their genealogy (as in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah) their legitimate descent, were again to become a distinct and peculiar people in the world? If this were to be done by Jews which believe, *i.e.*, Christian Jews, it could not but lead, as by an act of Divine Providence, to a division of the one Christian body. If the Jews were to reassemble and rebuild their temple, being still in unbelief, this supposition appears still more impossible, as being inconsistent with the uniform language of Scripture and course of God's dealings. "They could not enter in *because of unbelief*" (Heb. iii. 19). "*Because of unbelief* they were broken off" (Rom. xi. 20). "If they abide not still in unbelief, they shall be grafted in" (ver. 23). Can we expect that God will gather them, and graft them in under conditions the very contrary to what are here declared?

Much might be said concerning the extreme improbability that any divine furtherance would be given to a retrograde step, from the spiritualism of a genuine Christian worship to the formalism and symbolism of the temple ritual,—that having learned in some degree to "worship God in spirit and in truth," any Christians should again be by divine agency placed in circumstances which would seem to call for the restoration of a bygone ceremonial, and almost necessitate the re-enforcing of every Levitical statute. But on this argument it may be useless to enter, because (it will be said) the language of prophecy foreshewing the restoration of the tribes of Israel is so clear and so strong, that no consideration of antecedent improbability can outweigh it. It will be said that the *perpetual* possession of the Holy Land is promised to the children of Jacob; and that God says of Jerusalem or Mount Sion, "Here will I dwell *for ever*."

This objection would be, so far as we can perceive, unanswerable, if a *typical system* were not plainly resorted to in Scripture, and if from first to last spiritual things had not been frequently revealed to man in parabolic language. Scripture itself recognizes the fact that the Holy Spirit has signified many truths by the means of *types* or *figures* (see for instance Heb. ix. 8, 9, 24, etc.) And one obvious result of the

adoption of such a practice is that the self-same words—the self-same prophecy or promise—will have a very different meaning according as the subject of it is understood to be what is literally named therein, or what is typically described thereby. The words—prophecy or promise—may be true of the latter, though wholly inapplicable to the former. Thus David's saying, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell," etc., was, as St. Peter points out, wholly untrue of David himself, but was fully verified in the person of him of whom David was a type. Our Saviour's words, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up," were not true of that concerning which he was supposed to be speaking, viz., the temple of Jerusalem; but were strictly and literally fulfilled in the "temple of his body," of which in its mystical extension to the aggregate of true believers the temple was a *type*. Many are not aware how far this principle of typical substitution is carried in the language of inspiration,—that is, they are not aware how often what is spoken concerning what we read of historically, or, in other words, concerning the genuine facts and personages of real history, is true and to be understood in a spiritual sense of what those facts and personages represent. Thus what were historically the effects to the Israelites of the passage of the Red Sea, were then typically true as the effects of baptism to Christians. The power, *i. e.*, the absolute dominion over Christians of their spiritual oppressor, is broken, and the baptized believers are set free to "serve God in this mountain" of the Christian Church, just as the power of Pharaoh was broken, and the Israelites were set free to serve God at the mountain of Horeb. The extent to which the typical system has been carried in Scripture we might expect to be very great from what is said Luke xxiv. 27, "Beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself;" and again (ver. 44), "That all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms concerning me." "He opened their understanding, that they might understand" from the Scriptures, not only how "it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day;" but "that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." Any person who had never read the Old Testament, but would guess at its contents from our Saviour's words just referred to, would, we think, expect to find it speaking of Christ, his death and resurrection (the third day), and the general evangelizing of the world, almost in every page. And yet how little of all this is discernible, excepting we read Scripture history as a record of typical facts and personages, and Scripture prophecies as often speaking in the language of parable! How little shall we learn in the Old Testament of Christ and Christian history, unless we endeavour to search out its typical teaching, as well as to construct from its statements some connected ideas of historic truth and fact!

Now to return more immediately to our subject. There are confessedly few more difficult doctrines to realize (concerning things on earth) than the doctrine of a "catholic church," and "communion of saints," bound together in Christ by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost.

If ever there were a doctrine capable of and needing visible illustration, this seems to be the one. It is not, like the great mystery of the Holy Trinity, above our powers to comprehend. But the reality itself,—the Church and Bride of the Lamb,—is so dependent on spiritual agency and influence; it is so diffused, so varied in its phases, so impalpable and incomprehensible to our bodily senses, like the firmament of the very air we breathe (possibly itself in this particular a type of the Church), that nothing more entirely eludes vulgar observation; and for nothing does the human mind more require some palpable symbol or symbols to help our conceptions of its existence. For this reason alone it would have been antecedently probable, even in the absence of any revelation of the fact, that the Church of Christ—the kingdom and commonwealth of his saints throughout all the world—would be prophesied of, not by literal interpretation, but by the help of type and figure. The types of the Church must be provided: for it is the essence of a Scripture type to be not an imaginary case, but an historical fact. And to provide such facts for the sake of typifying the Church to man, seems to be no unworthy object (not the only object, but still an object) in the peculiar choice of means by which the Jewish kingdom was made preparatory to that of Christ. The twelve tribes of Israel; their very numbers, according to which God “set bounds to the people” when he “separated the sons of Adam” (Deut. xxxii. 8), so making the twelve tribes typical of the human race; their dispersion in allotted districts of the Holy Land; their independence, combined nevertheless with a principle of cohesion and central union; their theocratic, sacerdotal, prophetic, and regal government, each producing in turn its intended effect on the tone of the popular mind; the gradual suspension of direct heavenly guidance; the occasional combination of the prophetic and regal, perhaps also of the sacerdotal, office in David and Solomon; the longing desire and fond remembrance of the captive Jews for Jerusalem, leading to a strong exercise of the imagination to realize the delights of their, to them, distant home, with its boast, the temple of God; and, finally, the effect of having Jerusalem and their temple desolated, and their thoughts being turned to, not what it then was, but to what strong affection could imagine it (see Tobit xiii. 16—18) as afterwards to become,—all this, and many more thoughts of Jerusalem, we may well conceive to have been brought about, as part of the divine purpose to assist the mind of man in realizing to itself some faint idea of “the Jerusalem which is above,” and “is the mother of us all.” There was to be created in the spiritual creation of regenerate man a sort of moral *gravitation* towards some imagined centre, which can be really no locality or city on earth, but CHRIST himself, the “Sun of Righteousness,” around whom the spiritual universe, as it were, revolves. This *moral gravitation*, as we have called it, being a matter of human feeling, there must have been some sort of appeal to the feelings to produce it. And such an appeal, we conceive, shews itself in the very interest still taken in the ancient centre of the Jewish polity in our sympathy with the Jews, concerning the land and the city, and the temple, wherein their fathers worshipped God. If we Gentiles feel so strongly

drawn towards this, what must the Jews feel ! And if the earthly Jerusalem has so strong a natural attraction to them, what so fit to typify and illustrate the spiritual attraction which the heavenly Jerusalem, with "the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb" as "the temple of it," ought to have for us ?

There seems, then, to have been every possible reason why the gathering of a universal Church, so long as this purpose was a "mystery," should be spoken of in language borrowed from that which was a most necessary type of the Church, viz., the twelve tribes of the "Israel according to the flesh." While on the one hand the dispersion and divers captivities of this Israel were instrumental in spreading the knowledge of God, requisite for the ready conversion of the Gentile world ; the gathering of Israel, the building of Jerusalem, the raising again the tabernacle of David, and restoring the kingdom to a king of David's line, were all prophetically announced with the double purpose of comforting the then existing generation of God's people by a promise to be in part literally fulfilled, and of foreshadowing, though as a "mystery" not to be yet revealed, the grander gathering, building, raising up and establishing the *universal spiritual kingdom* of CHRIST. Malachi being the only prophet who wrote after Jerusalem was restored in the time of Ezra (see Ezra v. 1), it is clear that every prophecy of a restoration, except it be found in Malachi, may have had a literal fulfilment in Ezra's time ; and that the language of the prophets who prophesied during the desolation, or who had prophesied of the desolation of Jerusalem, would be likely to turn so far as possible on a subject so interesting to the Jews as the restoration of their city, seems obviously probable. We cannot therefore be surprised at meeting with passages which *seem* to speak *only* of what was indeed to come to pass, and of what the Jews ardently desired ; but St. James's application of Amos ix. 11 to the admission of Gentiles into the Church of Christ ought at once to tear away the veil which would otherwise hide from our view the truer scope of those prophecies, and should be the key to interpret every promise, so far as it is still future, not of the earthly but of the heavenly Jerusalem, not of "Israel according to the flesh," but of "the Israel of God." There is hardly to be found a prophecy which speaks more explicitly of the rebuilding of the temple, and the re-establishment of the twelve tribes in the Holy Land, than the prophecy contained in the concluding chapters of Ezek. xl.—xlviii. The apportionment of the land to the several tribes is specially detailed in chap. xlviii. ; but it is to be observed that now a very different commandment is given from what we find when the first apportionment was made. In Joshua's time the people were directed to "dispossess" and "drive out" the old inhabitants of the land (see Numb. xxxiii. 52—56). The land itself was wholly given to the children of Jacob. But now special provision is made for *strangers* (see Ezek. xlvii. 22): "Ye shall divide it (the land) by lot for an inheritance unto you *and to the strangers* that sojourn among you. And they shall be unto you as born in the country among the children of Israel. *They shall have inheritance with you among the tribes of Israel.*" That this apportionment of the land

has not yet been made or attempted is clear, for see the peculiarities of it in chap. xlviii. The whole prophecy has yet to be fulfilled. But if it is supposed to sanction the expectation that the twelve tribes of Israel are hereafter to occupy again that land, then Israel's future occupation of it is to be a *joint tenure* with the strangers which will dwell among them. The *stranger* will receive *inheritance among the tribes*. This, if we understand by the land the CHURCH OF CHRIST, figuratively described in language literally applicable to Palestine, is of course immediately intelligible, and accords well with what is several times said in the New Testament. As for instance, "Ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints" (Eph. iii. 19; see also above verses 12, 13). "Many shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of God" (Matt. viii. 11). "The promise is . . . to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call" (Acts ii. 39). But if, on the other hand, we must understand by Ezekiel's description the literal Palestine, then at least there is no promise of inheritance there exclusively made to Jews. *Strangers* are to receive portions among the tribes of Israel, and to be regarded as "born in the country." This will scarcely satisfy the expectations of those who are looking for the re-establishment of the Jews. It is not as joint tenants with Gentiles that people look to see the twelve tribes reinstated in their own land! And yet if prophecy is the ground on which any expectation must be formed, prophecy assuredly speaks of a gathering of the nations (see Zech. ii. 10—12). "Many nations shall be joined to the Lord in that day, and shall be my people, and (according to the Septuagint) *they shall dwell in the midst of thee*," etc. Prophecy speaks of gathering others to Israel "besides those that are gathered," and of giving inheritance (as we have seen) to strangers in the very land promised to the children of Jacob. The truth seems to be, that according to that long-hidden "*mystery*" so often alluded to by St. Paul, and according to the purpose of God darkly hinted thereby from the first, but even to this day not generally acknowledged or understood, the whole Abrahamic dispensation was subordinate to the grand and most merciful design of a world-wide salvation of mankind. In Abraham's seed, and by means of that apparently exclusive dispensation, all the families of the earth were to be blessed: an eternal and a catholic promise was wrapped up under the guise of a promise which was temporary and local. "Heaven and earth,"—a phrase apparently expressive of that former covenant of God with a portion only of mankind,—"*heaven and earth*" would "*pass away*," each of them shaken in turn by the voice of God; "*but my words*"—that same voice—"shall not pass away." That Word which endureth for ever would introduce a "*new heaven and earth*" which cannot be shaken,—a dispensation destined to be final and universal, and to continue unto the coming of "*the end*."

NEHEMIAH THE TIRSHATHA.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—The writer of a letter on "the Persians and Demetrius" in the number of this Journal for July last (p. 422), advances the following somewhat hasty statement:—"Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, who was living in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B.C. 433, also sealed the covenant with those priests who came up from Babylon to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel, as is supposed, in the reign of Cyrus. Cyrus must have died, therefore, later than B.C. 530."

As the thirty-second year of Longimanus coincided with B.C. 433, the twentieth year of this king must have coincided with B.C. 445. The obvious meaning of the sentence cited above seems to be that the son of Hachaliah was one of those who came up to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Jeshua; or the writer may only have intended to assert that certain priests, who then accompanied Zerubbabel, afterwards joined with Nehemiah the Tirshatha (or governor), in sealing a covenant. Neither view would appear, upon examination, to be tenable.

On the latter view, as it was required (Num. iv. 3), that all priests should be thirty years old before they were permitted to enter upon the official duties of the priesthood, it will follow that the priests who sealed with the Tirshatha must have been fully thirty years of age in B.C. 536, when Zerubbabel left Babylon for Judea. Now we shall presently shew that the sealing took place in the twentieth of Artaxerxes, B.C. 445. These priests, therefore, if still living in that year, must have attained to the great age of one hundred and twenty years. This would be hardly credible of a single individual, much less of several.

It is generally believed that the Nehemiah who came from Babylon with Zerubbabel was a different person from Nehemiah the cupbearer of Artaxerxes Longimanus, who, in the twentieth year of that monarch's reign, was made by him Tirshatha or governor of Judea. We read of the former Nehemiah in Ezra ii. 2, and in Neh. vii. 7: "Now these are the children of the province that came up out of the captivity . . . and came again to Jerusalem and Judah . . . which came with Zerubbabel, Jeshua, *Nehemiah*, Seraiah," etc. As this is all that is said by the sacred historian of this Nehemiah, we are compelled to have recourse to conjectural inference; though the scriptural data, when more clearly inspected, will perhaps be found more suggestive than might at first sight appear to be the case.

The reader, then, on consulting the second chapter of Ezra, will there find a numerical register of those who came up to Jerusalem from Chaldea, in which register, while the whole number comprised in each division is given, the names of individuals are not mentioned. It must, however, be carefully noted that this numerical register is preceded by the names of ten individuals; that of the high priest Jeshua being, of course, at the head of this brief list. We may safely venture to assert that no candid enquirer will feel any hesitation in regarding these ten men as persons of some weight and importance. We might have sup-

posed them to be priests if their names had manifested any tolerable correspondence with those mentioned in the introductory verses of the twelfth chapter of Nehemiah. But it is not necessary to our present purpose to discuss this point; it will be enough to say that, as the name of this Nehemiah immediately follows that of Jeshua the high priest, we shall scarcely be disposed to conclude from such an arrangement that Nehemiah was the youngest of the nine who are mentioned with Jeshua, but that he rather belonged to the elder portion of those with whom he is here associated. Accordingly, we may not unreasonably consider it to be very probable that Nehemiah was not less than forty years of age when he crossed the Euphrates with Zerubbabel.

Now, it is almost universally allowed that Babylon was taken by the Medes and Persians about B.C. 538, and that Zerubbabel and the Jewish exiles entered Judea cir. B.C. 536. And it was in the twentieth of Longimanus, cir. B.C. 445, that his cupbearer, Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, was made Tirshatha of Judea; and it was as Tirshatha that he sealed a covenant at Jerusalem (Neh. x. 1). But between B.C. 536 and B.C. 445, is an interval of eighty-nine years. Hence, if the Nehemiah who was the friend and contemporary of Zerubbabel and Jeshua is really to be identified with Nehemiah, the cupbearer of Longimanus, he must, on this hypothesis, have been not less than one hundred and twenty-nine, or one hundred and nineteen, years of age, when he was made governor of Judea in B.C. 445, *i. e.*, according as we suppose him to have been forty, or thirty years old, when Zerubbabel and Jeshua came to Jerusalem. There is no scriptural warrant for assuming that "Nehemiah the Tirshatha sealed the covenant with those priests who came up from Babylon to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel." No allusion whatever is made by Ezra (in ii. 1, 2, or elsewhere), to any *sealing* of the covenant. There is no other sealing of a covenant spoken of in Ezra or Nehemiah, except that which is mentioned Neh. x. 1.

We may be assisted in the present discussion if we take into account the well known character of the Tirshatha, the son of Hachaliah. If the Nehemiah of Zerubbabel was really one and the same person with the Nehemiah of Longimanus, then, beyond all question, was intense patriotic love for Jerusalem and the fatherland a reigning and abiding feeling in his heart. What, it may naturally be asked, could have induced such a man to quit his beloved country for heathen lands? to turn his back on Jerusalem and his friends there? to recross the Euphrates into what would seem a second exile? and then to proceed beyond the Tigris to the far distant Shushan, to reside many long years at a heathen court, estranged from the society of those whom he most loved and honoured?

When the returned Hebrew exiles were harassed by their semi-heathen Samaritan neighbours, and maliciously hindered in the great work of rebuilding the temple, was this the time for a true-hearted standard-bearer like Nehemiah to withdraw from the field of conflict? We may rest assured that if he did leave Jerusalem for Shushan, it was from motives of imperative duty, and from no selfish regard to his own personal interest and ease. May we not, however, suppose it to be at

least possible that Zerubbabel and Jeshua sent him, against his own wish and feelings, to the Persian court, to endeavour to counteract the malicious devices of those Persian counsellors who had been "hired" by the Samaritans to prejudice the Persian court against the returned Jews? It should be enough to reply to this question, that there is not the shadow of a foundation for such an hypothesis in the books of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, or in Josephus. Is it to be found even in rabbinical tradition? If the Nehemiah of Zerubbabel is to be identified with the Tirshatha of Judea, how are we to account for his leaving his fatherland, and becoming subsequently the cupbearer of Artaxerxes Longimanus?

Let us next see what light is thrown upon the subject of our enquiry from the Book of Nehemiah. It appears that in the twentieth year of this Artaxerxes, Nehemiah received such a melancholy account of the distressed state of the Jews in the province of Judea, that, when in attendance as cupbearer before the king and queen,^c his countenance betrayed the anxiety of his mind. Artaxerxes sent him at once as Tirshatha or Governor to Jerusalem, cir. 445 B.C. He entered with energy upon the task of rebuilding the city wall, a task which was accomplished in fifty-two days (Neh. vi. 15), on the twenty-fifth day of the month Elul. This month, immediately preceding Tizri, was the sixth month of the Jewish year, about 445 B.C. Now, the eighth chapter of Nehemiah is a repetition of the second of Ezra, together with the first verse of the third. Accordingly, we shall see at once that the *seventh* month, spoken of in Neh. vii. 73, has reference to what occurred in Judea, B.C. 536-5. But the *seventh* month spoken of in Neh. viii. 2, evidently refers to what took place in Jerusalem some ninety years afterwards, in B.C. 445. For the eighth chapter of Nehemiah plainly begins with relating what happened about five days after the completion of the wall (the wall having been finished on the twenty-fifth of the sixth month Elul), on the first and second days of the seventh month Tizri. On the fifteenth (viii. 16), they kept the feast of tabernacles, the religious ceremonies extending over eight days, and including the twenty-second of Tizri. And it clearly appears to have been on the twenty-fourth day of this same Tizri (B.C. 445), that the Levites made a general confession on behalf of the nation, and that the princes, Levites, and priests *sealed a covenant*, the name of the Tirshatha or Governor Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, being at the head of those who then sealed. Nor is there mention in Ezra or Nehemiah of any other public sealing.

Doubtless, Nehemiah himself gives only comparatively slight assistance to us in our enquiry. We may, however, refer to the passage in

^c Neh. ii. 6. Jahn, whether correctly or otherwise, writes:—"It is manifest from the whole narrative that Nehemiah, who presented wine to his royal master in the presence of the queen, and consequently in the harem, was a eunuch in high favour with the king." We may add that this would be in agreement with the spirit of the prediction in Isaiah xxxix. 7; of the literal accomplishment of which the marginal annotators in our Authorized Version remark, "Fulfilled, Dan. i. 1, 2, 3, 7."

which he speaks of having been preceded in his administration by several governors:—"The former governors" (of Judea), he writes, "before me were chargeable to the people," (Neh. v. 15). To say the least, more than two or three governors, exclusive of Zerubbabel, would seem intended here. The administration of Zerubbabel commenced B.C. 536. He was still Tirshatha in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, cir. B.C. 520; nor is there any reason to doubt that he still continued to be so in the sixth of Darius, B.C. 515. How long he survived the building of the temple is not known.

Again, consider the manner in which Nehemiah introduces his discovery of the list of those that came up at the first from Babylon with Zerubbabel:—"And my God put into my heart to gather together the nobles, and the rulers over the people, that they might be reckoned by genealogy. *And I found a register of the genealogy of those which came up at the first*, and found written there, These are the children of the province that went up out of the captivity . . . who came with Zerubbabel, Jeshua, *Nehemiah*, Seraiah," etc. Would any unprejudiced reader of this book imagine, from this part of the narrative, that Nehemiah the Tirshatha was identical with the Nehemiah named in the register thus found, who came to Jerusalem "at the first" with Zerubbabel.

What we read of Nehemiah in ii. 12—16, and what is said in the succeeding chapters of the energy which he manifested in urging forward and superintending the completion of the wall, together with the fact that he was more than twelve years^d the active and vigilant Tirshatha of the province of Judea, give us the idea, not of a man who in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes had already exceeded fourscore years and ten, but of one who was yet in the very prime and vigour of his days. In the letter from which the paragraph concerning Nehemiah at the commencement of this paper is taken, a reference is made to Sir Isaac Newton's work on chronology, and on the Book of Daniel. I have no opportunity of consulting just now what that illustrious philosopher has written, but must gather what I can from that which is cited in the letter in question.

Since Newton gives B.C. 436 as the date of the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, he of course held that Xerxes reigned twenty years, and died about B.C. 464; differing from those who think that Xerxes reigned only twelve years, and died B.C. 473. He regards Xerxes as the successor of Darius Hystaspes; and I can have no hesitation in supposing that he also held that the latter ascended the throne of Persia about B.C. 521.^e

^d Nehemiah went back to Shushan at the end of twelve years, and after staying for a time with the king, returned to Jerusalem. There is a difference of opinion how long he remained in Persia. Prideaux thinks it was more than twenty years, the Hebrew phrase, "at the end of days," being capable of representing a period of several years.

^e Rollin, following Usher, assigns only twelve years to the reign of Xerxes, and gives 473 B.C. as the date of his death. In a paper on Biblical Chronology (*J. S. L.*, Jan., 1860, p. 340), its author writes:—"Usher had clearly shewn that the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus should be reckoned *nine years earlier* than the

The words of Newton are thus cited in the letter:—"I consider further that Ezra (chap iv.), names Cyrus, †, Darius, Ahasuerus, and Artaxerxes in continual order, as successors to one another; and these names agree to Cyrus, †, Darius Hystaspes, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes Longimanus, and to no other kings of Persia." I gather from this that as Newton speaks of these Persian kings "as successors one to another," he held that Darius Hystaspes did not begin to reign at least until after the death of Cyrus, and that he would not have agreed with those who suppose that these two kings were for a time contemporary sovereigns.

I also venture to take for granted that the cross which occurs in the above quotation after the name of Cyrus, merely indicates that, in Sir Isaac's judgment, Cambyses and Pseudo-Smerdes^f are wholly ignored by Ezra, but that he had no thought of impeaching the accuracy of Herodotus's assertion that two individuals, Cambyses and the Magian usurper, reigned successively between Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes. And, finally, I presume that Newton also held that Zerubbabel and Jeshua came up from Babylon to Jerusalem cir. 536 B.C.

If the above view be correct, I cannot think that Sir Isaac Newton would suppose the Nehemiah who came up with Zerubbabel, and whose name is found next to that of the high priest Jeshua (Ezra ii.), to have been less than thirty years of age in B.C. 536. On this view, our great philosopher would have held that, if this Nehemiah were living in B.C. 493 (the year in which some think that "Darius the Mede took the kingdom,"^g) he would not be less than seventy years of age; if still alive in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (cir. B.C. 445), he would be at least one hundred and seventeen years old; and if Nehemiah survived to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 433), his age would have reached to one hundred and twenty-nine years. Newton, therefore, would almost certainly have rejected the notion that the Tirshatha, the son of Hachaliah, and cupbearer of Longimanus, is to be identified with the Nehemiah who came to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel.

This is not the place, even if there were sufficient materials extant in either case, to enquire how we are to classify such prose writers as Onesicritus,^h and such historical poets as Ferdousi, both of whom are

date commonly given. As this would allow only twelve years for the reign of Xerxes, in place of twenty-one allotted to him by the Canons, we may conclude with Whiston, 'that about the twelfth year of Xerxes he made his youngest son, Artaxerxes, king regent.' In the same paper (p. 319), the author says that in a recently published work on chronology, by Mr. F. Parker, is to be found a conclusive refutation of Mr. Bosanquet's chronological system, "though apparently supported by the testimony of Demetrius in his book on the kings of Judah."

^f Hooke, in his *Roman History*, says that Mithridates the Great, King of Pontus, was descended from one of the seven Persian noblemen who conspired against the Magian usurper. This may have been merely a popular tradition, without any trustworthy foundation. Jahn writes, "The founder of the family of Mithridates Eupator was one of those seven princes of Persia who slew Smerdis the Magian. This prince was governor of Pontus, and having secured the province to his descendants, they at length made themselves independent, and assumed the title of Kings of Pontus."

^g Lempriere says of Onesicritus:—"He wrote a history of Alexander's life, which

alluded to in the letter in question ; whether their professedly historical statements are to be regarded as belonging to the wide and almost boundless field of romantic narrative, which, if too much heeded, is apt rather to confuse and perplex, than to instruct the mind ; or, as falling within the more narrow and circumscribed range of authentic history.

I do not for a moment doubt that the writer of the letter which has called forth this paper sincerely believed that he was correct in assuming the Nehemiah of Zerubbabel to be identical with Nehemiah the Tirshatha, the son of Hachaliah. I cannot, however, but think that, if he will once more examine the sacred writers in reference to this subject, he will not refuse to allow that he was in error when he penned the following assertion:—"Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, who was living in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B.C. 433, also sealed the covenant with those priests who came up from Babylon to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel, as is supposed in the reign of Cyrus. Cyrus must have died, *therefore*, later than B.C. 530."

A CONSTANT READER.

CHRONOLOGY OF OUR LORD'S LAST PASSOVER.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—In your number for October you inserted a paper from "H. C." on the chronology of our Lord's last Passover. "H. C." holds that Jesus Christ kept the Passover in the year in which he was crucified ; that "the three earlier Evangelists speak only of the Lord's Passover ;" and that "John speaks only of that of the nation generally ;" and that the hour appointed by God for the sacrifice of the Passover lamb was after six p.m.

From each of these views I differ. In John i. 29, John the Baptist says of Jesus Christ, "Behold, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world," and in 1 Cor. v. 7, St. Paul says, "Even Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us ; therefore let us keep the feast." It also appears from Mark xiv. 12 ; xv. 25, 34, that Jesus was crucified on the day on which the Jews killed the Passover, and that about the ninth hour, that is, about three p.m., he gave up the ghost. Further, St. John says of the Jews who led Jesus to the hall of judgment, "It was early, and they themselves went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover," John xviii. 28. From this it is evident not only that the Jews had not eaten the Passover lamb, but also that the lamb could not have been slain at that time ; for, if it had been slain, it must also have been eaten ; for

has been censured for the romantic, exaggerated, and improbable narrative it gives. It is asserted that Alexander said, upon reading it, that he should be glad to come to life again for some time to see what reception the historian's work met with."

the command was, "They shall eat the flesh in that night," and, "Ye shall let nothing of it remain until the morning," (Exodus xii. 8, 10).

It also appears from Josephus (*Wars*, vi. 9, 3), that in the time of Nero the Jews at their Passover slew their sacrifices from the ninth to the eleventh hour, that is, from three to five p.m. Nor is there any reason to suppose that they slew them at a different hour in the time of Tiberius when Jesus Christ was crucified. It also appears from Exodus xii. 6, that the Passover lamb was to be slain between the two evenings. It also appears from Josephus (*Ant.*, iii. 10, 3), that the Passover lamb was slain by the Jews on the fourteenth of Nisan, when the moon was in Aries.

Further, in Exodus xii. 3, 5, 6, the command was, "In the tenth day of this month they shall take to them every man a lamb." "Your lamb shall be without blemish, a male of the first year: ye shall take it out from the sheep, or from the goats." "And ye shall keep it up until the fourteenth day of the same month, and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it between the two evenings."

Thus to constitute a Passover lamb it was not only to be killed on the fourteenth day, but also to be taken out from among its fellows on the tenth day of the month. It has already been noticed that Jesus Christ was crucified on the day on which the Jews killed the Passover, that is, on the fourteenth day of Nisan. It shall be shewn that he was also taken out from among his fellows on the tenth day. According to St. Mark, the day on which "they brought the colt to Jesus, and cast their garments on him, and he sat upon him, and many spread their garments in the way, and others cut down branches off the trees and strewed them on the way, and they that went before and they that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," must have been the tenth day of the month.

Thus Mark (xi. 11), says, "Jesus entered into Jerusalem." "And now the eventide was come, he went out unto Bethany with the twelve." Let this be the tenth day, or Monday. In ver. 12 it is said, "And on the morrow, when they were come from Bethany, he was hungry," etc. This would be the eleventh day, or Tuesday; and in ver. 19, it is said, "And when even was come, he went out of the city." This would be the evening of Tuesday. In ver. 20, it is said, "And in the morning as they passed by, they saw the fig-tree dried up from the roots." This would be the morning of the twelfth day, or Wednesday. The next mention of time by St. Mark is in xiv. 1, "After two days was the feast of the Passover and unleavened bread." This would be the thirteenth day, or Thursday; and in ver. 12, it is said, "And the first day of unleavened bread, when they killed the Passover, his disciples said unto him, Where wilt thou that we go and prepare, that thou mayest eat the Passover?" This would be the fourteenth day, or Friday, that is, on the assumption that the public entry of Jesus into Jerusalem was on the tenth day, or Monday.

But the day on which they killed the Passover must have been the fourteenth day, and hence the public entry of Jesus into Jerusalem must have been on the tenth day, and the homage thus paid to Jesus

may therefore well be regarded as the taking out the lamb from the sheep.

The order of these days may be better seen by the following table:—

Abib or Nisan.	Days before or after Pass- over.	Days of the Week.	St. Matt.	St. Mark.	St. Luke.	St. John.	Events.
IX.	VI.	Sunday				xii. 1	{ Jesus comes to Bethany.
X.	V.	Monday	xxi. 1—17	xi. 1, 11	xix. 29	" 12	{ Public entry of Je- sus into Jerusalem.
XI.	IV.	Tuesday	" 18, 19	" 12, 19	" 45		{ The fig-tree cursed.
XII.	III.	Wednesday	" 20	" 20	xx. 1		{ The fig-tree ob- served to be wi- thered.
XIII.	II.	Thursday	xxvi. 2	xiv. 1	xxii. 1		{ Consultation to take Jesus by sub- tlety.
XIV.	I.	Friday	" 17 xxvii. 1	" 12 xv. 1	" 7 xxiii. 1, 54	xix. 14	{ The Crucifixion— the Passover.
XV.	II.	Saturday	" 62	" 42	" 56	" 31	{ The great Sabbath of the 7th day and 15th of Nisan.
XVI.	III.	Sunday	xxviii. 1	xvi. 1	xxiv. 1	xx. 1.	{ The resurrection— the first fruits.

On reference to the several gospels, it will be seen, that St. Mark is the only one of the four evangelists who gives the complete succession of the days from the public entry of Jesus into Jerusalem to his resurrection; and by this mode of placing the events of this week in the day in which they respectively occurred, according to St. Mark, it appears that the public entry of Jesus into Jerusalem was five days before the Passover. But it appears from John xii. 12, that it was the day after Jesus came to Bethany; and in xii. 1, St. John expressly states that Jesus came to Bethany six days before the Passover. Thus St. John gives a most undesigned, but most striking confirmation to the chronology of St. Mark in regard to this holy week.

It should also be noticed that the Jewish day began at six p.m., and thus when it is said in Mark xiv. 17, of the day in which they killed the Passover, "*and in the evening he cometh with the twelve*," this must be understood as having taken place on the Thursday evening after six p.m. Farther: at the supper this evening, "Jesus took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, *This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me*." Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, *This cup is the new testament in my blood which is shed for you*" (Luke xxii. 19). In this we have plain directions as to how the apostles were to keep the Paschal Feast, in which Jesus Christ was to be the Passover Lamb, and it is given by St. Luke immediately after the saying of Jesus, "I will not any more eat of this Passover, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God." St. Paul also taught the Corinthians that they were to keep the Christian feast with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth (1 Cor. v. 8). From all this it must clearly follow that Jesus Christ is most truly to

be regarded as our Passover Lamb. Hence we must believe that he fulfilled all that was said of the Passover Lamb in Exodus xii. Hence the hour at which Jesus Christ gave up the ghost must be held to fix the meaning of the command in Exodus xii. 6, that the Lamb was to be killed between the two evenings. It has been shewn that Jesus gave up the ghost about three p m., that is, between twelve at noon and six p.m., and this must be the meaning of the command in Exodus. Especially must we hold this, when on the authority of Josephus it is evident that the hour at which Jesus gave up the ghost, was the hour at which the Passover Lamb of the Jews was at that time wont to be sacrificed. In opposition to this extraordinary testimony, "H. C." holds that "*between the two evenings*" must mean after six p.m. Hence also it must follow that the supper which Jesus Christ partook of with his apostles, the evening before his crucifixion, could not have been the keeping of the Passover. For no lamb which might have been partaken of at that supper could have been sacrificed on the day and also at the hour appointed by God for the sacrifice of the Passover Lamb. If it had been slain on the proper day, it must have been slain at the wrong hour, or if it had been slain at the right hour, that is before six p.m., it must have been slain at the least on the day before. At all events, it must have been slain many hours before Jesus was crucified.

It is true, "Jesus sent Peter and John, saying, Go and prepare us the Passover, that we may eat; and they made ready the Passover. And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer: for I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God" (Luke xxii. 8, 13).^a Here is the expression of a strong desire to partake of the Passover, but no positive statement that the repast to which Jesus sat down with his twelve apostles was the Passover. In like manner, Jesus said, "Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless, not my will, but thine, be done" (Luke xxii. 42), and in regard to this prayer, the will of Jesus was not granted; and in regard to his desire to partake of the Passover, it has been shewn that it could not have been granted if his approaching crucifixion was to be considered as the sacrifice of the Passover Lamb. Nor is the statement of St. Luke as to the desire of Jesus to partake of the Passover at all inconsistent with the supposition that Jesus had not at that time partaken of it. His mention of the fulfilment of the Passover in the kingdom of God may also have reference to his approaching crucifixion as being the sacrifice of the true Passover Lamb, which taketh away the sin of the world, and of which the Passover Lamb which had been slain from the time of Moses had been a continued figure or shadow. And if the Passover Lamb of the Jews were a figure or shadow of Jesus Christ as the true Passover Lamb, it would have been strange, if in the

^a In Luke xxii. 15, the desire of Jesus to partake of the Passover is expressed by *ἐπιθυμῶσα*, and in Matt. xiii. 17; Luke xv. 16; xvi. 21; xvii. 22; James iv. 2; Rev. ix. 6, *ἐπιθυμῶ* is used to express a desire not gratified.

very year in which the true Passover Lamb was to be slain, the Jews had been permitted so to fall into error, that the shadow agreed not with the substance in so important a particular as the hour of the day at which the Passover Lamb was to be slain. Happily, the custom of the Jews at the time was such that the shadow agreed exactly with the substance.

Hence there is no reason for supposing with "H. C." that "the three earlier evangelists speak only of the Lord's Passover," and that "John speaks only of that of the nation generally." All the four evangelists evidently refer to one and the same Passover, which was kept by the Jews, and at which Jesus Christ was sacrificed as the true Passover Lamb.

The strictness with which Jesus also fulfilled the law as to the first fruits may also be noticed. According to Leviticus xxiii. 6, 7, 11, and Josephus, *Ant.*, iii., 10, 5, the sheaf of the first fruits was to be offered on the morrow after the Sabbath, which was the first day of the feast of unleavened bread, that is, the morrow after the fifteenth day of Nisan, that is, the first fruits were to be offered on the sixteenth day of Nisan; and as the crucifixion of Jesus Christ was on the fourteenth of Nisan, his resurrection, which was after three days, or on the third day from the crucifixion, must also have been on the sixteenth of Nisan. Hence in the year of the crucifixion, the sheaf of the first fruits must have been offered on the day of the resurrection; and thus St. Paul says of Jesus, "Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept" (1 Cor. xv. 20).

FRANKE PARKER.

THE EUCHARISTIC BLESSING.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—Allow me to say a few words on the observations made by your correspondent "D. E.," with reference to the language of St. Paul when he is describing the Christian Eucharist.

Your correspondent says that the words, "τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν" are incorrectly translated in the Authorized Version, which should be rendered "the cup of *the* blessing which we bless," because here is evidently an allusion to the thanksgiving cup at the Paschal feast, so called because then the Jews gave thanks for the meal. Granting such to be the case, of which indeed there can be no doubt, it does not follow that the words cannot be relied upon to shew that at the celebration of the Eucharist it was the apostolic habit to bless the elements. The insertion of the article "may" be correct, but does not seem to affect the argument. The Christian Eucharist is no doubt based upon the Jewish as to the essentials of the action, but if the reasoning of your correspondent be correct, St. Paul must mean the Jewish cup and nothing else! In what sense could that cup be κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ? In none possibly. And in the

eleventh chapter of the first of Corinthians, St. Paul declares, "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come." The insertion of the article therefore cannot make the slightest difference. But St. Paul *does* say, "the cup of blessing WHICH WE BLESS." Now as the whole assembly of Christians in one house or room could "not have simultaneously" blessed the cup, it follows that it must have been done by one of those who were "set over them in the Lord," and as the Apostle of the Gentiles did nothing but what he "received" from the Lord, we are quite justified in believing that our Divine Redeemer blessed the wine at the institution of the Last Supper, and if the wine, the "bread" also!

I should be sorry to have it imagined that I have the slightest intention of wresting any portion of the Scriptures from their true and legitimate meaning, but may there not be some grounds for supposing that Melchisedek was a type of our Lord in a way to which St. Paul makes no allusion in the Epistle to the Hebrews. In Genesis we read (chap. xiv. 18) that "he brought forth bread and wine, that he was the priest (ἱερεὺς) of the most high God, and that he blessed Abram. "Blessing no doubt is peculiarly *the* office of the priest, but in the case of Melchisedek was this any reason that he should "bring forth bread and wine?" Apparently none, except that he was the type of "him who did so" at the institution of the Eucharist. Allow this suggestion, and the language of St. Paul is still more clearly brought out.

In conclusion, as is well observed by Olshausen in his commentary, "were there in the Lord's Supper no other communion with Christ" but *in spirit*, it would have been denominated only *κοινωνία τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, not *τοῦ αἵματος, τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. How forcible this reasoning is, must appear from the language of Baxter, in his *Reformed Liturgy*, which may have weight with some of your readers. In that form of public worship, after the minister has recited the words of institution, then let him say, "This bread and wine being set apart and consecrated to this holy use by God's appointment, are now no common bread and wine, but *sacramentally* the *body* and *blood* of Christ." The same expression is again introduced in a subsequent prayer.

I remain, etc.,

Nov. 8th, 1861.

H. P.

[Here we must close this discussion.—Eds. J.S.L.]

REMARKS ON A NEW VERSION OF THE BOOK OF JOB.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—A few words on a rendering of some passages in the "New Translation of the Book of Job," inserted in the number of the *J. S. L.* for July, 1861, in which the author has used the word *bless* instead of *curse*, as in the Authorized Version.

Now, Boothroyd in his translation of the Bible no doubt asserts

that a sense has there been given to קלל which he confidently affirms it never has in the Scriptures; nor has it, he says, the sense of "cursing" in any of the cognate dialects. Of this latter assertion I can say nothing, but to affirm that it has not the meaning of "cursing" as rendered in our version, cannot be borne out. The word in its primary meaning, according to Gesenius, signifies "in genua procubuit," and to kneel is an act which may imply either the imploration of a blessing, or the imprecation of a curse. In Hebrew, as Mr. Carey observes in his excellent translation of this book, the sense must be determined by the context; in Latin, and its more modern languages, by the addition of a qualifying preposition to the word in its first and most natural sense. Thus, from the Latin "precor," I pray, comes im-precor, I imprecate, or curse. But as there is not this qualification in the Hebrew, we must (as has been observed) be guided by the context, the only method by which we can discover whether the terms blessing or cursing are to be adopted. Now, in the "New Translation of Job," the author differing from the Authorized Version, renders chap. i., ver. 5, "Perhaps my sons have sinned, and blessed the gods in their heart," which may mean, "have secretly given themselves up to idolatrous thoughts and practices." Now, this book being confessedly of great antiquity, the question would turn upon whether קלל ever has the signification of "false" as well as the "true God," at such a period. This being doubtful, would it not have been better to adhere to the meaning assigned in our own translation?

But in chap. xi., ver. 9, there is yet a stronger reason for adhering to the usual reading. The new translation renders, "And his wife saith to him, 'Still thou keepest hold on thine integrity: *bless* God, and die.'" Now, how the wife of Job could first exhort him to bless God, and then to abandon himself to despair, does not seem easy to be reconciled; especially when we consider his reply, "As one of the foolish women speaketh, thou speakest." Surely the first part of her advice was not that of a foolish woman, if we adopt the new rendering. But in the Authorized Version, supposing we adopt the word "curse," the reproof and resignation of Job are all appropriate. "What, shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" Here the whole verse is in harmony.

Again, in verse 5 of the same chapter, the adoption of the word "bless" induces a still more striking incongruity: "Nevertheless, send forth, I pray thee, thine hand, and strike against his bone, and against his flesh; if not, to thy face he will *bless* thee." I pass by an unpleasant awkwardness of expression in the attempt to be very literal, but must protest against putting such "inconsequential" language into the mouth even of the great adversary of mankind; who would never have asked permission to tempt Job had he been *sure* that such trials would have been received with such a spirit of resignation. Here, as usual, the Authorized Version is consistent and appropriate in language: "But put forth thine hand now, and touch his bone and his flesh, and he will curse thee to thy face." Fair criticism and common sense must reject any other version than this.

In conclusion; we cannot, I think, assume that because there are several different meanings or shades of meaning in a Hebrew word, we may, without very mature considerations, adopt an "unusual" rendering. The Authorized Version may not be perfect, but perhaps we are hardly aware of the amount of judgment and discrimination which the translators brought to their work. Philological knowledge is more accurate now than in their time, but in vigour of mind we may still pronounce them equal, if not superior, to our own scholars.

Yours faithfully,

H. P.

August 14th, 1861.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—In the July number of your Journal I noticed a new translation of the Book of Job, which in your last number was stated to be the work of Mr. Robert Young, of Edinburgh, who, it would appear, is about to publish a new translation of the entire Scriptures. If such a work were executed by competent scholars, who would adhere as far as possible to the rendering of the Authorized Version, it would no doubt be of very considerable value. As my sole object in writing to you is a love of truth, I trust you will not refuse to give insertion to a few critical remarks on Mr. Young's version of the Book of Job.

I do not know whether Mr. Young professes to reject the Masoretic punctuation, but, as will be seen, many of his translations are needlessly in direct opposition to it, while some are untenable on any principles of Hebrew grammar. For such of your readers as may not be acquainted with the results of modern scholarship, I may mention that the question as to the value of the points has long since been set at rest. No modern scholar now affects to despise them. The *via media* has been reached, between the superstitious reverence for the points held by the great scholars of the Reformation, and the still more absurd vagaries of the anti-punctuist school. The punctuation is indeed a traditional interpretation, but it is the very best and oldest tradition that we know. The Masorites have preserved to us the correct method of reading Hebrew, as proved by a comparison of the cognate languages, and their punctuation is not to be departed from, except in cases where a critical examination may shew that it is incorrect. Especially, I would say, in cases where the article is expressed by the Masoretic punctuation, there ought to be very decided grounds for departure from it. Without any further preamble, I must proceed *in medias res*, simply observing that I shall pass by those passages concerning which it may be remarked, "*adhuc sub judice lis est.*"

In chap. i., therefore, and in several passages in chap. ii., I pass by Mr. Young's translation of בֵּרַךְ by "bless." Independently, however, of the correctness or incorrectness of that rendering, his translation of verse 5, "perhaps my sons have sinned, and blessed the gods in their heart," and of ver. 22, where again he supposes אֱלֹהִים to refer to idols, is

indefensible. For in chap. i. ver. 1 we meet with אֱלֹהִים without the article used in reference to Jehovah. Indeed there is no passage in the opening chapters of Job where אֱלֹהִים is clearly used with the article. (On the phrase בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים, see Ges. *Gr.*, § 109, 1, and on אֱלֹהִים, § 23, 2). Even אֱלֹהִים, if used, might well refer to God; but as the text stands, there is not the smallest ground for supposing that the true God is designated in some passages, and false gods in others.—Chap. i. 8, “Hast thou set thine heart *against* my servant Job” (the italics are mine). A needless attempt at literality. The Hebrew means to set the heart on a thing either for good or evil. Here better rendered “considered,” as our Authorized Version, for שָׁם לֹא עָלַי is the same as שָׁם לֹא לִי. Compare the reading of the Samaritan codex in Deut. xxxii. 46, where שָׁם לֹא לִי is read in a good sense, instead of לֹא לִי, which is the reading of the Hebrew MSS.—Ver. 22, “In all this Job sinned not, nor gave praise to the gods.” One may well ask, was he ever tempted to do so? which does not appear even from Mr. Young’s version. Here Mr. Young most unwarrantably alters תְּהַלֵּל into תְּהַלֵּל; תְּהַלֵּל signifies *folly*, under which name *impiety* is frequently spoken of in Scripture (vide Ges. *Thes.*, pp. 1515—1516). Our Authorized Version is not bad: “nor charged God foolishly;” though Conant’s rendering is better: “nor uttered folly against God.” The LXX., Symm., Vulg., Syr. (*quoad sensum*), all agree with the reading of the Hebrew MSS.

Chap. iv. 2. “Should we try a word with thee.” This translation is wrong, unless meant to be a free rendering. The Hebrew is literally, “can one attempt a word with thee.” If the Hebrew were pointed תִּהְיֶה, it would be rendered as Mr. Young has done, but the verb is not found in the *kal* conjugation which that would be (viz., first pers. pl. fut.). The present reading תִּהְיֶה is the third pers. pret. piel, with the interrog. particle. Our Authorized Version’s rendering is similar to that of Mr. Young’s, but is evidently a free rendering.—Verse 18. “Nor in his messengers setteth praise.” Here again we have an alteration of the text, for Mr. Young must, we suppose, substitute instead of תִּהְיֶה, which is the reading of the MSS., the common תִּהְיֶה. The ordinary reading is fairly explained by our Authorized Version, “his angels he charged with folly,” *i. e.*, with imperfect knowledge and wisdom. On the form and meaning of תִּהְיֶה, see Ges. *Thes.*, p. 382, and his *Lex. Man.*

Chap. v. 5. “While the thirsty have swallowed up their strength.” Mr. Young has here followed the ancient interpreters, as the LXX., Vulg., Syr., etc., in their explanation of the word צָמִים, which they considered to be, *i. g.*, צָמִים. This derivation however is destitute of analogies. צָמִים is preferably regarded by modern scholars as a noun, of the form צָמִים, from צָמַם, Arabic *ضَمَمَ* to bind, cognate to צָמַם, signifying a *snare*, as in chap. xviii. 9, where the parallel word is צָמִים, which indisputably has that meaning,—

“The trap seizes him by the heel;
The snare takes fast hold of him.”

Where Mr. Young has again, rather absurdly,—

"A snare seizeth on the heel;
The thirsty prevail against him."

Our A. V.'s rendering "*robber*" is adopted from the Targum. Ver. 7. "But man to misery is born, and the sparks go as high as a bird." I can see no sense in the passage so rendered. The Hebrew, whether read with or without the points, cannot be so translated. וַיִּשְׁפּוּ is the inf. const. after וַיִּשְׁפּוּ (if וַיִּשְׁפּוּ were substituted it would be the inf. abs., but with no change of meaning). The sense is, "make high their flight." Compare Ges. *Gr.*, § 139, 1, and rem. 1. What is meant by the בְּנֵי רֶשֶׁת, lit., "sons of flame," or "sons of lightning," is much disputed. The phrase has been explained as meaning *sparks*, so the Targum, the Jewish commentators, whom our A. V. follows, Ewald, Conant, etc.; as meaning *arrows*, as Schultens; and lastly, which is rather preferable, with the old versions and Gesenius, as denoting *birds of prey*; compare the epithet, בְּנֵי שָׁרָף, "sons of pride," as applied to beasts of prey, chap. xxviii. 8; xli. 26 (Engl. Ver. xli. 34).—Verse 13. "And the counsel of the wrestling ones hath been hastened." This in the context conveys no sense, and appears adopted for the sake of novelty. וַיִּשְׁפּוּ, according to the more common usage of the verb, signifies "*the crafty*," "*the deceitful*." "Hath been hastened," rather, "is precipitate;" i. e., being hastily executed, it is frustrated. Comp. the use of the niph'al participle in Isaiah xxxii. 4.

By Mr. Young's rendering of אָדָם by "*mortal man*" in chap. v. 17 and other places, he shews his unacquaintance with the results of modern philology. Formerly indeed this was the meaning assigned to the word, which was supposed to be derived from the verb אָדָם, *to be sick*. The fact is, that אָדָם and אִדָּם are in reality the same (although the old lexicographers used to consider the former a name of honour, the latter of dishonour) אָדָם being softened for אִדָּם (Chald. אִדָּם). This appears especially from the feminine אִדָּם with its pl. אִדָּם, the Chald. fem. אִדָּם, which sometimes has the forms אִדָּם, אִדָּם, Syr., ܐܕܡܐ, as well as from a comparison of all the forms in Arabic, Ethiopic, Samaritan, and Phœnician.—Chap. vi. 6,

"Eaten is an unsavoury thing without salt?
Or is there sense in the drivel of dreams?"

I leave your readers to judge respecting the elegance of this translation, but I would note that here again Mr. Young alters the text to render his translation admissible; he must read וַיִּשְׁפּוּ instead of וַיִּשְׁפּוּ. The context shews plainly enough that *something edible* must be signified. Of the versions the only one that lends the least support to Mr. Young's translation is the LXX., who have ἔστι γεῦμα ἐν ῥήματι κενοῖς, possibly reading וַיִּשְׁפּוּ, but more likely paraphrasing the whole sentence. The rendering of our A. V. is most probably correct, "is there any taste in the white of an egg," which is supported by the Targum and the Rabbins, and among the moderns adopted by De Wette, Ewald, Umbreit, Conant, etc. (But see Gesenius' *Thes.* and

Lex.)—Verse 13. “Though substance has been driven from me.” Independently of the unsuitableness of this rendering to the context, it may be noted that *חומר* is never used in the sense of *substance*. The root is *חמ*, and bears the idea of *setting up*. “Wisdom,” the rendering of our A. V., is admissible, but not suitable to the passage, where the signification of *recovery* seems preferable.—Verse 14. “To the despiser of his friend there is shame.” The phrase *לְהַקְדֵּר אֶת-רֵעִי* cannot grammatically mean, “to the despiser of his friend.” *הַקְדֵּר* has the signification of *melting*, whence in niph'al it is used in the sense of *to become faint*. The *kal* (inf. const.) is found in a neuter sense in Isaiah x. 18, *וְהָיָה כַּדָּבָר*, “as when an armour-bearer fainteth.” Therefore *הַקְדֵּר*, whether as a participle or adjective, must be “one who faints,” not “one who causes to faint.” How then can Mr. Young derive the idea of *despising* from the word? Our A. V. is in this passage also tolerably correct. Conant renders the passage well: “kindness from his friend is due to the despairing.” Chap. vi. 18, is thus rendered,—

“Turn aside do the paths of their way;
They ascend into emptiness and are lost!”

There is no sense in this verse so translated, especially if viewed in connexion with the whole passage. The A. V. in this verse is also incorrect. *דרכיהם*, here rendered “*paths*” by Mr. Young (in common with the A. V.), is rendered by him in the next verse *travellers* (A. V. “*troops*”). *דרכו* means *a way*, and is used poetically for *travellers* (comp. Job xxxi. 32), which is the sense in both ver. 18 and 19 alike. The “travellers of their way” (the suffix *הֶם* referring to the troops mentioned in ver. 16), are those that take the course of these streams, and turn aside in order to come across them, but by so doing they go up into the desert (*הַבְּשָׁרָה*), and these streams having dried up, they perish. (On this use of the const., *vide* Ges. Gr., § 116, 2.) So Prof. Conant, and, among the older interpreters, Cappellus. Gesenius, with Ewald, Hirzel, etc., would read *דרכיהם*, *caravans*, in which case the suffix in *דרכיהם* would refer to the caravans, and *וְ* would be the accusative of place, instead of the genitive as in the pointed text. The meaning would be then slightly different: “The caravans wend their way towards them; they go up into the desert and perish.” But such a change is not necessary. What meaning Mr. Young considers the passage to have, I cannot divine. Ver. 27. Here we have another questionable translation:—

“Anger on the fatherless ye cause to fall,
And are strange to your friend!”

The first clause ought to be rendered: “Even for the orphan ye would cast lots;” for *וְ* is the conjunction, and it is harsh to view it as a noun “anger.” The *usus loquendi* makes us prefer to consider the passage as referring to the casting of lots, though Mr. Young’s version is possible. His rendering, however, of the second clause is most certainly erroneous; *וְ* is most clearly *to dig*, and how the idea of *strangeness* can by any possibility be derived from it baffles comprehension. Our A. V. simply and correctly renders the second clause: “and ye dig a pit for your friend.”—Ver. 28. “And, now, begin, look upon me,—

even to your face do I lie." No such vulgarism is to be found in Job; such a rendering is opposed as well to the laws of Hebrew syntax as to those of the accentuation. *וְהָאֵלֹהִים* and *וְהָאֵלֹהִים* are connected by the accents, and express *one idea*, either, *begin to look*, or *consent to look* (*vide* Ges. *Gr.*, § 139, 3, b). Again, *אֲנִי* never has the meaning of *even*; it is properly "*if*," and is used as a sort of negative particle like Lat. *num.* Prof. Conant renders: "For I will not speak falsely to your face." Better however is the A. V. rendering: "It is evident unto you if I lie." Similarly Gesenius: "*Ante oculos vestros erit* (*i. e.*, manifestum erit), *num mentitus sim*," and Lee, who translates the verse: "But now look favourably upon me, and it shall appear to your faces if I lie," unnecessarily supplying *אֲנִי*.

Chap. vii. 12. "He taketh away in my talking my couch." *וְהָאֵלֹהִים*, although often used in the signification of *to speak*, has also in several passages the meaning of *to sing*, and is used here and in Psalm lv. 2 in a bad sense, *to complain*, as in ver. 11, "I will complain in the bitterness of my soul," where Mr. Young has, "I will talk," etc. What sense is there in Mr. Young's translation? *וְהָאֵלֹהִים* is in parallelism to *וְהָאֵלֹהִים*, "My bed shall comfort me," and must mean, "My couch shall bear my complaint," *i. e.*, lighten it.

Chap. ix. 15. "For my judgment I make supplication." Here we have an unnecessary change in the text which quite obscures the sense of the passage. For Mr. Young must read *וְהָאֵלֹהִים*, *my judgment*, instead of *וְהָאֵלֹהִים*, "my opponent" (not *my judge*, as A. V. has it). God is regarded in the passage as at once an opponent in the suit, and the judge of the cause. *וְהָאֵלֹהִים* is a judge; *וְהָאֵלֹהִים*, *one who goes to law with another, an opponent*. Exactly the same distinction exists between the Arabic *حَاكِم* and *مُجَادِم*. (*Vide* Ges. *Thes.*, p. 1464. In his *Lex. Manuale*, Gesenius has incorrectly viewed the two participles as identical in meaning.)—Ver. 27,

"Though I say, I forget my talking, I forsake my corner,
And I brighten up?"

Is this intelligible to any one? I pass by here the rendering of *וְהָאֵלֹהִים*, and the unwarrantable division of the members of the sentence. In chap. x. 1, *אֲנִי אֶעְזֹב שִׁירִי* (rendered there by Mr. Young, "I leave off my talking to myself" !!!) means metaphorically, *I will not restrain my complaining*, as contrasted with *אֲנִי אֶעְזֹב שִׁירִי* in the present verse. Similarly *אֲנִי אֶעְזֹב שִׁירִי* is literally "*I let loose my face*," *i. e.*, from being contracted into wrinkles, *i. e.*, I will be joyous. Compare the Arabic phrase *ميسوط الوجه* one with a joyful countenance, lit., "stretched out of face." The alteration of *שִׁירִי*, as in the text, into *שִׁירִי*, "*my corner*," is absurd. The simple meaning of the passage is,—

"If I say, I will forget my complaint,
I will relax my countenance and be joyous."

Ver. 32. "But if a man like myself, I would answer him." How can Mr. Young defend this rendering? The Hebrew is, *כִּי לֹא אִישׁ כְּמוֹנִי*, "*for he is not man like me*."

Chap. xv. 12. "And why are thine eyes high." I suppose Mr. Young must read here עֵינַי, which Dr. S. Davidson (in his *Revision of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament*) says is the reading of one MS., and probably of the Vulgate. It is however very questionable whether the translation of the Vulgate, *attonitos habes oculos*, does really support this reading. The LXX. have not understood the rare word עֵינַי. However there is but little difficulty. The Syriac has rightly explained it by *ܡܬܥܠܐ ܡܬܥܠܐ*, and so has the Targum, the verb עָלָה being by a common transposition equivalent to עָלָה, which is in use in Arabic, Syriac, and Chaldee in the sense of *to wink with the eyes* in insolence and pride, which rendering suits the parallelism in the verse, and is the reading of by far the greater number of Hebrew MSS. As it is the more difficult reading, it is more likely to be correct than עֵינַי, which is the reading of many MSS. Ver. 24,—

"Adversity and distress terrify him,
They prevail *over* him as a king ready for the boaster!"

What sense it is possible to extract from this translation, or by what alchemy Mr. Young extracts the meaning of "*boaster*" from the ἀπαξ λεγ. כִּדּוֹ, are mysteries to me. If the difficult reading כִּדּוֹ be retained, we must with Gesenius refer it to a root כָּדַר, *i. q.*, Arab. كَدَرَ *to be disturbed, troubled*, and כִּדּוֹ will mean "*battle*," as our A. V., the Vulg., Syr., with Lee and the majority of commentators, translate it. The conjecture of Hupfeld is worth consideration, *i. e.*, to read כִּדּוֹן, in which case the idea would be that trouble and distress make the wicked afraid, and overcome them as a king who is skilled in the use of the javelin.—Ver. 27,

"For he hath covered his face with his fat,
And maketh mouths over his confidence."

The latter clause is incorrect, and conveys a poor sense; פִּמּוֹ cannot possibly be the plural of פִּה, *a mouth*; the פ is radical, and the root clearly פָּחַם or פָּחַם, Arab. فَمَّ, *to be fat*; whence פִּמּוֹ, "*fatness*;" פִּמּוֹ is used in Chaldee in the sense of *mouth*, but not in Hebrew. Mr. Young's translation destroys the parallelism. כָּסֵף might mean *confidence*, which is the meaning adopted by Lee, who renders the clause "and made wealth [lit., fatness] *his confidence*." But the view of Gesenius is decidedly preferable that כָּסֵף signifies *the loins*. Conant correctly translates the passage, in sense agreeing with our A. V.,—

"Because he covered his face with h's fatness,
And gathered fat upon his loins."

In chap. xvii. 9 Mr. Young's rendering, "and dumb are they all," unnecessarily sets at nought not only the punctuation, but the verse division of the Masorites. The Hebrew is אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם, or (as read by many MSS. and edd.) אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם, both having the same signification, though it is better, with Heiligstedt and Conant, to retain the former rendering on account of the paronomasia. אֵלֶּם or אֵלֶּם is an adversative particle signifying "*but*." Mr. Young would, I suppose, alter the text

to *חַי*, but the rendering *חַי* or *חַיָּא* suits the context, is that of all the Hebrew MSS., and is supported by the ancient versions, as the LXX., the Vulg. Syr., etc.

Mr. Young's translation of chap. xviii. 15, is so incomprehensible that I must give his rendering of ver. 14 as well. The italics are Mr. Young's.—

"Drawn away from his tent is his confidence—
And *that* causeth him to step to the king of terrors!
That dwelleth in his tent—out of his provender;
Scattered over his habitation is sulphur!"

What *does* Mr. Young mean by "out of his provender?" It would be waste of time to argue against such a translation—any tyro in Hebrew ought to know that *חַיָּא* is a common adverbial expression, signifying *in that not* or *so that not*, so the Syr., *ܡܢ ܚܝܐ* is simply "*so that it is none of his.*" The Authorized Version's rendering, "because it is none of his," is admissible, but does not so well suit the context. Chap. xix. 25, Mr. Young renders:—

"That 'I have known my living redeemer—
That at last for the dust he riseth!
And after my skin hath compassed this *body*,
Even from my flesh shall I see God!"

The translation "my living redeemer" is wrong, as in that case the Hebrew would have been *אֱלֹהֵי חַיָּא*, and not as in the text *אֱלֹהֵי חַיָּא*. Our A. V. is correct in making *חַיָּא* the predicate: "I know that my Redeemer liveth." If, in his rendering of the second clause, Mr. Young supposes the *dust* to mean our mortal bodies, and the clause to refer to "the redemption of the body," he is greatly mistaken. *עַל עֶשֶׂר* can be nothing else than "upon the earth," *i. e.*, on the earth, or upon the ground. See Gesenius' *Thes.* or *Lex. Man.* *עַל קִוָּם* can never mean "to arise for a thing," to deliver. Our A. V. is here again sufficiently correct: "and that he shall stand in the latter day upon the earth." Mr. Young's rendering of the third clause is equally erroneous; *עַל בְּשָׁרִי* "my skin" cannot be the nominative to *יִסְּרֵנִי*, and the meaning of *destroying* is the only suitable meaning here. I cannot now enter into an examination of the meaning of the two latter clauses; I refer your readers for such to the pages of Lee and Conant, which are, especially the latter, the best books on Job available to the English reader.

Here I would stop, not for lack of mistakes to comment on, but lest I should be too tedious. I have not noticed one tithe of the mis-translations even in these first nineteen chapters, to say nothing of the remainder of the book, which is even still worse translated. Mr. Young must make a grammar and a dictionary of the Hebrew language for himself, in order that his renderings may have the semblance of probability. No one with the grammar and lexicon of Gesenius beside him can possibly be misled by them. The few examples that I have cited are sufficient to exhibit the rashness with which he ventures to make alterations, the sense, or rather the nonsense, he makes of many passages, and the unheard-of meanings he assigns to Hebrew words. By a reference to his version your readers may judge for themselves with respect to elegance of language. Were it not that his translation has

appeared in such a Journal as yours, I would not have considered it worth while to notice it. Very probably it has been inserted by inadvertence in your columns. But there are so many pretenders to Hebrew scholarship in this day, who twist Hebrew to mean anything that suits their purpose, that I really think it but right for the sake of Biblical scholarship to say a few words on the subject. It is the comparative ignorance of Hebrew in our country that encourages such rash translations. One seldom meets with so many mistakes in the case of translations of passages of the New Testament.

I beg, with much respect and esteem, to subscribe myself,

Yours very truly,

Middleton Tyas, Yorkshire,
Nov. 23rd, 1861.

CHARLES H. H. WRIGHT.

THE GODDESS NANÆA.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

DEAR SIR,—In your able memoir on Nanæa, in the last number of the Journal (p. 235), you refer to my notions of that name and the symbols connected with it on the coins of Kanerkes, found at Manikyala, in Lahore. You give a much more satisfactory account of that name than I have done in my book on *The Lost Tribes*, in which, feeling my way with little light, I stumbled on mistakes that would have been avoided had I been so fortunate as to see Thomas's Princep's *Indian Antiquities* soon enough. Still I feel some difficulty in fully admitting the correctness of all your remarks on my mistakes as to *Nanaia* and the said symbols.

Helios, in Greek characters, is found on some of the coins of Kanerkes, and *Nanaia* in similar characters on other coins. No doubt *Helios* is the sun, and you give good reason for believing that *Nanaia* is the moon. Both, however, are, I presume, to be regarded as emblematical of derived power. The opposing dynasties of the Brahmins are derived, as they say, from the sun and the moon, and probably Kanerkes, by assuming both on his coins, claimed descent from both. Presuming that *Nanaia* certainly is a name applied to the moon, it may yet be a compound word. My reasons for so regarding it were these—

1. We find that *Nana* or *Nano* is the simple name, and we have no evidence to shew that *Nanaia* is the feminine form of the word.
2. *Nana* and *Nano* are compounded with *Rao* on several of Kanerkes' coins, indicating the relation of the word to the royal descent of the king in that case. Is there not, therefore, a probability that the added *ia* may indicate the assumption of a higher relation? We know that divine titles were given to kings in the region over which Kanerkes reigned, and we also know that *ia* and *iao*, as corruptions of the Hebrew sacred name, were employed by the Magi and the Gnostics to designate the sun.^a *Nanaia*, as a compound, would then express relationship to

^a *Histoire de Manichée*, par De Beausobre, tom. ii., p. 60. Quoted by Thomas in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i., p. 134.

Helios, and yet be understood in a higher sense by those who knew the original significance of the letters *ia*. It would not be out of keeping with the assumed fact that these coins belonged to fire worshippers if *ia* stood for Jah, since these letters in the Greek would be the equivalent of יה .

That Nana (also written both Nanao and Nano) is not a proper name would appear from the circumstance that the word is often appended to proper names as if an honorary title. Thus we have Nana Gorind Rao and Nana Farnaviz, the Puna minister. In Sanscrit the word bears the meaning of manifold, as *nanarasa*—many flowered, *nanaraga*—many coloured. *Rao nana Rao*, inscribed on the coins of Kanerkes, therefore probably signifies doubly a king, a king the offspring of a king, or of many a king, *Rex super Rex*.

Hence it does not appear unreasonable to suppose the word *nana* to have had the same origin as the Hebrew words *nun* and *nin*. The LXX. write the name *nun*, $\nu\alpha\nu\eta$, as if familiar with that equivalent. That it conveyed the idea of prolificness, abundance, and progeny in Greek is probable, since in Syriac, Chaldee, Sanscrit, and Hebrew it bore such meanings; נ , *piscis ab abundantia prolis dictus*; inde נ , standing for offspring (Job xviii. 19, and Ps. lxxiv. 8). That the word Nana had a Semitic origin is likely, as it was traced by Professor Wilson into Armenia, and by yourself into Assyria. That *i*, *a*, and *o* were interchanged the one for the other in the corrupt Greek of the Kanerki coins, is evident, in that *mithra* is spelt both *mathra* and *mathro*.^b There is therefore no violence in thinking that Nanaia might stand in this corrupt Greek for ננא .^c

With regard to the symbol which you call a fire-altar, allow me to remark that I have traced it on a succession of coins under such variations of form, and in separated parts, more or less complicated with strokes or points, and often without what you deem legs, that I am very doubtful of your explanation of the symbol.^d Altars of stone are depicted so plainly on the coins of Kanerkes and others, that we cannot mistake them. Other altars may be depicted, but that figures placed like that or the supposed fire-altar, on a level with the face, are monograms, is generally admitted; and that they appear with their several parts disjointed, with certain parts on one coin, and other parts on other coins, seems to confirm the notion that they are monograms. That the symbol associated with Nanaia is not a monogram of Godama I am ready to grant, because there is another on the same coin which to me is clearly that of the last Buddha; and yet that symbol has so far a general resemblance to the monogram of Godama that, whether used in its completeness or in separate parts, it seems to point out, if not the name, at least some attribute pertaining to that name. The figure, however, which you regard as merely that of the sun, on the reverse of

^b See Thomas's Princeps's *Indian Antig.*, vol. i., p. 135.

^c In figs. 12, 9, plate xi., in Princeps's *Historical Results*, the same figure as that of Nanaia bears a cornucopia on the shoulder, shewing that copiousness was associated with that figure at a period sometime posterior to that of Kanerkes.

^d See for example figs. 5, 11, 12, 16, 17, plate x., and figs. 9e, x., 12c, plate xi., Princeps's *Hist. Results*.

some of those coins, was held by Professor Wilson, and is generally held, to be the same as that conventionally representing Sakya, or Godama, in Buddhist sculptures. The name superscribed is sometimes Helios, sometimes Hao, sometimes Athro, the symbol which you consider a fire-altar being always connected with that name as well as with Nanaia, so that both sun and moon might symbolize Buddhistic worship. Apologizing for this claim on your attention,

Believe me, dear Sir, most truly yours,

Hastings, Nov., 1861.

GEORGE MOORE.

[We willingly insert Dr. Moore's observations. The article referred to was simply an extract from the transactions of the Syro-Egyptian Society. It was based on 2 Macc. i. 13—15, in which Nanæa is feminine. The Greek form Nanaia is simply a modification of the Syriac or Persian Nani or Nanai to suit the grammar, and it is not likely that it represents the Nani-jah which our correspondent supposes, for Jah is as certainly masculine as the other is feminine. The compound would be unnatural. Nanaia was no doubt the Neith of the Egyptians, and in all its forms, as the name of a goddess is feminine. (See Mr. Norris on Scythic Inscriptions in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xv. 160, and Loftus's *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 379.) The paper was actually written before we had seen Thomas's edition of Prinsep referred to in the note (*J. S. L.*, XIV., 237), but it seemed to us that that work only confirmed our views. The passage by Wilford alluded to in the same note, states that "Lucian informs us that pilgrims from India resorted to Hierapolis in Syria; which place is called in the Puranas, at least as it appears to me, Mahabhaga or the station of the goddess Devi, with that epithet. Even to this day the Hindus occasionally visit, as I am assured, the two Jwalamuc'his or springs of naphtha in Cushadwipa within; the first of which, dedicated to the same goddess, with the epithet Anayasa, is not far from the Tigris; and Strabo mentions a temple on that very spot inscribed to the goddess Anais." The Sanscrit name for Hierapolis is evidently like Mabug its proper designation; and Anayasa is Anais or Nanaia. The occurrence of Nana or Nano in proper names, as in the notorious Nana Sahib of our own day, proves nothing more than the name Maria applied to a Spanish gentleman, and originated in religious homage. Whether the Hebrew *nun*, a fish, is related to the form *nani*, remains to be cleared up. As to the figure we called a fire-altar, our views are sustained by gentlemen very conversant with such matters. We all know how the symbols and deities of one religion pass into another usually in a modified form, and in our opinion the case of Nanæa would furnish us some curious illustrations of the fact. The reasons for these variations are not all clear, but some of them are evident. The same is true of the changes of meaning and of name which these symbols and divinities underwent. We are glad that Dr. Moore in effect admits that Nanæa may represent the moon, and be the counterpart of Helios or the sun. The names, worship, and identification of Nanæa have not yet received all the elucidation of which they are capable.—EDS. *J. S. L.*]

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—Being of the number of those who have felt considerable interest in the late discussions in your Journal respecting the route of the Exodus, I am desirous, with your permission, to contribute my mite towards the elucidation of so important a question. Having never been fortunate enough to have visited the peninsula of Mount Sinai, my information is derived chiefly from the modern books of travels; I trust, therefore, that any inaccuracies of statement into which I may fall will

be excused and corrected by those who are better acquainted with the localities.

The richest and most fertile of the vallies, or rather ravines, of the peninsula is admitted to be the vale of Feiran; and in this valley are still existing the remains of an ancient city called Feiran by the Arabs, which is identified by the author of the "Critical Enquiry into the Route of the Exodus" with the Paran of Moses. The valley of Feiran, or Paran, extends from the shore of the Gulf of Suez on the west, to the valley of the Sheikh (the broadest of all the ravines of the peninsula) on the east; and the whole length of the valley may be estimated at about thirty miles. About ten miles from the Gulf of Suez, the vale of Paran is joined by the Wady Mokatteb, or valley of Inscriptions, which comes down it from the N.W.; and it appears to be agreed by all those who erroneously contend that the Israelites passed through the valley of Paran, that their course to that valley lay through the valley of Inscriptions. Hence it would follow that the portion of the vale of Paran, traversed by the Israelites, would according to these theorists have been about twenty miles in length.

To the south of the vale of Paran, near its eastern extremity, and not far from the remains of the city, is Mount Serbal, one of the loftiest of the peninsula mountains, the northern approach to which is through the ravine Aleyab. Mount Serbal, from its propinquity to the city of Paran, may be reasonably supposed to have been the Mount Paran of Scripture, and the identity of the two has been (as I am inclined to think) very properly assumed by the writer of the "Critical Enquiry."

The valley of Paran, from the point where it is joined by the valley of Inscriptions, runs in a direction from N.W. to S.E.; its course is between two ranges of high mountains, and through its whole length it is exceedingly narrow and with frequent windings. We are informed by Burckhardt, that the breadth of the valley, near the city of Paran, does not at the most exceed one hundred paces. The eastern extremity of the vale is filled by plantations of tamarisks, and by the finest palm-grove in the peninsula; the heat, especially in the summer time, is excessive. Mr. Turner observes, in his *Tour in the Levant* (vol. ii., p. 452), "The high mountains round us intercepting every breath of wind, we felt the heat so oppressive that we could neither eat nor sleep." And further on, "We still continued in the valley, which was so shut in by high rocks, that it being too dark to see the passage cut before us, we seemed always imprisoned in a quadrangle of rock. Our road was very stony and somewhat hilly" (*ibid.*, p. 454).

To apply the preceding observations to the disputed question of the track of the Israelites, we must recur to one of the main points of the "Critical Enquiry," that the number of men of the military age among the children of Israel, according to Moses, exceeded 600,000. Dr. Stanley has a note with respect to these numbers, which it may be useful to extract (*Sin. and Pal.*, p. 24), "In spite of the difficulties attending upon the statement of the 600,000 armed men, as given in the Pentateuch, and the uncertainty always attached to attaining exact

statements of numbers in any ancient text, or in any calculation of this kind, yet the most recent and most critical investigation of this history inclines to adopt the numbers of 600,000 as authentic.”—(Ewald, *Geschichte*, second edition, ii., 61, 253, 359.)

The numbers in the received Hebrew text being assumed to be correct (and, indeed, on a careful examination of the whole history of Moses, it seems impossible to doubt their correctness), we are next to inquire what would have been the total number of the nation, including the women and children, the youths under twenty-one years of age, the old men past military service, and the whole tribe of Levi, who were not included in this numeration. The gross numbers of the whole community have been variously estimated at from two millions and a half to three millions; and we may, perhaps, safely assume the larger numbers to have been correct. Let us compare these numbers then with the numbers which would have been required *to fill, by their line of march, the whole of the valley of Paran*, from the southern extremity of the valley of Inscriptions to the eastern limits, where the vale of Paran joins that of the Sheikh.

I think we may presume that in a valley generally narrow, but occasionally enlarging its breadth, the average breadth of the line of march would have been accommodated rather to the narrower than the broader portions of the valley. Now the total number of the migrating people being estimated at three millions, and the length of the valley at twenty miles, to have caused the line of march to occupy the whole extent of the valley, would have required on the average *about 150,000 persons to each mile of the ravine*. Suppose them to have marched in regular lines, as Moses intimates (Exod. xiii. 18), and assuming the lines to have followed each other so close that each line in succession occupied only a yard in depth, the respective lines of the march would each have consisted of *about eight-five persons abreast*.

When we consider the occasional ruggedness and impediments of the road, and the extreme heat of so narrow a valley, pent up (and in such a climate) from every cooling influence of the winds, it seems evident that each individual in the march must necessarily have required a much more considerable space than we have above allowed them, so as to move with even tolerable comfort. The result seems to be that the people of Israel alone—men, women, and children—(exclusive of the cattle and of the “mixed multitude” which followed or accompanied them), would, while marching through the valley, have more than completely filled the twenty miles of its extent.

When we add to the lines of march the “very much cattle,” *κτῆνη πολλὰ σφόδρα* (Sept. trans.), and the mixed multitude *ἐπίμικτος πολὺς* (Sept., trans.) which accompanied the Israelites from Egypt (Exod. xii. 38), we may conclude that if the total numbers of Israelites had been merely two millions and a half, they would still with those incumbances have completely filled the valley of Paran, from the spot where they are supposed to have entered to its eastern extremity. *We may see from this to what absurdities those writers are reduced who conduct the migrating nation into the granitic region of the Sinaitis!*

It seems clear that when Dr. Lepsius ventured rashly to identify the modern Mount Serbal with the Sinai of Moses, he was influenced rather by that decided tendency to infidelity on religious subjects under which he (in common with many of the modern Egyptologists) unfortunately labours, than by any regard to the accordance of the locality with the criteria to be deduced from the history of Moses. Paran is the most fertile spot in the peninsula; and as the doctor treats with contempt the Mosaic narrative of the miraculous supply of manna, by which the people were fed for the forty years of their journeyings, he naturally assumes that Moses (whom he of course regards merely as a clever impostor) would have selected for his permanent encampment the most fertile position in the peninsula; and *that* where the best supply of food and water was to be procured. But, if we examine the question upon Scriptural principles, it is sufficiently obvious from the preceding descriptions and calculations, that the attempt to identify the modern Serbal with the ancient Sinai is, of all the extravagant theories which ignorance has engendered, one of the wildest, the most visionary, the most baseless, and the most absurd. So far from its being possible for the whole nation to have been encamped in front of Mount Serbal, not the hundredth part of their myriads (so far as I can comprehend) could possibly have arrived at one time in sight of any part of the mountain.

Rejecting, therefore, the ill-judged attempt to connect Mount Sinai with Mount Serbal, we may next examine an opinion which Professor Stanley appears to favour, that the battle of Rephidim was fought in the valley of Paran, and in the neighbourhood of the city of the same name; where (as the writer of the "Critical Enquiry" pointedly remarks) there was scarcely room for a respectable battle of frogs and mice. The Professor's words are as follows: "If we can attach any credence to the oldest known traditions of the peninsula, that Rephidim is the same as Paran, then Rephidim, '*the resting-places*' [this explanation of the word by the by is exceedingly doubtful], is the natural name for the paradise of the Bedouins in the adjacent palm groves; then the hill of the Church of Paran may fairly be imagined to be '*the hill*' on which Moses stood, deriving its earliest consecration from the altar which he built; the Amalekites may thus have naturally fought for the oasis of the desert and the sanctuary of their gods."—*Sin. and Pal.*, p. 41, 42.

With respect to Dr. Stanley's view, as stated in the preceding passage, two insurmountable difficulties appear to present themselves:—1. There was no water at Rephidim, and Paran is the best watered place in the peninsula; and (2) as the entire valley, in its whole length, was scarcely adequate to contain the Israelite intruders; and the utmost military front, which could be extended *across* the valley, may be presumed to have been about two hundred men, we may enquire what battle between the two great hostile nations could here have taken place, which should not rather have resembled a butting match of hostile rams than an ordinary fight of opposing armies? But the truth is, the Israelites *could never have approached within twenty miles of the sup-*

posed *Rephidim* without a victory over Amalek; and we know from Scripture, that that victory only took place at *Rephidim*. The Amalekites were evidently a more warlike and more powerful people than the Israelites (Numb. xxiv. 20; Exod. xvii. 11); the valley of Paran (as will appear from the description we have given of it), was, if well defended, almost impregnable; and it seems perfectly clear that the Amalekites, anticipating an invasion, would have fortified the western and eastern ends of the valley by strong walls; and that this ravine (as dangerous to an invader as the Caudine Forks) could never have been entered by the Israelites without a battle at its western extremity; nor penetrated into without a renewed struggle at each successive winding of the valley.

Another observation naturally suggests itself, with respect to the passage quoted from the *Sinai and Palestine*. The war of the Amalekites was, according to Dr. Stanley, a war *pro aris et focis*. It was a just and noble war in defence of their homes, their families, and their possessions,—all of which were threatened by the approach of a lawless and ruffianly community of emancipated slaves. Under such circumstances, the Amalekites, according to all the principles of the law of nature and nations, were justified in defending themselves by every means in their power, against an invasion which threatened the loss of everything which free-born men could hold dear. It is true that the Israelites (vile, sullen, obstinate, insolent, and rebellious as they were), were conducted by the God who had created the universe; but this was a truth of which the Amalekites were profoundly ignorant; and, allowing for this ignorance, their conduct ought to be judged of by the fair and equitable principles of the laws of nations. I am much mistaken if Dr. Stanley's natural humanity will not induce him readily to admit this view of the case. This being assumed, where could have been the justice of that tremendous sentence (unparalleled, except in the case of Noah's deluge), by which a whole nation was doomed to destruction; and its name, previously so illustrious (Numb. xxiv. 20), decreed to be blotted out from the memory of mankind (Deut. xxv. 19)? It is true that the Amalekites were idolaters; but certainly this crime formed no portion of their *peculiar* guilt, since the Israelites were also idolaters, and *that* under circumstances of unparalleled infamy, forming a crime of all others the most inexcusable and inextinguishable. After entering into a solemn covenant with Jehovah, to renounce all idolatrous worship, this most rebellious of nations erected and worshipped the golden calf, in front of that very mountain before which, less than fifty days previously, they had trembled in the most abject terror, on witnessing the descent of Jehovah in fire and hearing the very voice of the Divinity.

As to the explanation given by Michaelis^a of the laws (Exod. xvii. 14—16, and Deut. xxv. 17—19) for the destruction of Amalek, I shall not waste a word in its refutation; first, because it is *sceptical* in its principles; and secondly, because it would be absurd to notice what it would be so easy to demolish.

Dr. Stanley will perhaps excuse me, if I remind him that, in his

^a *Commentary on the Laws of Moses*, vol. i., pp. 67—69; Smith's translation.

late volume of Lectures, he has declared the Jewish history to fall properly within his province as Professor of Ecclesiastical History. I appeal, therefore, to him in four characters, in all of which he has been fortunate—as a clergyman, who would naturally wish to neglect no opportunity of scriptural elucidation; as a traveller through the Peninsula of Mount Sinai, and therefore well qualified by his knowledge of the localities; as the writer of a popular work, of which Sinai is one of the principal subjects; and as a Professor of Ecclesiastical History—to favour us with his revised and reconsidered opinion, as to the identity of Rephidim and Paran; and the justice of exterminating a nation for its bravery in a defensive war. I beg him to believe that I make this appeal in no captious spirit, but from a sincere desire that every possible light should be thrown upon these perplexed and intricate questions.

The author of the “Critical Enquiry as to the Route of the Exodus,” intimated an intention of examining the question of the guilt of the Amalekites, in a paper on “The Doom of Amalek;” but as no such paper has appeared after a long interval, we may presume that his attention has been diverted to other subjects. Having referred to the “Critical Enquiry,” it would be injustice not to acknowledge, that without that paper I should not have ventured to approach the question of the Exodus; and that I have been indebted to it throughout the whole of the preceding observations. On some points, however, I am compelled to differ from this writer: for instance, in the very opening of his essay, he assumes that the word “*Negeb*” signifies in Hebrew, *the dry country*; and on the basis of this assumption, he applies the title *Negeb* to the whole of the country south of Canaan, including the Sinaitic Peninsula. This is certainly a mistake, for *Negeb* in Hebrew has assuredly no other meaning than *the south*; and it is never applied in Scripture, except in the sense of *the south* generally; or to indicate *the south of Canaan*, or (at the most) that part of the country beyond it, which adjoins to the Canaanite border. It is true that the lexicographers derive the word from Aramean roots, having the meaning “*siccus fuit*,” but this derivation is probably fanciful, as the word is never used in any analogous sense by the Hebrews.

M. R. E.

HEBREW DIVISIONS OF THE DAY.*

To the Editor of “The Journal of Sacred Literature.”

SIR,—The question of the ancient Hebrew division of the day is one of considerable importance. I offer the following suggestions with much diffidence, and more with the view of eliciting various opinions and causing research than of attempting to settle the question finally.

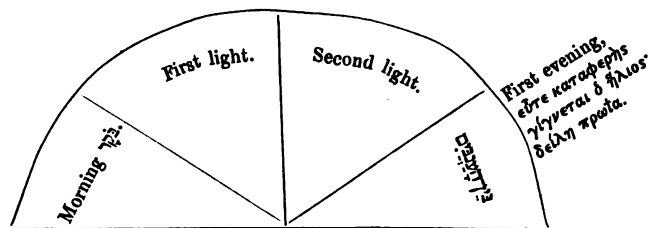
It is well known that the Hebrews reckoned *two evenings*, between which the passover was directed to be slain. We have the direct testimony of Josephus that this took place between the ninth and eleventh Roman hours, and he also tells us that the evening sacrifice was offered

* See *J. S. L.*, Oct. 1861, p. 51, etc.

περὶ τὴν ἐννάτην ὥραν, about the ninth hour, pretty nearly corresponding to our 3 o'clock. A singular ceremony is recorded by Herodotus (ii. 63), to have begun εὐτ' ἂν γένηται καταφερὴ ὁ ἥλιος, which I think clearly points to the first evening of the Hebrews. We have also the δειλὴ πρωΐα and ὀψία of the Greeks, which exactly correspond to the two evenings of the Hebrews. The same arrangement is clearly recognized in the New Testament, Matt. xiv. 15 compared with xiv. 23, and Matt. xxvi. 20 compared with Matt. xxvi. 57 and Mark xv. 42. With this mass of contemporary evidence I think we may fairly reject the view of the Karaites and Samaritans, who confine the two evenings to the beginning and end of twilight, as arising simply from speculations upon the text of the Old Testament, without any practical knowledge of facts. But Josephus, as a priest, as well as a contemporary, must have known the actual practice of the sacrifices, while the temple was still standing.

Secondly, the word for *noon* in Hebrew is צָהָר = *the two lights*. This is commonly explained by a supposed intensive force of the dual, as the time when the heat was greatest. But this is contrary to the analogy of the dual, which is always confined to things of which there are only two, and assigns to the dual an intensive signification, properly belonging to the plural. Is it not far more natural to suppose, that *noon* was designated *the two lights*, as being the junction of the two bright quarters of the day, when the sun was in the two upper quadrants of his course? This gives us the following scheme for the Hebrew day:—

צָהָר noon = 2 lights.



Sunrise.

Second evening, δειλὴ ὀψία.

Lastly, recurring again to the question of the two evenings, I would observe that in all probability the Karaite opinion, which places the two evenings at sunset and total darkness, has arisen from late speculation on the text of Deut. xvi. 6, עַד עֵשָׂת אֶרֶב , which I should imagine to be applicable to either אֶרֶב , and which the LXX. translate by *πρὸς δυσμὰς*. So the Latin *cado*. In Virgil, *Æn.*, ii., 9, we have "suadentque cadentia sidera somnos," where *cadentia* surely means "declining in the sky," not actually "setting." Thus אֶרֶב would = εὐτ' ἂν καταφερὴς γένηται ὁ ἥλιος, just as much as its more usual signification "sunset."

A. H. WRATISLAW.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Speculum Humanæ Salvationis, etc. ("The Mirror of Man's Salvation.") The most ancient monument of Xylography and Typography combined. Reproduced in facsimile, with a historical and bibliographical introduction, by J. PH. BERJEAU. Folio, pp. lxxii, 33, and 64 plates of facsimile. London: C. J. Stewart. 1861.

THERE are several aspects in which a book like this may be viewed. We may consider it as a facsimile, and admire the perfection of modern art, by which the productions of other ages are imitated with extraordinary accuracy, with an accuracy to which the last generation could make no pretensions. Not only has the original been copied throughout, we understand, by means of tracing, but the very paper has been imitated, and the book comes to us, as the title-page expresses it, as a veritable reproduction. In the volume from which this is copied, the ink is not all of one colour, but some of it is black, and some of it is of a brownish tint, and the same is the case with the facsimile, so that the paper, the characters, the illustrations, and the very ink, are imitated. Thus we have a real literary Phoenix, and one which happily does not involve the destruction of the original. We cannot express too strongly our approval of the manner in which this task has been executed, and we feel that the lithographers, the Messrs. Standidge, deserve a share of the commendation. They printed the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Cantica Canticorum* which M. Berjeau previously reproduced in facsimile. Altogether, we know of no book of the kind which the true lover of curious books would prefer to possess, for next to the original he must covet such a facsimile as this. It is true the sum of four guineas is a high price to pay, but not too much by a farthing for such a work of art. Its value for the purposes of study and comparison will be evident at a glance to the bibliographer. Upon these points, however, it is needless to enlarge, and we shall be surprised if any of the hundred and fifty-five copies, to which the impression is limited, remain long on hand.

This work is very interesting as an example of the state of wood-engraving some four hundred and thirty years ago. Its designs are probably more or less original. As is well known, there were conventional modes of treating Biblical subjects pictorially, which had been perpetuated for a thousand years and more, and which were to be found in missals, in painted windows, on walls, in sculpture, and elsewhere. Some of the designs of this very book are to be found, with very little variation, in the catacombs of Rome, and may be seen by those who visit the Christian museum in that city. Others of the representations are of a more original character, and reveal the fact that the artist drew largely from his observation as well as from his imagination. There is a simplicity and poverty of conception in some of the pieces

which is very apparent. For instance, the serpent which tempts Eve is a serpent with a pair of dragon's wings, a human head, and the legs and feet of a bird of prey; but in the very next picture, the tempter is a serpent and nothing more. The incongruity of these representations suggests that one or other was borrowed. After the fall, Adam is exhibited digging the ground, and Eve sitting clothed, with a child upon her knee, and a distaff in her hand. The ark of Noah is somewhat like a church without a spire, in a boat. Jephtha is on horseback with a lifted sword in his right hand, while with his left he holds his daughter by the hairs of her head as she kneels before him. In the baptism of Christ, our Lord is naked and in the water up to his knees; on one side John pours the water upon his head, on the other an angel is in the attitude of worship, and overhead is the Holy Ghost as a dove. The passage of the Jordan represents twelve stones upon the ground, while two men bear upon their shoulders on a bier something marvellously like the shrine or tabernacle in which we have seen relics carried in processions of the Romish Church. In the scene representing the death of Goliath, David has a crown upon his head. In the next scene David is striking a bear with a club, and a lion lies upon the ground beside him. Melchizedek offers bread and wine to Abraham, who stands with a spear in his hand, and is dressed in a suit of plate armour, and but for the lack of a helmet would answer admirably for a warrior of the fourteenth century. Several of the buildings look like mediæval churches, and others remind us forcibly of houses still to be seen in the Netherlands, where the book was no doubt produced. Samson appears to occupy a hexagonal building with an upper story. He is on the ground floor grasping a pillar in the centre, and inasmuch as arches spring in every direction from this central column, its downfall must bring about the collapse of the building. Further on we find David in full armour with a sword uplifted, and a shield bearing a harp upon his left arm, and a crown on his head; his enemies falling around him. Underneath we have this device, "*David occidit octingentos viros impetu suo.*" The reader may need to be informed that this legend about David's killing eight hundred men at a single onset is derived from the erroneous version of the Vulgate, which *seems* to say that David was one of his own mighty men, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8: "*Sedens in cathedra sapientissimus princeps inter tres, ipse est quasi tenerrimus ligni vermiculus, qui octingentos interperit impetu uno.*" The Douay Version evades the difficulty by an interpolation, "*Jesbaham sitting in the chair was the wisest chief among the tree; he was like the most tender little worm of the wood, who killed eight hundred men at one onset.*" It is needless to tell the reader who knows Hebrew that neither of these two versions is a translation of the original. Neither is it quite clear what that original itself ought to be. In 1 Chron xi. 11, we read of "*Jashobeam, an Hachmonite, the chief of the captains; he lifted up his spear against three hundred slain at one time.*" These two passages deserve attention, for not only is there considerable diversity in the versions, the differences between the two

narratives are obvious in the Hebrew text. When the *Speculum* was printed criticism was unknown, and no fear of inconsistencies and contradictions was before the eyes of men, and therefore without hesitation it is David who is made to kill the eight hundred. Nor is it to be wondered at that much is made of the "tenerrimus ligni vermiculus." Let us, however, give an extract, as it will serve to exhibit the literary character, and the design of the book to run parallels between the Old and New Testaments. The preceding subject was, "Sanger (Shamgar) slaying six hundred men with a coulter."

"Et Sanger cum vomere interfecit sexcentos viros
Sed isti dei adiutorio tot hostes prostrauerunt
Non igitur mirum quod coram cristo omnes hostes corruerunt
Scriptura regem dauid tenerrimum ligni vermiculum dicit
Qui octingentos viros vno impetu occidit
Vermiculus ligni dum tangitur molissimus videtur
Sed dum tangit durissimum lignum perforare perhibetur
Sic dauid cum esset inter domesticos nullus eo micior
Sed in iudicio et contra hostes in prelio nullus eo durior
Sic cristus in hoc mundo erat mitissimus et pacientissimus
In iudicio autem contra hostes suos, erit districtissimus
Conuersabatur enim mansuete nec incessit in armis
Et sustinuit et (ut) viliter tractaretur ut vermis
Vt videtur querulose deplangere in psalmo
Ibi de se dicit ego sum vermis et non homo
Dicitur autem non tantum vermis sed vermiculus ligni
Quia in ligno crucis occiderunt eum maligni
Conuenienter etiam tenerrimus appellatur
Quia caro sua tenerrima et nobilissima esse comprobatur
Et quanto caro sua nobilior erat et tenerior
Tanto passio sua erat grauior et asperior
Et ideo clamat in trenis ad omnes transeuntes per viam
Vt attendant et videant (et) vnumquam viderunt similem penam
O bone ihesu da nobis ita tuam amaram penam vedere
Vt tecum mereamur in patria vivere et gaudere."

It will be observed that the first three lines belong rather to the preceding column, and in this way the correspondence between the verses and the pictures is often broken; indeed, except three lines, the whole of three columns preceding that now quoted relate to the subject of the engraving at the head of the first, viz., Christ casting down his enemies by his word alone. The poet, having described the circumstance, exclaims,—

"O dementissimi iudei quod prodest vobis tanta multitudo
Qui viliter iacetis prostrati mitissimo verbo vno
Quid prosunt vobis multa et diuersa vestra consilia
Quorum sunt prostrati vno verbo tanta milia."

And he goes on to shew that Christ could visit the Jews with all forms of the direst destruction, which he is at special pains to enumerate. This passage is curious, as illustrating the ignorant Judæophobia which prevailed so widely in the middle ages.

We could say a good deal upon the pictures, and even more about the verses. They illustrate the use of the Latin, and the facility with which it was then employed in its degenerate state by monkish scribes.

They furnish us with not a few suggestions as to the measure of Scripture knowledge in the hands of the priests. For be it well understood, that these poetical effusions were meant not for the vulgar, but for preachers in particular. The *Biblia Pauperum* was not the poor man's Bible in the modern sense of the phrase, but a meagre substitute for a Bible destined for a class of men alluded to by Chaucer in his well-known lines :—

“A good man was ther of religion,
And was a *pore* persoun of a toun ;
But riche he was of holy thought and werk.
He was also a lerned man, a clerk
That Cristes gospel trully wolde preche ;
His parishens devoutly wold he teche.”

That the *Speculum* was meant for such is placed beyond all doubt by the following lines of the proemium :—

“Predictum prohemium huius libri de contentis compilauit
Et propter pauperes predicatorum hoc apponere curauit
Qui se forte nequierint totum librum comparare
Possunt ex ipso prohemio si sciunt historias predicare.”

From which it appears that there were preachers so poor that their means might enable them only to purchase the proemium of this volume. We can readily imagine how poor their teachings must have been, when so miserably scanty their supply of books. It is also apparent that the proemium of this work could be obtained separately.

This volume also indicates that religious teaching was not wholly based upon the Bible. For not only are the subjects drawn from the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha, but there are a few from other sources. Thus the tenth illustration is taken from the first book and the fourth chapter of Troguus Pompeius, or rather of his epitomator Justin. It is the dream of Astyages, who saw a vine growing out of the person of his daughter, and overshadowing all Asia. The daughter of Astyages is regarded as a type of the Virgin Mary, who occupies a very prominent place in the work. The thirteenth illustration is borrowed from the *Historia Lombardica*, and relates to the nativity of the Virgin. The thirty-second is from the same work, and shews how the sibyl beheld a virgin with her child. The next (No. 33) tells us that the three magi were Jasp, Balthasar, and Melchior, and this is not the only one in which traces of old legends occur. For the ninety-fifth no authority is given. It is headed, “Rex Codrus dedit se ipsum in exilium pro suis.” The story, however, may be found in Justin, 2, 6, and in Velleius Paterculus, 1, 2. At the ninety-ninth we are told that the matter is contained in the book of Josephus; this is the lamentation of Adam and Eve over Abel. The 105th shews how the holy fathers are delivered from hell (*de inferno*), and intimates that it is from the *Historia Lombardica*. We can only observe that this history of Lombardy is the production of Paul Warnfrid, a contemporary of Alcuin, and a Lombard, who flourished in the latter part of the eighth century. The work has been several times published.

Before we conclude, we must remark that the facsimile of the *Spe-*

culum is printed by lithography, upon paper and with ink like the original copy in the British Museum. It is remarkable as a specimen of block-printing, and perhaps even more so as combining at the same time perhaps the most ancient example of type-printing now extant. Part of it, and of course every illustration, is from wood blocks, but part of it is printed with moveable type. It seems therefore to have been produced at the very time of transition. During its execution, the wood-engraver was superseded by the type-founder, and that which was begun as a block book, ended as letterpress. This curious circumstance distinguishes it from other known copies which are wholly from types, *i. e.*, so far as the reading is concerned. The bibliography of the subject is ably handed by the editor in a copious introduction, and he believes that it may be traced to Holland, and to Laurence Coster of Haerlem not later than 1430. Much very interesting matter is contained in this introduction, and it is a valuable contribution to the early history of the art of printing. The opinions of many who have written on the subject are here quoted and discussed, and the editor's conclusions are powerfully vindicated by facts.

We alluded to the colour of the ink. It is worthy of notice that the plates and the whole portion printed from the wood blocks is truly called "a brown, pale, and thin ink," as in the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Canticum Canticorum*; whereas "the ink used with the metallic type is of a beautiful rich black." These differences, and all other peculiarities of the original copy, have been produced with rare fidelity and success. As a work of art, therefore, and as a literary monument of a less enlightened and a less privileged age, we heartily commend the volume, and have much pleasure in calling to it the attention of our readers. Neither labour, skill, nor money have been spared upon its production, and the spirited publisher deserves to be commended for the thoroughness with which he has had the task accomplished.

Die Simsonssage nach ihrer Entstehung, Form, und Bedeutung, und der Heracles myths. ("The Legend of Samson, its origin, form, and meaning; and the myth of Hercules.") By Dr. G. ROSKOFF, Professor in ordinary of Evangelical Theology at Vienna. Leipsic: Brett.

THIS work tells its story on its title-page. Its author has his theory about the analogy between the history of Samson and the fable of Hercules. He goes at some length into the nature of traditions, legends, myths, etc. He gives us his views respecting the Heroic period of the Hebrews, and discourses learnedly enough about Samson and Hercules. But it seems to us that he fails altogether to establish his proposition, and that he has not turned his knowledge to the best account. We mention the book, because it may serve to shew that there are still those who strive to throw discredit upon the Biblical narratives. Doubtless, some of them are surrounded with great difficulties, but the obscurity and difficulty of a history is one thing, and its truthfulness is another.

Jehovah the Redeemer God: the Scriptural interpretation of the Divine name Jehovah. By THOMAS TYLER, B.A. London: Ward and Co. 1861.

MR. TYLER states that the interpretation here proposed was partly set forth in a paper by him printed in this Journal in January, 1854. His views were reproduced and modified in the American *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, 1857, by Mr. A. Mac Whorter, who also published a volume on the subject, but without acknowledging his obligations to Mr. Tyler. The same omission is complained of in the case of Mr. Macdonald, who also has used Mr. Tyler's opinions without acknowledgment. These and other reasons have led to the appearance of the present volume, which contains eighteen sections, in which the various aspects of the question are discussed with considerable ability. For Jehova or Yehovah, it is proposed to read Yahveh or Yahaveh, as the future tense of the verb *to be*, and to translate it, "He who will be." It is supposed to teach that God was the Deliverer, and to foreshadow the great mystery of godliness—"God manifest in the flesh." Mr. Tyler merits our thanks for this earnest and intelligent endeavour to ascertain the true meaning of the divine name, and it must be admitted that he has made out a good case in support of his theory.

Historical and Statistical Sketch of the Slavonic Protestants, in the north of the Austrian Empire. Also an account of a residence and captivity in Turkey, in the days of Queen Elizabeth of England. Translated and extracted from the Bohemian of Baron WENCESLUS WRATISLAW. By A. H. WRATISLAW, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy.

THE first portion of this interesting little book contains a succinct history of the Slavonic Protestants in part of the Austrian empire, with useful statistics. By means of it, any one may in a short time obtain a tolerably correct idea of the past and present of this branch of the Reformed Church. The author is well qualified to treat of this subject, and he has succeeded in throwing together facts, which at the present time it is desirable should be more generally known. Probably many will not expect to hear that "the Bohemian Protestants and their immediate connexions, exclusive of Hungary, amount to 163 churches and 287,777 souls; and the number of Protestants apparently unconnected with Bohemia, but including Hungary, amounts to 2,964,969. Altogether there are 3,252,756 Protestants in the Austrian empire, including Hungary." The liberties recently granted by the Austrian emperor to his Protestant subjects, will most likely lead to an improvement in their condition, and an increase of their numbers. The narrative contained in the second portion of the book is curious, as illustrating the state of things towards the close of the sixteenth century. We are thankful that such instances could hardly occur in our own day.

Die Verfolgungen der Evangelischen in Böhmen. Eine ernste Warnung für Alle Evangelischen. ("The Persecutions of the Protestants in Bohemia. An earnest Warning for all Protestants.") By H. DAUM. Darmstadt: Zernin.

Kämpfe und Leiden der Evangelischen in Oesterreich, Steiermark, Kärnthen und Krain. ("Struggles and Sufferings of Protestants in Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola.") An earnest Warning for all Protestants. By H. DAUM. Darmstadt: Zernin.

WE mention these two works after that by Mr. Wratislaw, because they relate in part to the same provinces. The first of them traces the course of events in Bohemia from the Reformation down to our own time, and is full of matters which to us are both novel and interesting. We may say the same of the second, in which the author commences with an account of the land and its people, and then in a series of sketches gives us the experiences of the Protestants of the provinces indicated. One cannot turn over these pages without a sigh for the severities of the powerful, and the sufferings of the feeble. At the same time it is gratifying to know that, after all they have endured, the Protestants of these provinces still exist, and just now appear to be awakening to new life and activity. We most earnestly hope this promise will not be disappointed.

Joseph Kara Rabbini sæc. xii. in Hoseam Commentarius, e codice manuscripto qui in Bibliotheca Seminarii Theologici Judaici asservatur, primum editus. ("Commentary on Hosea, by Joseph Kara, a Rabbini of the twelfth century, now first published from a MS. in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary.") Breslau: Friedrich. 1861.

THIS is a thin quarto, containing fourteen pages of text in Hebrew without points. It consists of brief glosses or explanatory observations upon Hosea, verse by verse, from the beginning to the end of the book. Although by no means expounding all the obscurities of this difficult prophet, the author suggests a meaning for many of them, and his notes may therefore be profitably consulted. Like too many of the Rabbins, he is prone to indulge in fanciful expositions, and to overlook real difficulties. Thus when it is said, "I will ransom thee from the power of the grave," etc., our Rabbi understands the allusion to be to deliverance from the power of nations who are like the grave (sheol). So when it is said, "Israel served for a wife, and for a wife he kept (sheep)," the explanation is that Jacob was obedient to his father's commandments. "Why do ye not receive instruction from Jacob your father, who kept the commandments of his father, for the sake of a woman whose commands were upon him," etc. The question in this case is, Did Jacob keep sheep, or his father's command? that is, to which does Hosea refer?

Geschichte des Korans. ("History of the Koran.") By THEODOR. NÖLDEKE. One of the prize essays adopted by the Paris Academy of Inscriptions. 8vo. Göttingen: Dieterich. 1860.

DURING the last few years renewed interest has been taken in the life and character of Mohammed. We are on several accounts glad of this, because facilities now exist which were unknown to the earlier writers upon the subject. The general outline of Mohammed's career was of course easily sketched, but they filled up the picture with the wildest fictions. This was not right. However bad the Meccan prophet was, the truth should have been told about him. Gradually the miserable fables and slanders of the middle ages disappeared before modern discernment and delicacy. But some of them still lingered in the pages of Prædix and the Universal History, notwithstanding that they were so great an improvement on their precursors. However, it was reserved for our own generation to approximate with anything like closeness to historic truth. The names of Weil, Sprenger, and others, are distinguished in this department. Sprenger's *Life of Mohammed* is particularly excellent. Dr. Mühleisen Arnold's work on Islamism is useful, especially from a Christian point of view. Quite lately, Muir's valuable life has been completed, forming one of the best biographies of Mohammed hitherto written. The volume by Nöldeke, now before us, was called forth by an offer of a prize by the Académie des Inscriptions of Paris. The same prize was competed for by Amari, whose researches in Arabic MSS. are so well known; and by Sprenger, already named. The Academy awarded its prize to them all,—a sufficient testimony to the value of all the essays. As for the one before us, a few words of description is all we can find room for. It opens with a useful literary introduction, and then proceeds to enquire into the origin of the Koran. Here we have copious details respecting Mohammed and his supposed revelations. That he was a prophet in some sense is admitted, but whether he was a prophet in the best sense we may be allowed to question. The next section relates to the origin of separate sections of the Koran, and to revelations not contained in the book, but elsewhere recorded. Then comes an account of the compilation of the Koran and its different recensions. The next part gives us a history of the text of Othman. Here we have some account of the text and its various readings, of cufic and other forms of writing, and other topics. In the composition of his work, the author has had recourse to manuscript as well as printed authorities, and every page bears witness to his learning, industry, and judgment. The information given is varied and interesting, and the careful reader will find the volume well worthy of his attention. Feeling as we do the importance of such works in this age of missionary enterprise, we have much pleasure in noticing and recommending a volume so abounding in that knowledge which may be turned to account in efforts to evangelize the Mohammedans. It is not only on this account, however, that we notice the book before us. Every country almost in which Mohammedanism more or less prevails, is in an unsettled condition. Perhaps

the era of transition approaches, and the once mighty and haughty creed which terrified and awed the nations it did not conquer, is about to fall, or to pass into the weakness and obscurity of the Druses and the Parsees. Be that as it may, we ought never to forget that there are many Christian elements in Islamism; it is not original, it borrows from the Jews and from the Pagans and from the Church of Christ. And let us add, that if the Church had been faithful and united, the world would perhaps never have heard of Mohammed. It is not for us to be ignorant of, and indifferent to, what we have had so large a share in producing.

Das Buch Judith als geschichtliche Urkunde vertheidigt und erklärt, nebst ein gehenden Untersuchung über Dauer und Ausdehnung der Assyrischen Obmacht in Asien und Ägypten, etc. ("The Book of Judith as a historical record, defended and expounded; with investigations into the duration and extent of the Assyrian domination in Asia and Egypt, respecting the Hyksos; respecting the original settlements of the Chaldeans, and their connexion with the Scythians; respecting Phud, Lud, Elam, etc.") By O. WOLFF. 8vo. Leipsic: Dörffling and Franke. 1861.

TWELVE months ago an article appeared in this Journal, on the Book of Judith and its Geography, in which the writer, while he questioned the true historical character of the book, endeavoured to throw some light upon its obscure and perplexed geography. The writer of the work now before us goes at much greater length into these subjects, and seeks to vindicate the claim of Judith as a historical record. He first reviews the opinions which have heretofore prevailed in regard to it; next he considers the existing texts of the book and their relation to each other; and then attempts to refute the chief objections which have been made against its historical value and character. In the course of these arguments there is much useful information, but it will strike the reader that the author is not quite impartial, and is not only wrong in some of his conclusions, but inexact in some of his statements.

At page 51 the exposition of the book commences, and it extends to page 188. Here also we have a large collection of facts and references, displaying considerable research and ingenuity, but by no means always with success. For example, Judith ii. 21, "And they went forth of Nineveh three days' journey towards the plain of Bectileth, and pitched from Bectileth near the mountain which is at the left hand of Upper Cilicia." In the Vulgate, this is:—"And when he had passed over through the borders of the Assyrians, he came to the great mountains of Ange which are on the left of Cilicia (*i. e.*, the north of Cilicia), and he went up to all their castles, and took every defence, and he broke down the most famous city of Melothus." The Greek and Latin of the context differ most widely, but our author is not deterred by difficulties. After a guess of Grotius', Melothus and Bectileth are one and the same with Melita the modern Malatia; and we are

therefore told that this is right, because Bectileth is compounded of the Chaldee טַבַּת and תַּלִּית, תַּלִּית or תַּלִּת. The first of these words means a plain, and the other is given as the name of the goddess Tanit or Talit. Talit is made the same as Anaitis, Anahid, Ana, Melita, Myleta, and Astarte. This divinity was extensively worshipped during the domination of the Assyrians, and was sometimes confounded with Semiramis. All very true, no doubt, but it is beyond our power to say in what corner of this argument the proof lies. Anaitis was worshipped under many names,^a including Mylitta, but this does not prove that there is any connexion between Melothus, Melita, and Mylitta. Equally true is it that טַבַּת means a plain, but instead of Beka'a Talit, the Syriac, where alone the words could be correctly written, has Beth Catilath. It is impossible for such confusion to have arisen, and certainly impossible to receive the far-fetched theory of Mr. Wolff. On geographical as well as on philological grounds, we believe him quite mistaken, since no army that ever set out would march from Nineveh to Malatia in three days. We much prefer the exposition suggested in the article in our own pages above alluded to, and which we will venture to repeat:—"The Syriac says, 'He encamped opposite Beth-Catilath beside the hill of Aganæ, which is on the left (*i. e.*, north) of Upper Cecilia.' The Vulgate says, 'He came to the great mountains of Ange, which are on the left of Cilicia.' Adopting the Syriac as the more probable story, we are enabled to offer a more plausible solution. Bectileth (Beth-Catilath) is, perhaps, the river Billica, which flows from the north into the Euphrates at Nicephorium. The town of Aganæ seems to be the Greek Ichnæ; and upon the Euphrates was a place called Cecilia, which is alluded to by Ptolemy. This was in the direct route from Nineveh at a few days' journey, in the way to Syria."

There is one matter in connexion with this book of Judith which we should like to see gone into more fully, and that is the text. What was the form and language of the original? Mr. Wolff believes it was not Hebrew, and he may be right, although a very strong opinion to the contrary is held by some critics. The Hebrew texts of Judith now extant are modern. True, John Malela gives a summary of Judith and adds, that these things are set forth in the Hebrew Scriptures; upon which expression Chilmead (ed. 1691) remarks, "By no means; for the Jews never had a Hebrew Book of Judith;" and refers to Scaliger on Eusebius (*Chron.*, p. 89). Eusebius says, that "the Hebrews call Cambyzes, Nebuchadnezzar the Second, under whom the history of Judith is written." Scaliger says, the Jews have no knowledge of the Book of Judith except from the Christians; that the Hebrew Book of Judith is from the Greek; and that the Jews complain of the Christians for foisting it into the canon. Neither Origen nor Jerome knew anything of a Hebrew text. Was the book originally written in Greek? Mr. Wolff again thinks it was not, but in

^a See *J. S. L.* for October, 1861, page 235.

Chaldee; probably he is under a confessional bias here as everywhere else. Regarding the Vulgate as of so much value and authority, and remembering that Jerome claims a Chaldee basis for his version, he naturally supposes the original to have been Chaldee. Besides these two versions, the Greek and the Vulgate, there are the Hebrew already referred to, the Syriac, a second Latin, and some other old versions derived from the Greek. But when we come to collate these versions we encounter very many and irreconcilable differences. This is not all; the Greek text alone exists in three or four separate recensions, and it is not yet decided which is the correct one, or the most nearly correct. Here then is work for somebody; and work which must be done by those who would place Judith in the canon, except they bow to the council of Trent, or some such authority, and save themselves the trouble of criticism. The interminable confusion of the whole subject is one of the best presumptions against the canonicity of the book and the truth of the history. No doubt the Ethiopic church thinks it right to place Judith in the calendar among the saints, but this does not make the story a history. To us it is a fiction which proclaims itself such by its very title of "The Jewess," as clearly as the *Pilgrim's Progress* by its leading character of Christian. No doubt the Romish Church thinks it right to put the book in the canon, but to call it canonical is not to make it inspired: to us it is a human composition, partly instructive and useful, but teaching very questionable morality by several of its principal circumstances. More than this we will not say, but to say less would be to withhold our real convictions.

As we have said, Mr. Wolff is not deterred by difficulties, and we are much obliged to him for his book, albeit we can by no means accept either his general theory, or all his particular explanations. The exposition is followed by a section in which the age and authorship of Judith are discussed. He maintains the very improbable hypothesis, that Achior, the Ammonite proselyte, who figures in the book, may have been its author. This Achior is a decidedly apocryphal personage, and it is by no means clear that he was an Ammonite at all. However, those who want to see what can be said in favour of the throughout veraciousness of Judith, cannot do better than consult Mr. Wolff's interesting pages.

Biblischer Commentar über das Alte Testament. ("Biblical Commentary upon the Old Testament.") Edited by C. F. KEIL and FRANZ DELITZSCH. Part I., Vol. I., Genesis and Exodus. 8vo. Leipsic: Dörffling and Franke. 1861.

THE names upon the title-page of this volume will be accepted as a good omen. Both of them are well known for their diligence and learning in the school of sacred criticism, and also for their decided adherence to principles which lead men to a believing, reverent acceptance of the Scriptures as a divine revelation. The key-note of their system is struck by Dr. Keil in the opening sentences of the preface:—

" Upon the Old Testament the New Testament rests. By his only-begotten Son God has spoken unto us, after he had spoken before many times and in manifold ways to the fathers by the prophets. Upon the basis of the prophets and of the apostles has the Church of Christ erected itself; for Christ came not to abrogate the law or the prophets, but to fulfil them. As He said to the Jews (John v. 39), 'Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me.' So also a short time before his ascension to heaven, He opened to his disciples their understanding of the Scriptures, and, beginning from Moses and the prophets, expounded to them in all the Scriptures what was spoken of Him (Luke xxiv. 27, 44, etc.). With firm faith in the truth of this testimony of our Lord, the fathers and doctors of the Church in all centuries have searched the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and explained and expounded the divine revelations of the old covenant in learned and edifying writings, in order to lay open and apply to the heart the treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God, which the same contain, for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness to the Christian Church. By the deism, naturalism, and rationalism, which came to prevail in the last quarter of the past century, was faith in the divine revelation of the old covenant first undermined, and these sources of divinely revealed saving truth to Christianity, were more and more obstructed; so that even at this day the neglect of the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament is as great and extensive as ignorance of their true contents, although in the last thirty years, on the side of a Bible criticism which believes in a revelation, something very significant has been accomplished for the right estimation and the right understanding of the Old Testament."

Upon the basis of these performances the editors promise a commentary upon the Old Testament, and one which shall serve as an exegetical handbook. The work commences with a general introduction to the five books of Moses, which occupies about twenty pages. This is followed by the commentary on Genesis and Exodus, which takes up 566 pages. The commentary will doubtless attract attention as a good specimen of believing criticism, and so far as we have examined it, we have been much gratified with it. It is not a mass of verbal criticism, nor a collection of theories, such as mere grammarians and speculators might have given us, but a positive endeavour to exhibit the meaning and to confirm the truth of the Mosaic record. The introduction, although brief, is comprehensive, and a very satisfactory and useful performance. We have much pleasure in recommending to our readers the first volume of a commentary, from which we have considerable expectations.

Einleitung in das Alte Testament. ("Introduction to the Old Testament.") By FREDERIC BLEEK. Edited by J. F. BLEEK and AD. KAMPHAUSEN. With Preface by C. J. NITZSCH. 8vo. Berlin: Reimer. 1860.

WE regard this as a very useful work. Bleek did not himself live to publish it, as he died Feb. 27, 1859, but it has found competent editors. The volume contains a mass of valuable information and observations, the result of many years' study during a long professional career. It commences with preliminary observations on the literature of Old Testament introduction, the name, contents, arrangement, etc., of the Old Testament, its original languages, etc. The first division is on the origin of the separate books, beginning with a general account

of the historical books, which are separately considered; then come the prophetic books, introduced by a dissertation on prophecy; next come the poetical books. The second division is a history of the Old Testament canon, among the Jews, and in the Christian Church, with observations upon the Apocrypha. The third division is a history of the text, external and internal; the latter including both the written and the printed text. Such is the plan of the work, and it will appear that it is sufficiently comprehensive. Notes and an index have been added by the editors, who have performed their labour in a very praiseworthy manner. As is well known, Bleek, although disposed to be free in his criticism, is far more sound and safe than many of his countrymen.

Les Prophètes Cévenols. ("The Prophets of the Cevennes.") By ALFRED DUBOIS. 8vo. Strasburg: Silbermann. 1861.

THERE are few who have not some acquaintance with the remarkable phenomena which first appeared in the South of France in 1688 or 1689, and which continued to excite attention for a number of years. This series of claims to prophetic and supernatural inspiration, has perhaps never been fully explained and accounted for. That it originated in the dark days of terror and cruel persecution which followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes, is well known. All are aware that it spread like an epidemic, and that it was attended by circumstances of a very unusual and puzzling description; so puzzling indeed, that the wisest heads have been perplexed by them. M. Dubois enters fully into the characteristic media of the supposed inspiration, which he describes as either physical, intellectual, or moral. Cases are mentioned in which the prophets imparted their gifts by means of a kiss, or by breathing. It was by fasting, prayer, and continued meditation that some obtained the faculty divine. Others again received the gift without any use of means, and indeed it prevailed to such an extent as to be regarded as a spiritual contagion. Probably it is quite useless to attempt any explanation of the phenomena by reference to magnetic influences. Analogies there are undoubtedly, but the facts in both cases are often very obscure. M. Dubois enumerates the appearances under different heads. First come physical phenomena, which are insensibility, the trial by fire, hallucinations of sight and hearing, lights in the air, ærial psalms and music, tears of blood and convulsions. Secondly, we have spiritual phenomena. These are intellectual phenomena, dreams and visions, second sight, or the ability to see what transpired at a distance, predictions, and various kinds and degrees of inspiration. Moral phenomena come next, and these are also of several kinds. All these things are recorded, and so well attested, that there is no doubt of the reality of some of them. After their cause was lost, some of the inspired went to Switzerland, and others established themselves in England, where they remained for some time and published some of their prophetic oracles. These, so far as we can judge from specimens now before us, do not at all establish the

claim to divine inspiration. They are curious and extraordinary specimens of fanatical hallucinations. Holland and Germany, especially the latter, were also witness to the continuance of the supposed inspiration of the fugitives. In France itself the prophetic utterances did not disappear till about 1750; indeed it continued in the south of France in isolated cases much longer. M. Dubois says, that "numerous peasants in the Vaunage (in Bas Languedoc) have never ceased to have prophets, and to be the prey of an ecstatic exaltation which revival preachers have known how to turn to good account in our own days for bringing them into their ranks." The latter part of this statement we may be allowed to question, or to regard as a misinterpretation of the facts. We have already expressed our hesitation as to the explanation of the phenomena, and do not therefore subscribe to the magnetic theory of M. Dubois. He has given us a very interesting account of an extraordinary series of events, but he has not, we think, traced them to their real origin.

Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament. ("Concise Exegetical Manual to the Old Testament.") Part XIII. Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, explained by Dr. A. KNOBEL. Leipsic: Hirzel. 1861.

SOME of our readers may even yet be unaware of the character and even existence of the learned work of which this forms a part, and which is now rapidly approaching completion. We may observe, then, that twenty years have elapsed since its publication commenced, and that it includes as writers some very able names. The following are the contents, and authors of the series:—1. The twelve minor prophets, F. Hitzig; 2. Job, L. Hirzel, second edition, J. Olshausen; 3. Jeremiah, F. Hitzig; 4. Samuel, O. Thenius; 5. Isaiah, A. Knobel; 6. Judges and Ruth, E. Bertheau; 7. Solomon's Proverbs, E. Bertheau; Ecclesiastes, F. Hitzig; 8. Ezekiel, F. Hitzig; 9. Kings, O. Thenius; 10. Daniel, F. Hitzig; 11. Genesis, A. Knobel; 12. Exodus and Leviticus, Knobel; 13. Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, A. Knobel; 14. Psalms, Olshausen; 15. Chronicles, Bertheau; 16. Canticles, F. Hitzig; Lamentations, O. Thenius; 17. Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, in the press, by E. Bertheau. This is not all: F. Hitzig has brought out as a supplemental volume a translation of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets. With the preceding ranges the *Handbuch* to the New Testament by De Wette, some portions of which have been reëdited by Messner, B. B. Brückner and Lücke. To make the whole complete, comes the concise *Exegetical Manual to the Old Testament Apocrypha*, by Dr. O. F. Fritzsche and C. L. W. Grimm. The work of De Wette is bound up in three volumes, or eleven parts; the Apocrypha takes up six volumes. The whole circle of these expositions is very learned and valuable. It includes the works of some of the best critical investigators in modern Germany. It is based on broad, liberal, and scientific principles, and hence the authors by no means all occupy the same ground in doctrinal

respects. In so vast a range, involving such immense research, many questions will be raised to which no answer can be given satisfactory to everybody. But that is not the point; suggestions are made, references to authorities are given, the subject is discussed, and thus by one means or another a solution is hastened even when not accomplished. As to the volume before us, it abounds in erudition; its critical, historical, geographical, and other notes, reveal the immense labours of the editor, and supply most valuable information to scholars. Of the author's opinions on some points of doctrine we do not speak, but we must pass a high encomium upon the literary character of this volume, in which praise we desire to associate its predecessors, and as such to recommend them.

S. Epiphanii episcopi Constantiensis Panaria eorumque Anacephalæosis. Ad veteres libros recensuit et cum Latina Dion. Petavii interpretatione et integris eius animadversionibus, edidit FRANCISCUS OEHLER. (Vol. II., Part II., containing the notes of Petavius and Jahn.) Berlin: Asher and Co. 1861.

THIS forms part of a series entitled *Corpus Hæreseologicum*, of which the first volume contained miscellaneous essays and treatises by different writers. The second and third volumes contain the well-known and valuable work of Epiphanius. It is by no means every reader who has access to a good edition of this work, and indeed we have sometimes wondered that there are so few; probably translations in Latin are made to do duty for the original. Petavius' notes are sufficiently good to justify republication. The notes of Jahn are original,—philological for the most part, various readings, etc. The work merits a more extended notice, but while we would not omit it, we could not find room for a lengthy review.

Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la compagnie de Jesus: ou Notices Bibliographiques, 1, de tous les ouvrages publiés, par les Membres de la Compagnie de Jesus depuis la fondation de l'ordre jusqu'à nos jours: 2, des Apologies, des Controverses religieuses, des critiques littéraires et scientifiques suscitées à leur sujet. Par AUGUSTIN et ALOIS DE BACKER, de la même compagnie. Liège: Grandmont-Douders. VI. and VII. series.

THE volumes or series of Jesuit biography, etc., are really biographical dictionaries of the order of Jesus. It is a disadvantage that the editors have made as many dictionaries as volumes, by giving an entire alphabet in each. An index to the fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes, which appears in the last, somewhat mitigates the evil, but an evil it is. However, we regard the work very favourably, because amid a huge mass of literary rubbish and nonsense, and many names of men who were very unprincipled, we have here information of a truly useful character, and such as it is difficult and often impossible to obtain elsewhere. To Protestants the work is very suggestive.

Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad nach bisher grösstentheils unbenutzten Quellen. ("The Life and Doctrine of Mohammed, for the most part from hitherto unused sources.") By A. SPRENGER. Vol. I. 8vo. Berlin: Parthey.

It is with much pleasure that we announce the appearance of the first volume of this work. The name of Sprenger is an ample voucher for the excellence and thoroughness of the execution. We can at present do nothing but invite to it the attention of all who are interested in the rise of Islamism, and it seems to us that we are far more interested in that than in the rise of the Papacy. By the one the glory of the Church was obscured and its purity sullied; by the other it was as far possible destroyed. This volume exhibits the results of great research, and will be found to throw light upon many topics to which the history incidentally gives occasion. We hope this memoir of the founder of a religion which is followed by one hundred millions of men, will be read by many, as it deserves to be.

St. Pauli Brief an die Römer in Bibelstunden für die Gemeinde Ausgelegt. ("St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans expounded for the Churches in Lectures.") By W. F. BESSER. In Two Vols. small 8vo. Halle: Mühlmann. 1861.

In previous volumes, Dr. Besser has presented his readers with expositions of the gospels of Luke and John, the epistles of Peter and John, the Acts of the Apostles, etc. By these works he has established his reputation as a sound popular expositor. The volumes before us are quite equal to others from the same pen, and are distinguished for useful qualities of no small value. In these times, when some of the old established and most dearly cherished principles of Scripture are frittered away by a "godless criticism," it is refreshing to find some whose godly criticism is devoted to the proper work of an interpreter,—the setting forth what Scripture truly teaches, and the directing attention to that which edifies. This work has the merit of being lucid, earnest, and religious, as well as embodying the best results of modern learning without making a show of it.

Luther in Worms. By MAX MORITZ TUTZSCHMANN. Darmstadt: Zernin.

The author states that he intends a portion of this publication to be sold in favour of the monument about to be erected to Luther at Worms. It contains a long account of the celebrated appearance of the reformer at Worms, and of the circumstances which preceded it and followed it. It also gives us some eulogistic notices of Luther and his work. The author writes in an agreeable strain, and without laying claim to any great originality, has succeeded in producing an interesting book. He enables us to enter fully into the transactions he records, and to understand and appreciate the leading characters who took part in them. The Germans are never weary of writing about

Luther, and we can of course readily appreciate their admiration of him. He laid the foundations of a system which will ever stand as the best monument of his genius and moral heroism. He gave the Bible to his countrymen, and many of his other works are still dear to their hearts. They are right in honouring him.

Der Gustav-Adolf Verein. Ein wort von ihm und für ihm. ("The Gustavus Adolphus Society: a word about it and for it.") By Dr. KARL ZIMMERMANN. Fifth Edition. Darmstadt: Zernin.

Die Bauten des Gustav-Adolf Vereins in Bild und Geschichte. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Evangelischen Brüder in der Zerstreuung. ("Sketches and Notices of the Buildings of the Gustavus Adolphus Society. A contribution to the history of the Protestant Diaspora.") By Dr. KARL ZIMMERMANN and KARL ZIMMERMANN. Darmstadt: Zernin.

THE details contained in these two works rather belong to missionary operations and benevolent endeavours to provide churches and schools, than to our domain. We nevertheless commend them to the notice of our readers, because they supply some facts in the religious history of Germany and other lands in which the excellent Gustavus Adolphus Society dispenses its liberality. The illustrations are numerous and interesting, and the two works throw light upon the past and present of many Christian communities. They are published with a benevolent intention, but will none the less have a permanent value. In several respects they occupy common ground, but the second is the more comprehensive.

Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Galater, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Lehre und Geschichte des Apostels. ("Commentary on the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians. With special reference to the doctrine and history of the Apostle.") By Dr. KARL WIESELER. With an Excursus on the chronology and criticism of the text. Göttingen: Dieterich.

SOME time has elapsed since this work appeared, but it is not too late to mention it for the advantage of those who wish to make the Epistle to the Galatians their especial study. The author's aim is critical rather than practical, and he labours to elucidate the sense of the text, as he says, with special reference to St. Paul's teaching and history. The conclusions of other expositors are freely discussed, and those of the writer are plainly stated and ably defended. He shews an exemplary acquaintance with the text of the New Testament, as well as with the literature of the subject, and probably none will deny that he writes in a very commendable spirit. In our estimation the book is a really useful one, and often brings out clearly the more delicate shades of thought and reference which abound in this important Epistle. It is no slight recommendation to us, that Dr. Wieseler recognizes the importance and sacred character of the Epistle which he has expounded so carefully in this interesting volume.

Essays: Ethnological and Linguistic. By the late JAMES KENNEDY, Esq., LL.B. Edited by C. M. KENNEDY, B.A. 8vo, pp. 230. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

A CRITICAL examination of this volume would require a larger space than we can at present give to it; we shall therefore only make such remarks as may aid our readers in forming a proper estimate of it. The editor intimates that most of the essays were read before the Ethnological Society, and were intended as an introduction to two other works; one on the Basque language and people, and one on the knowledge of America possessed by the ancients. Some of the papers have been previously published, and others now appear for the first time.

The essays are eight in number, and the editor has added two notes in the appendix. In the first essay, "On the Ancient Languages of France and Spain," it is inferred that the Aquitani and Iberi were Gaelic. We are not convinced of the justness of all the conclusions in this paper. For instance, among the traces of the ancient Spanish, we have not only such words as *garzon*, a boy; *nada*, nothing; and *carada*, a coat; but *ladron* (latro), a thief; *pared* (paries), a house-wall; *tierra* (terra), earth; *miel* (mel), honey, etc. The former, it is clear, are not Latin, and may be Gaelic; but we demur altogether to the statement that the latter (*ladron*, etc.) first came to the Latin from the Gaelic. Nevertheless, there are many things in the essay which merit careful consideration. The ethnology and civilization of the ancient Britons forms the subject of the second essay, and is treated in a very interesting manner. The third article consists of suggestions respecting the nationality and language of the ancient Etruscans, who, the author maintains, belonged to the Pelasgi, supplanted a Celtic race, and came from Asia Minor. The next paper is headed, "Ethnological notices of the Philippine Islands, taken from the Spanish," and very interesting it is. The fifth essay, "On the probable origin of the American Indians, with particular reference to that of the Caribs," abounds in facts and observations calculated to throw light upon an obscure and difficult problem. The subject is taken up again in some of its features in the following paper. Although we should by no means admit all the opinions of the learned author in these ethnological papers, we admire his learning, candour, and ability, and we rejoice to find him saying that it is "the peculiar province of ethnology to trace the different families of mankind in their respective courses, so as to prove the validity of the great and generous doctrine of the unity of the human species by which we are all linked together—of one blood is every nation of men."

A useful and suggestive article, "Hints on the formation of a new English Dictionary," is followed by one on the "Question of the supposed Lost Tribes of Israel." We commend this to all who believe in the loss of the tribes in question, and who have faith in one or other of the thousand theories concerning them. There is as much said of the disappearance of these tribes as if they had been ten nations instead of so many clans; or as if their disappearance were a singular and

unparalleled phenomenon. We have before us a list of ancient nations, and we can point to scores among them whose disappearance is as sudden and more inexplicable than that of the ten family tribes of Israel. The Bible itself supplies us with numerous like examples. It would be pleasant to follow the Jewish tribes along the stream of time, and we can quite understand how it is that so much anxiety is felt in regard to them. It is imagined that their separate existence is vouched for by the Bible, and hence they have been everywhere sought for. Literally in every quarter of the globe, and almost in every kingdom, the wandering Jew or the lost sheep of Israel have been looked for. A recent author, Dr. Moore, whose book was reviewed by us in April last,^b imagines that the Israelites became the Sacæ, and that the Sacæ became Saxons, so that we may be the descendants of Jacob,—a very unlikely supposition. The same author found the lost tribes in Afghanistan, Burmah, and we know not where else. And here we may observe, what is not stated in the review of Dr. Moore's book, that his theory deriving the Saxons (*Sacarum filii*) from the Sacæ is explained, but rejected, by Robert Sheringham in his *De Anglorum gentis Origine Disceptatio*, published so long since as 1670. Sheringham indeed informs us that the inventor of the hypothesis was Goropius Becanus, a Belgian physician, who tried to prove that Adam spoke Teutonic or German. The idea of Becanus (who died in 1572) was warmly defended by Nic. Cisner (who died in 1583) and others.

Returning to the ten tribes, we are glad to find it stated that the Bible really does not countenance the common notion. As for the fourth book of Esdras, the author may well say it "may certainly be pronounced to be as worthless as any in the Apocryphal collection," and worthy of the character given it by Dean Prideaux, as "a bundle of fables, too absurd for the belief of the Romanists themselves, for they have not taken this book into their canon."

The admission into this volume of the note, "on the six days of the creation," is a decided mistake. Mr. Kennedy was not mighty in the department of Hebrew philology and criticism, or he would never call the word day a mistaken *translation* of the Hebrew *יוֹם*. To translate it by any other word would be to give a commentary and not a version. Still greater is the author's error in praising the scholarship and renderings of Bellamy, whose translation is a caricature, and whose imagination led him into the absurdest blunders. This work of Bellamy's was ably handled, among others, by the Rev. J. W. Whittaker, fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, in 1819, and we thought it was past a resurrection. We hope the note which lauds it will be left out in a second edition. Another note on the world's chronology is practical, sensible, and useful.

The editor's note on the traces of Phœnician colonization in Central America reminds us that the ten tribes have been looked for there, and that so-called ancient Hebrew inscriptions have been found in Ohio quite lately. We remember too that the author of a curious tract, *De*

^b *J. S. L.*, Vol. XIII., p. 195.

Origine Animalium et Migratione Populorum, scriptum Abrahami Mili, (Genevæ, 1667,) thinks he finds traces of America in the Old Testament. He supposes that Parvaim (2 Chron. iii. 6) means Peru, although we should connect it with Sepharvaim. He goes further, and calls Ophir a transposition of Peru, and identifies Sepher with the Andes, "Quæ omnia sane verisimillimum efficiunt Ophir et Pervajim Salomonis esse ipsam Americanam terram." The views of Milius would find little favour now, and yet Mr. C. M. Kennedy holds that "a tolerably accurate knowledge of the country (America) was obtained by the Phœnicians or Carthaginians, and perhaps by both people." It may have been so; we cannot tell.

The indications we have given of the subjects discussed in this volume will, we hope, tempt our readers to study it. In some departments of philology and ethnology James Kennedy was very accomplished, and although he seems to have been somewhat biassed in favour of certain races, he was nevertheless a sincere, laborious, and successful explorer. If for nothing but its facts, this collection of essays deserves to be associated with those of Garnet, Latham, and Colebrooke. We should add, that Mr. Kennedy had a most praiseworthy reverence for the Bible.

Leben und Ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der Lutherischen Kirche. ("Lives and select Writings of Fathers and Founders of the Lutheran Church.") Dr. K. J. NITZSCH, General Editor. I. Melancthon, by Dr. C. Schmidt; II. Urbanus Rhegius, by Dr. G. Uhlhorn. 8vo. Elberfeld: R. L. Frederichs. 1861.

THESE are the first two volumes of a series, the publication of which is a sequence of a corresponding series of lives, etc., of fathers and founders of the Reformed Church, which is still not quite completed, and if executed with as much ability as its forerunner, it will merit the extensive patronage which its cost to the proprietors and very low price to the public must render necessary. The life of Melancthon by Dr. Schmidt is an elaborate production of over 720 pages, and its author has brought into it nearly all we can either know or wish to know respecting that great man. A portrait has been prefixed after Lukas Kranach.

The second volume by Dr. Uhlhorn, containing the life of Urban Rhegius, brings before us a man whose memoirs are less known than his name. Although older than Melancthon, and an active and powerful promoter of the Reformation, Rhegius never approached the eminence to which Melancthon attained. He was a diligent student, and a copious writer, as is shewn by his works in three volumes folio, and the versatility of his talents brought him honour and distinction. The labours and vicissitudes of his career are very fully described in Dr. Uhlhorn's work, which is well designed to exhibit his character in its true light.

We do not know that we can do better than recommend such as are interested in the great events of the Reformation period to read

both the works indicated above. They will be found to afford valuable general and literary as well as personal information, and so far as we can see, are reliable and impartial.

Egyptian Hieroglyphics: being an attempt to explain their Nature, Origin, and Meaning. With a Vocabulary. By SAMUEL SHARPE. 8vo. London: Maxon and Co. 1861.

THE first mention of Egypt in the Bible is in the time of Abraham; but the same name, Mizraim, occurs in the tenth chapter of Genesis for one of the sons of Ham. Mizraim, or the founder of Egypt, is called the father of the Ludim, Anamim, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim, and Caphtorim. From the Casluhim the Philistim are said to have descended. The question may be asked whether the Ludim, Anamim, and the rest, remained in Egypt and its vicinity, or whether they disseminated themselves over other lands. Our own impression is, that they are all to be looked for in and around the land of Mizraim, or Egypt. This being the case, we can readily understand why the population of those parts rapidly increased, and a strong nation was early constituted. The people thus compacted, and occupying some of the most fertile regions, gave themselves to the study of all that could add to their social comfort, luxury, and dignity, as well as all that could refine and instruct the intellect. In art, science, and literature, they far excelled many other nations, and the monuments of their skill which yet remain are among the most stupendous and various which can well be imagined. The study of these monuments is a curious and important one, and has attracted some of the most ingenious and devoted explorers. From one department especially it was hoped that a flood of light would be poured upon early Egyptian history. We allude to the hieroglyphics, the general appearance of which is familiar to us all. The discovery of the Rosetta stone gave an impulse to enquiries in this direction, and perseverance has been so far rewarded that an intelligible meaning has been assigned to a large number of characters and inscriptions. It is at present hard to say what our clear gain is from this quarter. Not only are Egyptologists disagreed as to the force of some of the symbols, but even where they agree in respect to them, they are divided as to the chronology which should be framed out of them. To ascertain the name of a king is one thing, but it is another to determine when he lived. According to some, the kings followed each other in a long succession, extending over many thousand years before the Christian era. Others, however, maintain that some of these kings were synchronistic, and that consequently the period covered by them is a much shorter one. The idea of a plurality of kings at one time is very distasteful to those who advocate the longer chronology. But it may be observed, that the arguments for the contrary opinion are such as to render it highly probable. Egypt was divided into provinces, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that at an early date those provinces were kingdoms as distinct as the Saxon heptarchy. Diversities of dialect long continued,

and seemed to point to a once wider division. The kings, to whom the principal monuments belong, have to be separated by lengthened periods, if we take the long chronology, and they can only be brought together or near to each other by means of the synchronistic theory. Besides, it is unreasonable to suppose that civilization, industry, public spirit, and so forth, were active and exemplified only at distant intervals. We cannot think that the Egyptian mind undulated and varied, ebbed and flowed, in the way supposed. When the education of a nation reaches a certain point, the nation is not wont suddenly to relapse into barbarism, again to see its civilization spurt out, and to see a succession of such alternations. No known history is analogous to such an experience. We do admit the probability of oscillations, of ebbing and flowing, or whatever it may be called, but we do not find that a renewed national activity and life is merely a repetition of previous energy. On many accounts we hesitate to receive the long chronology. That the Bible opposes it might not weigh with some as with us, but there are serious and insurmountable objections to it of a purely rational and scientific character. In this respect, at least, we fully agree with the learned author of the work on Egyptian hieroglyphics. He does not think the oldest existing monuments go farther back than the time of Abraham. While, however, we say this, we shall freely confess that our own attainments in this matter are not profound, but we trust it will be taken up by competent authorities, and it will afford us gratification to insert any documents which may help to decide a question which is of some practical importance. If the kings of Egypt reach back twenty thousand or five thousand years before Christ, let us know it; but if they do not go back or cannot be traced back more than nineteen hundred or two thousand years, let us know the facts on which we may rely. Truth is of more importance than mere assertion and opinion, and in this case our columns furnish a proper medium for its elucidation.

A second point arising out of Mr. Sharpe's book is the origin of alphabets, and their relation to one another. Our author is in favour of the hieroglyphic origin of written alphabets; not only so, but he ascribes more or less to an Egyptian source the Arabic and Hebrew, the Greek and the Cuneiform, both Assyrian and Persian. On this subject we shall not be prepared to go so far as our author, because we think there are great objections against this making Egypt the cradle of the old world literature in so wide a sense. For anything we know to the contrary, there are cuneiform inscriptions in Assyria as old as the oldest hieroglyphic records in Egypt. It is difficult to see why the inventors of the art of writing should remain so wedded to the original cumbrous and difficult forms—forms which were never developed into a proper alphabet, while those who took up the matter at second-hand found the use and advantage of a real alphabet. Then look at the Assyrian signs: it is evident that in their nature they are different from the hieroglyphs. The strokes or elements have a certain definite character which could never have occurred if they had been merely

changed resemblances of natural objects. If we were asked for a proof that a written character may be purely arbitrary, and need not be imitative, we should refer at once to the cuneiform, all the three systems of which exhibit the same radical affinities to each other, and the same absence of the imitative principle. The element is a wedge which is developed, modified or repeated in various ways, but never so as to bear any resemblance to natural objects. As it respects other ancient alphabets used in the old world, some of the characters may have originally represented natural objects; they very probably did. This, however, does not prove that they all came from Egypt. The Chinese characters may have been formed from hieroglyphics, or rather based upon them. The Burman alphabet is made up of circles and parts of circles, and could never have been other than arbitrary. The alphabets of Asia generally, from Palestine to the mouth of the Ganges, ancient and modern, contain many common elements, and from them the alphabets of Greece and Rome were no doubt derived. But after all, we miss the link by which they are connected with Egypt, and partial, fancied, or distant resemblances to hieroglyphics will not go for much. We do not deny that some of the signs may have come from Egypt, but we do doubt whether, as alphabets, that was the land of their nativity. Human nature is very much the same everywhere, and wherever civilization has made any progress we find written characters of some sort. The first forms of these may have been representations of various objects, as in Egypt, Mexico, and China; but elsewhere a more compendious and ready mode of recording ideas may have been discovered. Mr. Sharpe's comparisons of Hebrew and Coptic with Egyptian hieroglyphs are curious, interesting, and ingenious, but, after all, they leave us very much in doubt. Our doubts are none the less that the comparisons are with the square form of the Hebrew, and the modern type of the Coptic (Greek-Coptic). Mr. Sharpe thinks the square Hebrew character is the primitive type, but therein he is not supported by known facts. There is also something fanciful in the argument that *teth*, *nun*, and *pe* signify in Coptic *a hand*, *water*, and *the heavens*.

Leaving these discussions for the present, we may observe that the work before us comprises an introduction, a set of lithographed hieroglyphical words, and translations of them into English. By the aid of this book any one may ascertain the alphabet as constructed by Mr. Sharpe, and also learn how many symbols are read. It is known to everybody that the author has given his attention to these researches for many years. What he says, therefore, ought to carry weight, and to be treated with respect. Apart from all theories, the book contains a host of facts, and to any one wishing to give himself to the study of hieroglyphics, it will be a manual of great value. We hope it may incline some who have leisure, and whose tastes lie that way, to cast in their lot with the very few who, in this country, are endeavouring to explain the hieroglyphs of Egypt. The difficulties are great we know, and the means for surmounting them are few; but there are hosts of inscriptions for the student to work upon, and these

have been carefully copied and published. It is true that results hitherto are not very grand, but it is also true that the work must go on, until all that they contain has been extracted from these venerable memorials. We cannot know Egypt from Herodotus, nor from Manetho, nor from the Bible; and we cannot understand what these tell us so well without as with the knowledge of the hieroglyphics. To the Christian student these enigmas have an importance which cannot be denied, in the discussions going on respecting the historical and chronological merits of the Old Testament.

We beg to recommend to our readers the instructive and useful work of Mr. Sharpe, whom we sincerely thank for the labour and learning he has bestowed upon its production.

Codex Zacynthius. Ξ. Greek Palimpsest Fragments of the Gospel of St. Luke, obtained in the island of Zante, by the late General Colin Macaulay, and now in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Deciphered, transcribed, and edited by SAMUEL PRIDEAUX TREGELLES, LL.D. London: Bagster and Sons. 1861.

THIS beautiful volume, presenting us with a fac-simile of a venerable and valuable MS. of part of St. Luke's Gospel, reflects fresh honour upon its accomplished and zealous editor. The MS. was first made known to the public by Dr. de Lagarde, of Berlin, and has fallen into the right hands. As a palimpsest, or codex rescriptus, and an uncial, it was necessarily important, and merited the honour it has received. Dr. Tregelles is sufficiently experienced and trustworthy to be relied upon, and no doubt the copy is a faithful one. The type used is the same as was employed for Baber's facsimile of Codex A, and is therefore not exactly the same as the letters in Codex Ξ; what they are may be seen by an elegantly executed facsimile plate. In the opinion of Dr. Tregelles the MS. is of the sixth century. The volume in which it exists is a Greek Evangelistarium, ascribed to the thirteenth century. One of the most remarkable points as to this MS., is the fact that it contains the same chapters as the Vatican MS. similarly numbered.

Dr. Tregelles says its readings have a great affinity to the very best codices. The text is accompanied by a catena of the fathers, but this has not been copied. Although it has been long among us, it has remained unused and unread till now. Dr. Tregelles gives us the names of the writers in the catena from the heads of the pages, also the capitula or headings of the sections of the gospel, and the true order of the leaves of the MS. The valuable preface by which the volume before us is accompanied contains many other matters of interest, especially for those who are not profoundly versed in these things. The text itself is a splendid specimen of printing. The appendix also must not be overlooked, as it contains an account of the Moscow Codex, and a copy of the fragments of which it consists. This codex thoroughly resembles the Zacynthian, and comprises portions of St. John's gospel. Altogether, and we are sorry our limited space will not permit us to

say more, we know not when we have seen a choicer specimen of editing. The volume is in all respects a gem, and while we are glad the publishers have brought it out in so handsome a style, we feel specially grateful that Dr. Tregelles has been able to complete it, notwithstanding the long indisposition which has so fettered his hands.

Handschriftliche Funde. ("Manuscript Discoveries.") By Dr. F. DELITZSCH. No. I. The Erasmusian Text of the Apocalypse: its misrepresentations proved by the supposed lost Codex of Reuchlin. 8vo, pp. 64. Leipzig: Dörffling and Franke. 1861.

DR. DELITZSCH has had the good fortune to discover in an old library at Mayhingen the lost Codex, from which Erasmus professedly printed the Apocalypse in his first edition. The pamphlet before us gives us an account of the discovery and authentication of the MS., which is fully described, and its discrepancies from the text of Erasmus are pointed out. Erasmus certainly stands convicted of gross dishonesty, for the differences could not be owing to carelessness except in some cases. Besides falsifying his text, he said this MS. was, perhaps, almost as old as the apostles, whereas it is a cursive, and when he used it was not possibly more than four or five centuries old. We are glad to record this important discovery.

Das Kirchliche Leben des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts. ("Ecclesiastical Life of the Seventeenth Century.") By Dr. A. THOLUCK. Sec. I. First half of the Seventeenth Century to the Peace of Westphalia. 8vo. Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben. 1861.

THIS work is intended to complete the "Vorgeschichte des Rationalismus" of the same author. In the present part we have the first half of the seventeenth century to the Peace of Westphalia, and in the second we are to have the period from thence to the centralization of pietism by the foundation of the University of Halle. The two leading divisions of the present portion are,—the Lutheran Church in the first half of the seventeenth century, and the German Reformed Church in the same period. Dr. Tholuck discusses Church organization, doctrine, ministry, worship, and discipline, as well as the religious characteristics of the time. A large amount of interesting matter is brought together, and handled in a lucid and vigorous style. Recourse is constantly had to reliable authorities, and the work seems calculated to throw much light upon the religious history and movements of Germany during the period it belongs to.

Notes sur Daniel et sur l'Apocalypse. Par N. C. MAGNIN. Paris: Meyrueis and Co.

M. Magnin does not profess to give us a commentary upon Daniel and the Apocalypse, but some notes to aid in their perusal. We are afraid the author has not always succeeded in his endeavours. Sometimes he merely hints at his meaning, perhaps because the press is not free

enough in France to let him speak out; at other times he advances interpretations which we could not accept. The path of prophetic exposition is always a difficult and perilous one, especially when supposed unfulfilled predictions are entered upon. Our author is no exception to the rule, and we are compelled to class him, in some respects, with the many who have mistaken their way, and not content with the plain and glorious fulfilment of many prophecies, have plunged into that unknown future, the events of which are beyond the scrutiny of man, except so far as they are foreshadowed in dim faint outline by the prophetic Word. No doubt we may pronounce positively as to the general design of some unrealized predictions, but we may not ascertain their minute details. No doubt also, we can say positively of many of the oracles of inspiration, they have been fulfilled; but of how many more do we know nothing in this respect! Some portions of Daniel and the Apocalypse are clear enough; but how large a portion of those two books defies the scrutiny of the most acute! The general destinies of the world, even, may be read, but it is ridiculous to expect with some that "the institution of the Prophetic Society in 1826, of the Reformation Society in 1827, and of the Evangelical Alliance in 1846," finds explicit mention in God's Word! We may add, that M. Magnin expects the speedy restoration of the Jews, and close of the present economy.

The Bible and Modern Thought. By the Rev. T. R. BIRKS, M.A.
London: The Religious Tract Society.

ON some questions we should differ from Mr. Birks, but this will not prevent us from acknowledging the important services which he may render to the Church of Christ. Three purposes are served by the volume before us, which defends the miracles, the prophecies, and the divine authority of Holy Scripture. It appeals to thoughtful Christians or serious inquirers, and not to scholars or learned divines. The author seeks to treat of Biblical evidences and the authority of the Bible in a simple, clear, and logical style of argument; but while he discusses objections, his main endeavour has been "to unfold the truth, and to guide the minds of sincere inquirers into a well-grounded faith in the truth, wisdom, harmony and divine authority of the Gospel, and of the written word of God." We have examined various portions of Mr. Birks' volume, and have been gratified to observe that he makes good use of what has been done in these latter days, to substantiate and elucidate the Scriptures. This is sound policy, for it will never do to rely alone upon the heavy, antiquated, and rusty weapons of two or three centuries ago. They have their uses in common with the whole range of apologetical literature; but while ordinary assaults may be foiled by ordinary means, special tactics are required of us when peculiar stratagems are had recourse to. Where should we be, for instance, if we relied upon the geological and astronomical, the philosophical and the historical arguments of our forefathers? Happily we need not, and Mr. Birks has not relied upon them.

God's two Books: or, Nature and the Bible have one Author. By THOMAS A. G. BALFOUR, M.D. London: James Nisbet and Co.

IN a very interesting and ingenious manner, the author establishes a series of parallels between nature and the Bible, the object of which is to shew their harmonies and correspondences. "The argument which I have adopted," says Dr. Balfour, "is, as will be seen, the same which has been so admirably and profoundly treated by Bishop Butler in his famous *Analogy*." But scientific analogies have been preferred instead of philosophical, because the intention was not so much to remove objections to the Bible, as to shew that both it and nature have one Author. It is also intended as an introduction to the former work by Dr. Balfour on *The Typical character of Nature*. Without accepting every word here spoken, we have been much interested in the general contents of the volume, which we strongly commend to the judgment and attention of our readers.

Etudes Critiques sur la Bible. Ancien Testament. By M. NICOLAS. Paris: Levy frères.

WE can only indicate what this volume contains. In a preliminary notice the author intimates that each of the essays relates in fact to the subject of Mosaicism. His first essay is on the origin and formation of the Pentateuch, of which Moses is not regarded as the author, and which is supposed to have been compiled towards the close of the Jewish monarchy, and indeed by Ezra. The second essay is on the general principles of Mosaicism, which are reduced to two, Jehovism, and a theocracy. The third essay is on Mosaicism, from the death of Joshua to the end of the Jewish monarchy. The fourth essay is on "Hebrew prophetism." The book is written with ability, but is fallacious and sceptical. It is another evidence of the destructive criticism which is abroad in the earth.

A Critical Examination of the "Essays and Reviews." By an AMERICAN LAYMAN. Edited by the DEAN OF CARLISLE. 8vo. London: Hatchard and Co. 1861.

THE *Essays and Reviews* were republished in America by the Rev. Dr. Hedge, a Unitarian minister of Boston, under the care of Messrs. Walker, Wise, and Co., Unitarian publishers of that city. Dr. Hedge prefixed a laudatory preface, which Dean Close says, included "a flowing eulogy, and a fervent prayer that the rationalistic spirit of this celebrated work, 'which is now leavening the Church of England, may find abundant entrance into all the churches of our land.'" This Boston reprint has reached a fourth edition, and we notice that its success has induced the Unitarian publisher to reprint the "Tracts for Priests and People." We shrink from these facts, because they suggest that neither the orthodox nor the heterodox are without a true instinctive perception of the bearing of some recent publications. However, we do not shrink with fear, and we say, let the great problems which have been started have full and ample discussion. The more

complete the discussion, the greater will be the victory gained by truth. With regard to the essay before us, it is a reprint from an article in the *American Quarterly Church Review*, and was written by a layman on the appearance of Dr. Hedge's edition of *Essays and Reviews*. The present editor says of it, "Vigorous in its style, forcible in its reasoning, happy in its illustrations, and pointed in its sober humour; it appears well calculated to restore the equilibrium of faith, just among that class of readers who may have been disturbed by these subtle essays." "The author," he says, "unites with much learning and clear reasoning, a liveliness of style which may give a peculiar interest to his pamphlet to the general reader, while he furnishes matter of thought for the scholar and divine." It is certainly a well-written, judicious, and telling essay.

Handbook of the English Tongue. For the use of students and others.

By JOSEPH ANGUS, D.D. London: The Religious Tract Society.

WE are much obliged to Dr. Angus for this book. As examiner in the English language, literature, and history, to the University of London, he may be presumed to possess more than an ordinary acquaintance with his subject. The work itself shews that he is a good linguist, has an extensive knowledge of literature, and the faculty of imparting, condensing, and arranging his facts. He has very wisely availed himself of the labours of Latham, Trench, Key, Craik, Rogers and others, who have shed light on this interesting and important study; and he has drawn upon our best known writers for his illustrations. After analyzing the elements of the English tongue, and shewing their historical connexion, and the relation of our language to others of the same tribe, he discusses at some length orthography and orthoepy, and at great length etymology and syntax. Besides these he gives us chapters on punctuation and prosody, and on composition, etc. The chapter on etymology is remarkably full and satisfactory, and the one in which we have been most interested. We earnestly recommend this volume, because in these times of criticism and controversy, it is most important that men should know the force and relations of words. A vast amount of error and misconception would be prevented, or removed, by such a knowledge of the use and structure of our language as is here rendered accessible.

The Wanderings of the Children of Israel. By the late Rev. GEORGE WAGNER. London: James Nisbet and Co.

THESE sermons are the devout utterances of one who sought earnestly the edification of his flock. Possibly an austere criticism might object to some of the applications made of the events to which the discourses refer, and no one will hesitate to say that the style might have been improved by revision; but their tone and spirit is excellent, and the practical lessons taught are useful and important. The volume is an interesting memorial of a good man.

The Strife of Sects. 8vo. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1861.

A PAMPHLET, in which the disunion and divisions which prevail among professing Christians are pointed out and deplored. There are some good things in its pages, but we fear it is in vain to hope for the speedy termination of the "strife of sects," so long as sects themselves continue.

The Ecclesiastical Cyclopædia: a Dictionary of Christian and Jewish sects, denominations, and heresies; and history of dogmas, rites, sacraments, ceremonies, etc.; liturgies, creeds, confessions, monastic and religious orders, etc. By the Rev. JOHN EADIE, D.D. Part I. and II. London: W. Wesley.

DR. EADIE is aided by numerous contributors, and promises to produce a useful and, on the whole, impartial work. The popular form in which it is cast is a recommendation, and it will supply information which is often wanted but not always accessible.

Things hard to be understood. By the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D.D. No. I. London: A. Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1861.

ACCORDING to the announcement, this work is to be completed in twelve monthly numbers, and will consist of a series of lectures and papers on Christian doctrines and Scripture texts, which are often misinterpreted or misunderstood; such as the introduction of evil, election and responsibility, justification and good works, particular providence, prayer and God's purposes, sovereign grace and the use of means, the Church, the ministry and public worship, and analogous subjects. We are glad to meet the doctor in a really practical department, and hope his elucidations will be satisfactory. In the part before us there is nothing very profound or original, but it is simple and of useful tendency.

The Athanasian Creed. By LL.D. 8vo. London: E. T. Whitfield. 1861.

A PAMPHLET in which the writer makes a merciless attack upon the Athanasian Creed, with the intention of upholding his own views. It is needless to add that this tirade is wholly on Unitarian principles.

Jerusalem: a Sketch of the city and temple from the earliest times to the siege by Titus. By THOMAS LEWIN, Esq., M.A., of Trinity College, Oxford. 8vo. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861.

IN this very interesting volume, Mr. Lewin gives an account of the holy city at the several periods of its history, which cannot fail to instruct the reader. He has laboured to set forth in the clearest manner all that relates to the principal localities which have excited so much discussion. He has therefore not only given us a general record of the events of the history, but as full an account as possible of the principal buildings erected at different times. In the discussion respecting the site of the sepulchre, Mr. Lewin argues for the genuineness of the spot

traditionally accepted. His notice of the present state of the temple mount is worth careful consideration; but we regret that the pressure upon our space prevents us from going into the subject at present. In the meantime we have much pleasure in calling attention to Mr. Lewin's very excellent volume, to which we shall endeavour to return on a future occasion.

A Brief Examination of prevalent opinions on the Inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. By a LAY MEMBER of the Church of England. With an Introduction by HENRY BRISTOW WILSON, B.D. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1861.

MR. WILSON is already known to the public by his connexion with the *Essays and Reviews*, and on other accounts. He now appears as the literary usher of an anonymous layman. In introducing his friend, Mr. Wilson makes a very long preliminary discourse wherein he states views and conclusions, and comments upon the theological controversies of the times. Probably he will be applauded by some for his courage; but others will consider it courage without prudence, or mere audacity. He certainly commends the course taken by the layman, and may fairly enough be said to subscribe to many of his opinions; never to fall short of them, and sometimes to go beyond them. The layman endeavours to shew that the infallible inspiration of the Scriptures cannot be proved; that the Gospels, the Epistles, and the Pentateuch furnish innumerable reasons for disbelieving such inspiration, and that therefore we must not, whatever the consequences, retain our faith in the old theory. We must indeed question the accuracy of the Bible in matters of fact and of doctrine too in a multitude of cases. Mr. Wilson says so also, and hence we regard the volume as one of the most decidedly negative and destructive which has for some time appeared among us. There is talent, ingenuity, and learning in the work; but in our judgment it is a most objectionable one, because it wholly ignores all the results of modern believing criticism.

A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament. For the use of Biblical students. By FREDERICK HENRY SCRIVENER, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co.

A most valuable contribution to Biblical science; excellent alike for its matter and arrangement, and leaving little or nothing to be desired. Every Biblical student should possess it. The author states that it is chiefly designed for the use of those who have no previous knowledge of the textual criticism of the New Testament, but that since he has endeavoured to embody in it the results of very recent investigations, he hopes it may prove of service to more advanced students. The first chapter presents us with general considerations on the subject; the second contains an exhaustive survey of the whole question of manuscripts; the third gives a good account of ancient versions, and the fifth of principal printed editions. The fourth chapter examines the citations to be found in the Fathers; the sixth discusses the nature of

internal evidence; and the seventh contains a history of the text, and a discussion of recent views of comparative criticism. The eighth chapter takes up the grammatical peculiarities of the New Testament; the ninth and last is a criticism of select passages. Indexes are added, and also facsimiles of various important manuscripts. Although we should perhaps differ from the learned author on some points, we admire the extent of his information, and the ability with which it is set forth. We rejoice too, that he powerfully vindicates the claims of the cursive manuscripts against the plausible assumptions in favour of the uncials exclusively.

Histoire des trois Premiers Siècles de l'Eglise Chretienne. Par E. DE PRESSENE. 2me Serie. La Grande Lutte du Christianisme contre le Paganisme; les martyrs et les Apologistes. 2 vols. Paris: Meyrueis and Co.

THESE two volumes are thoroughly original, full of profound research, and valuable investigation; are calculated to throw much light upon the Church history of the third century, and are in some respects superior to their two predecessors. The importance of these volumes will not appear to be diminished by the following declaration of their author: "We are at a solemn moment in contemporary religious history. Never was Christianity more decidedly put upon its trial. I have not been able to see in the vehement and learned opposition of the nineteenth century anything but that ancient naturalism which found its most precise expression in the writings of Celsus and the Porphyrys. Men will judge of it by the sketch I have given of their polemics, so far as it can be reconstructed from the few scattered fragments of their works which have escaped from shipwreck. Our situation resembles, in many respects, that of the defenders of the faith, their contemporaries. These have spoken for us as well as for their own generation. This then is indeed the moment to hear and to ponder the reply which they made to adversaries whose costume, but not their fundamental thought, changes with the lapse of time." These are true and noble sentiments; and we hail with lively satisfaction the man who expresses them, even though we must sometimes differ from him. Perhaps the struggles and sufferings of the Church militant in the second and third centuries were never more truthfully and powerfully described.

The Koran; translated from the Arabic, the Suras arranged in Chronological order; with Notes and Index. By Rev. J. M. RODWELL, M.A., of Caius College, Cambridge. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

THIS neat and convenient volume has an appropriate preface, its notes are valuable, and the translation itself, will, we doubt not, speedily supersede that of Sale, which is now so much out of date, and after the lapse of a century ought to give way to another made by the light of modern criticism. It is well known that the Suras or chapters of the Koran are not arranged in the MSS. chronologically, nor in fact on any

other principle except that of placing the best known and longest generally first. Traditions and modern researches have enabled Mr. Rodwell to restore the true order as far as possible; and on this plan they are printed in his edition. However, to prevent confusion, he has supplied cross references and a comparative table. He speaks of Mohammed much less disparagingly than the older writers, in which he agrees with most moderns. The language of the translation is as readable as the original justifies, and is free from the paraphrastic additions in which it was Sale's habit to indulge.

Footsteps of the Reformers in Foreign Lands. London: The Religious Tract Society.

A VERY suitable book for a present; elegantly got up, and with beautiful illustrations. Its contents are descriptive and historical, and its style is instructive and attractive. Without laying claim to originality, it is well compiled, and pleasantly enough sets forth what it is desirable to know respecting Prague, and John Huss; Zurich, and its reformers; Antwerp, and Tyndall; Geneva, and its reformers; Spires, and the Protest; Brentz the Suabian reformer; Wittenberg, and Luther; Augsburg, and Melancthon; and the Vaudois and their valleys. We can safely and strongly recommend this volume to a place in every Christian family library.

The A. B. C. of Thought: Consciousness the standard of Truth; or, Peerings into the logic of the Future. By the Rev. W. G. DAVIES. London: Williams and Norgate.

WE have read this book with pleasure, and regard it as an important contribution to mental science. The author skilfully expounds and defends his views, and his book well merits a thoughtful perusal. Notwithstanding the title, it is not merely designed for novices, but for all who think upon their thoughts.

First Lines of Christian Theology, in the form of a Syllabus, prepared for the use of the students in the Old College, Homerton. With subsequent additions and elucidations. By JOHN PYE SMITH, D.D., LL.D., etc. Edited from the Author's MSS., with notes, references, and indexes, by W. FARRER, LL.B. Second edition. Revised and somewhat augmented. London: Jackson and Walford.

THIS portly octavo of more than 750 pages contains the materials of a library. If Dr. Pye Smith succeeded in administering a mass of elemental theology of this magnitude to the students under his care, they at least ought to be well furnished. Everything is put into the smallest compass, and clearly designed for future digestion and development. There is a copious induction of authors, so that the reader of the volume will know what divines were especially consulted by the learned compiler. His reading must have been very extensive, and his own mind appears to have been thoroughly imbued with the entire range of

moderate Calvinistic principles in all their bearings. The section on ecclesiastical polity is based on the system of the Congregationalists to whom Dr. Smith belonged. But whatever the subject be, he treats it with calmness, moderation, and liberality, so that the volume is free throughout from that absurd and carping dogmatism which is too often the cloak of ignorance. As a book for consultation it is very valuable, and will furnish much necessary information. The editor has performed his part in a very praiseworthy manner, and has spared no pains to make the volume in all respects complete.

TO OUR READERS.

The omission of our usual intelligence and lists of new publications in the present number is unavoidable; we are reluctantly compelled to set aside several interesting items of miscellaneous information. At the same time we are not sorry for the cause, or rather causes, to which this is traceable. To make room for the valuable article by Dr. Hincks and another of some importance, we have had to defer the insertion of a very interesting paper already in type. To admit the unusually extensive correspondence of this quarter, we have trenched upon the space allotted to notices of books. To satisfy the increased number of claimants in the review department, our book notices have had to be made as short as possible, but in some cases the works will, no doubt, receive more ample justice at our hands. Even now, we have not been able to find room for all we had intended. These demands upon us are encouraging, and shew that there is a readiness to take advantage of the liberal declaration made in the first article of this volume. However firm and decided our own views, we shall not fear to throw open our pages to those who are prepared to discuss great questions in a calm and dignified, courteous and truth-loving spirit. With Bacon we believe, "*Magna est veritas et prævalebit.*" Only let the truth be spoken in love. There is abroad in the earth a spirit of enquiry and of uncertainty. The former is all but universal among the intelligent and educated, and it relates very much to matters religious. The latter sometimes casts its spell over earnest and faithful souls, especially such as have not taken a sufficiently broad and many-sided view of things. To satisfy the former we must not only let them ask questions, but we must find answers to them, so long as they are not ridiculous, and even when ridiculous, they must not be despised if they are sincere. To satisfy the latter may not always be easy, but we shall certainly never seek either to ignore or to put them to silence if they state their difficulties; not in a boasting and defiant mood, but like those ancient *sceptics* who were so-called originally because they cherished an *inquiring spirit*. We shall never refuse to listen to the *ἄνδρες χρῆσται καὶ πιστῶς ἀπαγγελοῦσι σκεψάμενοι*: it is your Pyrrhonist, whether incipient or full grown, who is to be avoided. But besides the parties named, we shall gladly continue to welcome all whose researches have brought up that which tends to confirm or elucidate the Biblical narrative, or to convey useful information respecting ecclesiastical history and literature, ancient and modern. Meantime, our device is, *Ubi agnovimus Christum, ibi agnovimus et Ecclesiam*, whether Greek or Latin, of old or now.

END OF VOLUME XIII.

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